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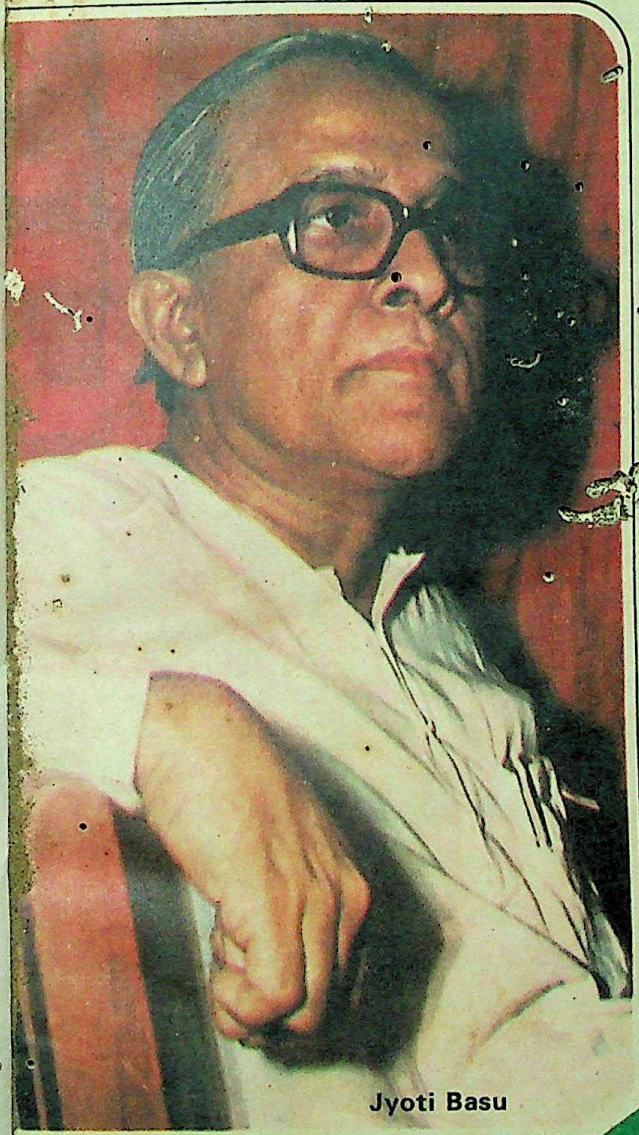
Nepal Awakes!

M. J. Akbar, Kathmandu



Jyoti Basu

P. Koirala

WHO MURDERED L.N. MISHRA?

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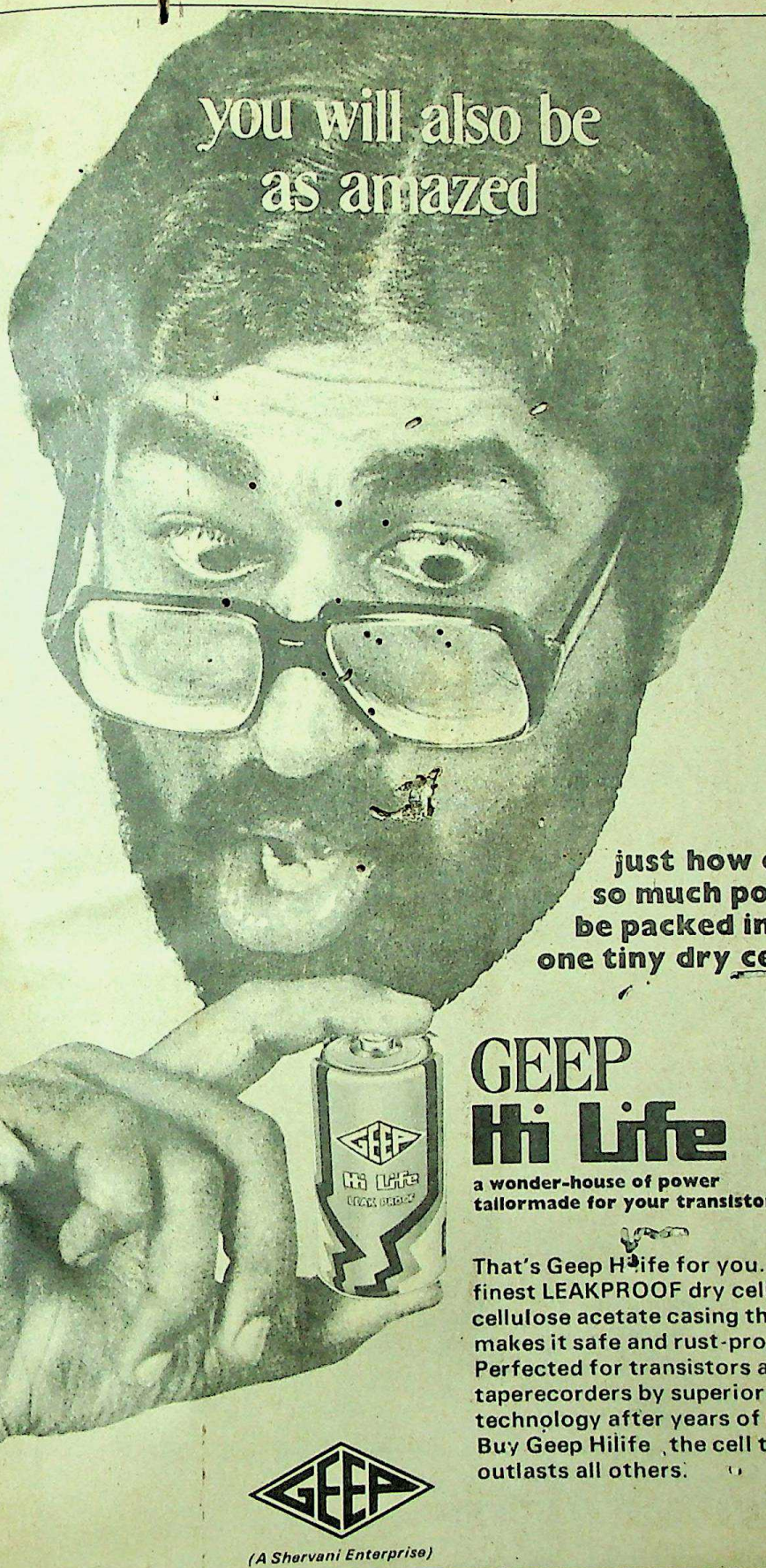

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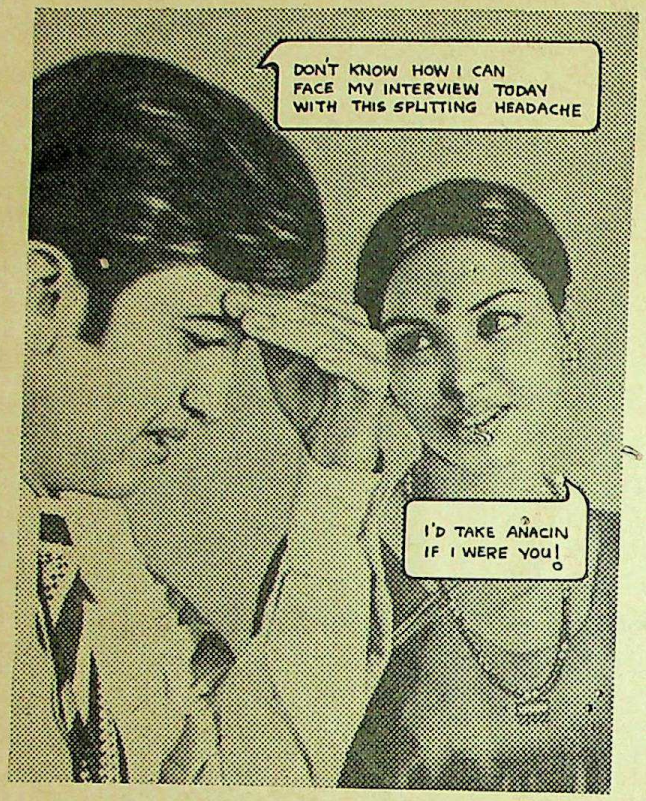

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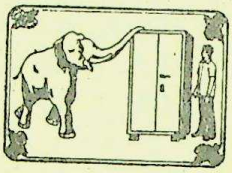

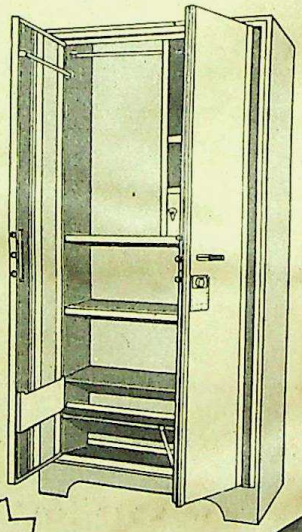

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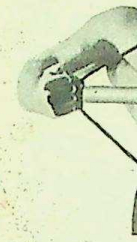

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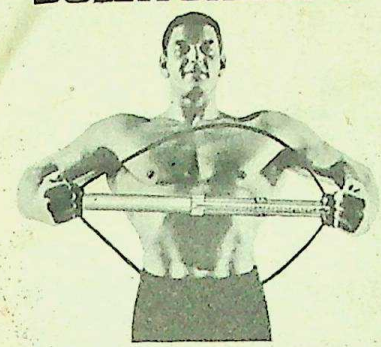

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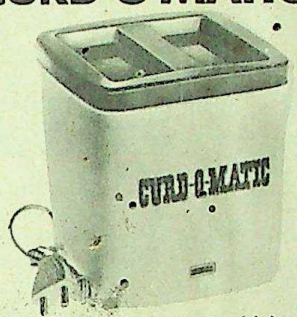

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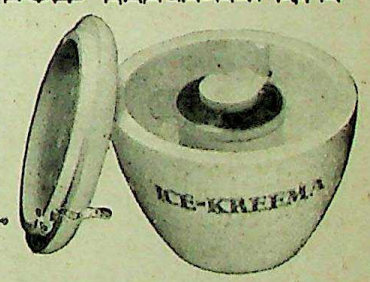

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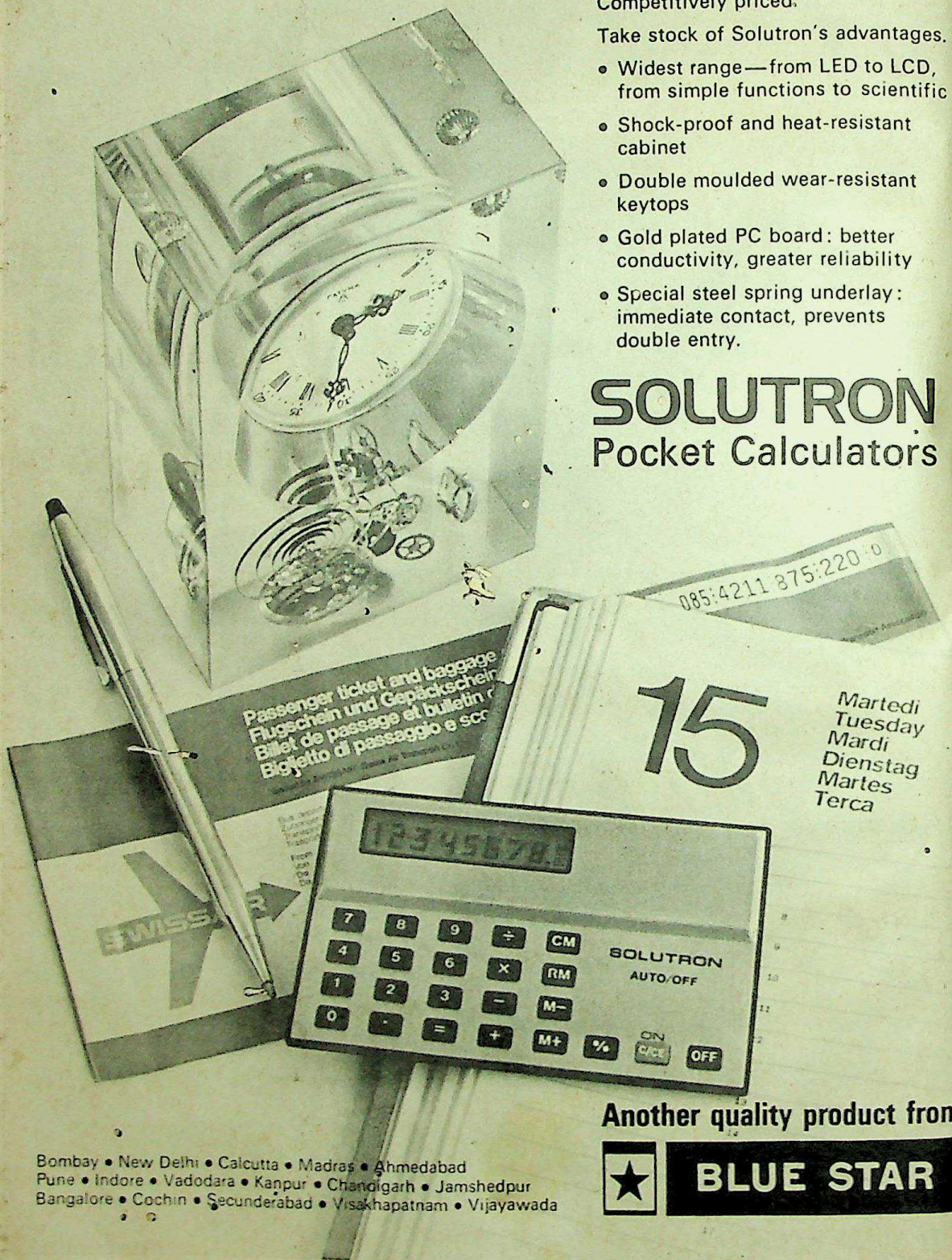

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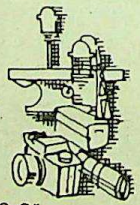

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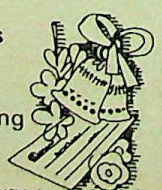

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SUNDAY VOLUME 7 ISSUE 5 RUPEE ONE AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

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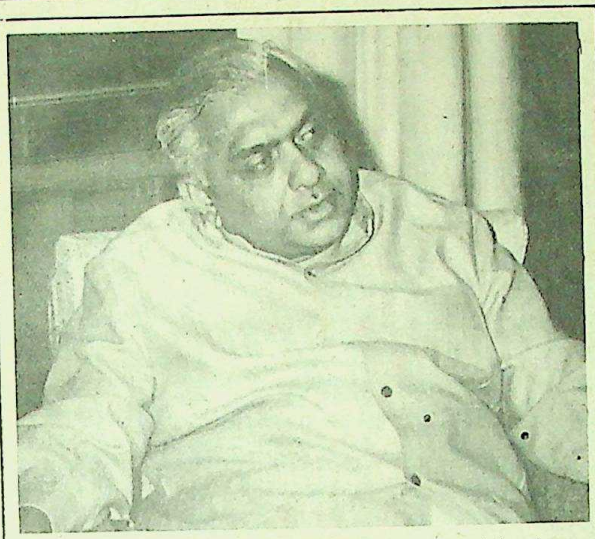
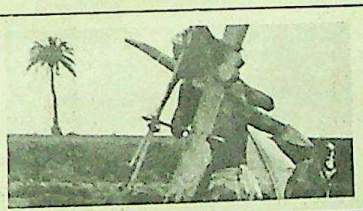
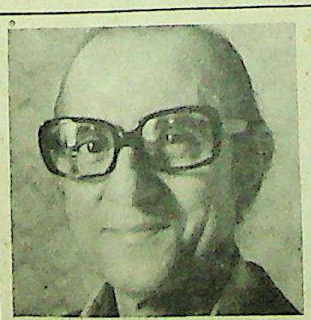


The mysteries surrounding the assassination of the former Union Railways Minister, Mr L. N. Mishra, in a hand-grenade blast in January, 1975, have not been entirely cleared. Though the Mathew Commission has submitted its report, many questions still remain, which if cleared, could lead to the implication of Mrs Gandhi's close associates in this murder case. Recently, the Tarkunde report and a series of investigative reports run by the **Indian Express** has thrown open the question and established the need for a fresh inquiry commission. ARUN RANJAN, who has been working on this story for years reveals some startling new facts, and interviews Ram Bilas Jha, the alleged "Boss Jha" named by one of the accused.



The CPI(M) has lost a great deal of support in the urban areas but has gained significant ground in the rural areas. BARUN SENGUPTA analyses the situation.

Dr Farooq Abdullah, eldest son of Sheikh Abdullah, besides being a doctor, is a force in Kashmir politics. In fact, he is being talked about as his father's most likely successor. Z. G. MOHAMMAD spoke to him about Sheikh Abdullah's relations with the dissident leader Mirza Afzal Beg, the strength of the National Conference and the question of politicians' sons entering politics.



In a surprise move King Birendra of Nepal announced a referendum to decide whether the nation is to continue with the present panchayat system or not. M. J. AKBAR reports from Kathmandu on the situation arising from this move and interviews B. P. Koirala, veteran leader of the Nepali Congress, who may be the country's future Premier.

COMMENT

Opinion 12

COVER STORY

Who murdered L. N. Mishra ?|Arun Ranjan 14

SUNDAY SPECIAL

Problems of power|Barun Sengupta 36

SPECIAL REPORT

Nepal awakes|M. J. Akbar 28

INVESTIGATION

Bohras vs their high priests|A. G. Engineer 44

CONVERSATION

Dr Farooq Abdullah|Z. G. Mohammad 40

NEWS

Decision on the wrong track|A correspondent 52
Police get more|Ajoy Bose
Muster roll scandal in MP|M. V Kher
Urs demurs|V. T. Rajshekar Shetty

CINEMA

Khaas Baat 58

VARIETY

Sundayweek 60
Comic strip : Peanuts 61
Chess|Bridge|Quiz|Stamps 63
This India 65
India Abroad 65
Humour in real life 65
Without comment 65

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

Deadpan : Aligarh—the fag-end 42
Comics : Asterix 46
Review : A brush with success|Tania Shah 50
Delhi Diary 66

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Frank and forthright

M. J. AKBAR's Interview with Rajiv Gandhi ("Rajiv Gandhi answers", May 13) made lively reading. Mr Rajiv Gandhi did not try to evade Mr Akbar's questions. When the interviewer says: "Mathai says the best thing you did in England was meet Sonia", he answers : "He's absolutely right." This shows Rajiv to be a very frank person. He is undoubtedly more mature than his younger brother Sanjay Gandhi.

Asit Kumar, Dhanbad

Bare fact

ONE would expect the illustrious editor of SUNDAY, who parades a Muslim name, to know that his brethren-in-faith do not offer any collective prayers bareheaded, and without an Imam. But the illustration of a few bearded baldies offering Namaz at a Varanasi Ram Mandir ("This India", May 13) belies that expectation.

Laila Arzumand Banu, Karbi Anglong (Assam).

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THE management of Sivananda Saraswathi Sevashram, housing 125 orphans, requests the public to donate liberally for the construction of a dormitory costing Rs. 2 lakhs. Generous donors can come forward to help these destitutes and bless them. Donations may be sent to Sivananda Saraswathi Sevashram, No. 20, Kambar Street, East Tambaram, Madras 600 059.

Lakshmi Rajaram, Secretary, Sivananda Orphanage, Madras.

Burning problem

YOU brought out an excellent report by S. C. Anantharaman on the shadow-boxing between the Petroleum and Industries Ministries over the manufacture of the Nutan stove ("What's cooking?", May 13). The net sufferers are the nation, which is losing Rs 30 crores in foreign exchange every year. I do not understand why orders should not be issued to the Indian Oil Corporation officials to inspect the units identified by the NSIC at Madras, Hyderabad, Rajkot and Bombay. Licences should be issued for the manufacture of 50,000 stoves per month at each of the above units. The IOC has no business to allow an increase in the manufacturing price of the Calcutta firm from Rs. 32 to Rs. 42. The production of the stove should be entrusted to small scale enterpreneurs, at an initial price of Rs. 32. It is not out of place to mention here that a Madras firm has invented a gadget to measure the quantity of gas in the LPG (liquefied petroleum gas) cylinder at any given point of time. For reasons best known to them, the IOC officials were not very enthusiastic about the idea, and have not taken any steps to ensure its manufacture by the firm.

V. Dhandapani, Salem

WE WOULD like to point out the difficulties and constraints we face in manufacturing Nutan stoves. To begin with, Nutan stoves need seven different kinds of steel sheets of different gauges, some of which are difficult to procure in India. For example, 28 gauge and 26 gauge sheets are being manufactured only by the Tinplate Company of India Ltd. and whenever they fail to supply the sheets due to constraints like power cuts, shortage of coal or non-receipt of materials from their suppliers, we have difficulty procuring 26 gauge and 28 gauge sheets to maintain the standard quality of Nutan stoves. Some of the components of Nutan are made of 28 gauge galvanised plain sheets, which are not produced in the country at all.

When we took up the matter with the Ministry of Steel, Government of India, we were clearly told that these thinner gauge sheets are not indigenously produced in adequate quantities, and would have to meet our requirements with imports. You might be aware that the price of imported sheets is much higher.

For your information, our agreement with IOC stipulates the escalation of the price of the stove will be on the basis of the cost of sheets manufactured by the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, or Hindustan Steel Ltd. As we sometimes had to use imported material released from the buffer stock by SAIL at a much higher price, we appealed to IOCL for a price increase for these costly materials, otherwise the production of Nutan stoves would have to be shut down. But IOCL said that the price increase could not be allowed on the basis of imported materials, as this was not enjoined in the agreement. Further, Nutan stoves are supposed to save the country foreign exchange, and their manufacture from imported materials is against the basic idea of saving foreign exchange.

Regarding the increase in the price of Nutan stoves, from the very outset, we would like to state that our agreement stipulates a price increase due to the price of steel and the consumer price index of West Bengal, and during the first year of manufacture we did not get any increase. Further, over the last two years we have been manufacturing the stoves, their ex-factory price was raised only twice according to the agreement. Central Excise was raised from 1 per cent to 8 per cent, railway freight by 25 per cent, and sales tax, purchase tax, etc. were changed six times during this period. We feel, considering the increase in the prices of prime materials such as paint, steel, wires, etc, and the present crisis in paper, required for the carton boxes of the stoves, the price being given to us is absolutely unremunerative. We sincerely believe more manufacturers should come forward to manufacture Nutan stoves, but we doubt whether any firm would come forward, given the present price range, even though they stand to benefit from having a finished and popular product on their hands.

S. Sen, Director, Oriental Metal Industries Private Ltd, Calcutta

The moral

YOUR special report on "CIA's Indian agents" (May 13) by Kewal Varma and other companion pieces, though well-documented, produced nothing sensational except recreating the murky role of the CIA in developing and underdeveloped countries. It is integral to the CIA's conception of necessary strategy to sabotage leftist movements. An important functionary in the early Fifties, Karmit Roosevelt, said recently that he was sent to Teheran in 1953 when Mohammed Mossadegh temporarily exiled the Shah of Iran. Karmit Roosevelt was allowed to spend 75,000 dollars on the CIA-engineered demonstration clamouring for the Shah's return, and the Shah returned, ultimately. The unspent amount of the CIA's Project-Teheran was handed over to the Shah to curb the communist movement in Iran. It would be moonshine to expect Mrs

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K. K. Nair

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Gandhi to admit having accepted CIA money. What did she have to say about the joint CIA-Indian expedition to Nanda Devi and later Nanda Kot to instal a plutonium device for surveillance of Chinese activities beyond the Himalayas? The moral is clear: If you have a bad case, abuse the opponent as virulently as possible. Mrs Gandhi is trying to do that by denouncing Mr Moynihan.
Jahar Das and Karsick Chandra Das, Calcutta

IT WAS quite surprising to learn that Mrs Gandhi received contributions from the US Government for her election campaign but blamed the CIA for ousting her from power. The charges levelled by Mr Moynihan in his book *A Dangerous Place* cannot be taken lightly. He must have gathered authentic information about the circumstances under which the money had been provided. The matter deserves serious attention, and there should be a thorough probe into the charges.
Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta

HAVING said that Mr Daniel Patrick Moynihan's charge is true and well-founded, David Selbourne goes on to establish a connection between Mrs Gandhi and the CIA ("The CIA-Congress coalition", May 13). Incidentally, he gets worked up about the Emergency and attributes to Mrs Gandhi a "paranoic" fear of right reaction. But if Mrs Gandhi had any connection with the CIA, so had Jayaprakash Narayan, and so, too, some of the politicians in power now. America's solicitude for JP's health and the expert treatment arranged for him in the US are significant. Could it not be that JP's 'Total Revolution' was influenced by the CIA?

The Janata fought the last General Elections with US money channelled through the CIA and even now many political leaders are beneficiaries of CIA munificence. It is said that the US is going the whole hog backing the Jana Sangh faction in the Janata power struggle. The tendency now is to get so stuck with Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay that we hardly see an issue in the larger perspective. If Mr Selbourne brings to bear an open mind on the matter he would have much more to say about many more people.
K. Narayan, Madras

AN APOLOGY

We are extremely sorry that due to a most unfortunate mistake, the interview with Mr Yashpal Kapoor (Sunday, June 17) went as "Yunus is a 'thief'". As our readers will have noticed, nowhere does Mr Kapoor specifically make this allegation, and we appreciate that this headline would damage the reputation of Mr Mohammad Yunus, and our apologies go out to him.

MGR gets all

AN ITEM in "Khaas Baat" (May 13) reminds me of a humourous incident that took place shortly after the screening of the movie *Veerapandia Kattabomman*, based on the life of a freedom fighter from Tamil Nadu, Kattabomman, who was hanged by the British. In the movie, Sivaji Ganesan, who plays the role of Kattabomman, is hanged in the last scene. But outside the theatre, after the movie was over, some of MGR's supporters were heard saying: "If our Vathiar (MGR) had played the role of Kattabomman instead of Sivaji, he would have killed all the Britishers and escaped."
S. Ravi Shankar, Bombay

AFTER reading the "Khaas Baat" from the South, one gets the impression that the South Indian film industry is obessed with sex. This is especially so in the case of Malayall films.
K. K. Nair, Patnagarh.

The RSS replies

I WAS on my tour to the various summer training classes of RSS held in different States when a journalist friend brought to my notice an item reported by Mr Santosh Bhartiya whom I had occasion to meet at Paunar. After reading the report, I felt that I did well in not helping him to get an interview with Shri Balasaheb Deoras for distorted reporting seems to be his speciality.

He writes about my threatening to finish SUNDAY and *Ravivar's* credibility. Can someone finish somebody else's credibility—who caused the erosion of AIR's credibility during the Emergency; surely their own partisan reporting of half-truths and untruths to suit the Indira regime? I certainly said that SUNDAY has taken to sensationalism and is not at all concerned about the veracity of the facts it publishes and hence is losing credibility. We will not like to help in establishing it again amongst sympathisers by giving this interview. It is not necessary to agree with us but like the *Illustrated Weekly* it is best to give both sides of the picture, if you are not a part of the committed Press, and believe in objectivity. Of late this has not been your role. Your credibility is in your own hands.

As regards the darkening of my face and anger, I having been a teacher in a university for 25 years. I am used to all sorts of silly questions and getting angry is hardly a teacher's virtue. Fortunately I am remembered as an excellent teacher by my students and colleagues.

When your paper becomes more objective and balanced and does not present a partisan attitude, bent upon finding holes which may not exist and twisting everything to suit your own outlook it will be worthwhile giving interviews to it. Surely fascism is not in not giving interviews but in a correspondent's attitude; 'I shall have it and twist it to serve my taste'.

Hoping that you will publish this letter to show that you are not that biased.
Rajendra Singh, Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, New Delhi.

If Mr Rajendra Singh read SUNDAY a little more carefully, he would have realised that there was no need for that last line of his letter. As for our credibility, it is for our readers to decide about that, not partisan leaders of political organisations for whom any criticism becomes 'biased reporting'. As for giving 'both sides of the picture' Mr Singh will surely appreciate that it is difficult for us to present his viewpoint if he refuses to talk to us. In any case, in reporting a specific incident, like a riot, there is only one picture, and we try our best to get as close to the truth as possible, given the limits of human frailty. It is, indeed, interesting, and perhaps indicative, that two organisations seem to be terribly upset with us: the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami. However, let us not argue about this. Instead, I personally request Mr Singh, or Mr Deoras, to attempt to 'restore the balance' by answering some of the charges against the RSS published in our magazine. Would Mr Singh care to begin by trying to rebut the points made in Mr Madhu Limaye's article (SUNDAY, May 27)? Mr Limaye, as Mr Singh is surely aware, is a senior leader and MP of the Janata Party. I do not know what adjectives Mr Singh would like to use to describe Mr Limaye, but surely Mr Singh would like to answer what was printed? We, on the editorial side, and all our readers, anxiously await Mr Singh's response—Editor, SUNDAY.

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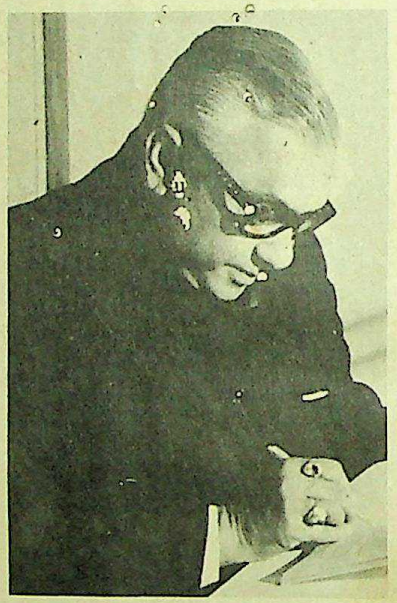
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

The Tarkunde Report and the series of investigative stories by the Indian Express has thrown the question open again. Members of the Mishra family have demanded a fresh inquiry into the episode: this demand has been backed by senior Janata leaders. ARUN RANJAN from Patna presents the many facets of this intriguing case.

WHO MURDERED L.N.MISHRA?

ON January 3, 1975, the second most important political assassination in our nation's history took place. Union Railways Minister L. N. Mishra lost his life in Samastipur following an attack by a handgrenade. Many arrests were made, an inquiry commission produced a report, the law-enforcing authorities charged a number of men with the crime, but the mysteries surrounding the event were never properly cleared. Too many questions, some extraordinarily serious, remained unanswered. Mrs Gandhi and her Ministers accused the Ananda Marg of the crime; but many people in the country, particularly Mrs Gandhi's political opponents, began pointing an accusing finger directly at some of the people surrounding Mrs Gandhi, and indirectly at her. There were many inconsistencies in the investigation, but the most important was the fact that the CBI, which took charge, refused to investigate a clue which led to Ram Bilas Jha, a Congress MLC, despite a recorded confession by one of the accused implicating Jha. (We publish the transcript of the confession in this issue).



After coming to power, the Janata Government of Bihar under Karpoori Thakur, turned over the papers of the investigation and the report of the Mathews Commission to the respected jurist V. M. Tarkunde for his opinion. In a crisp and devastating report, Tarkunde has completely demolished the theories that have been so far used by the investigating teams to solve the case. It would be wrong to call Mrs Gandhi or anyone else guilty on the basis of the evidence available, but what has been established beyond doubt is that there is need for a fresh investigation into the Mishra assassination. The Indian Express recently ran a series of stories which cast fresh doubts on the CBI's role in the episode. Our investigation, which had begun long before the Express stories broke has unearthed new facts obtained from sources in Patna, Samastipur and Darbhanga.

Some New Facts

RAM Bilas Jha and Mastan Baba flew from Patna to Darbhanga in a State plane. Mastan Baba, the sadhu who had been introduced to L. N. Mishra by Yashpal Kapoor, had come from Delhi along with Mr Mishra. From Darbhanga, they went to Samastipur in the special saloon, and were present on the dais from which Mishra was speaking when the grenade was thrown at him. Five minutes before the explosion, Jha left the dais and went into the saloon: he was the only person to leave. Mr L. N. Mishra was still addressing the audience. Later, Arun Kumar Thakur, approver in the original CBI investigation, mentioned a "Boss Jha" in his statement before the magistrate. Thakur however added that he did not know "Boss Jha"; he was only informed by Arun Mishra that "Boss Jha" had arrived at the rally and tha things were all right.

A few days after the incident, an important person said that he twice saw Jha standing near the dais after Jha had left it. Jha seemed to be surveying the crowd intensely; he was seen looking repeatedly in a particular direction. The bomb was hurled from this direction.

In the meantime, the Central intelligence informed the State Government that the activities of Jha, an MLC, were raising suspicions. According to their reports, Jha was injured and he was undergoing treatment at Ranchi. He was described as one of the suspects in the case. The State Government found that Ram Bilas Jha was in Ranchi but he was not injured.

Many people tried their best to treat L. N. Mishra right there. But, according to many witnesses, Ram Bilas Jha insisted that Mishra should be taken to Danapur. When Dr Nasib Lal Jha, an expert surgeon and a relative of Mr Mishra went to see the injured leader at Samastipur, Ram Bilas Jha prevented him from entering the compartment where L. N. Mishra lay injured.

The attack on Mishra took place at 6 p.m. A special train was due to go to Patna via the main line. But a

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Samastipur, the engine was shunted from one end to the other and the train set off only at 8.30. By this time, the others who were injured had reached Darbhanga. The railway authorities had given orders that the track should be kept clear to allow the train to proceed directly to Patna. But the train was however detained for 20 minutes at Barauni. No one on the train knew why, the reason was discovered later: from Samastipur, someone had told the railway canteen at Barauni that chicken and pulao should be kept ready for 50 people, and the delay was because this food was being taken aboard. The railway officials quickly ascribed this delay to "technical reasons" but the truth was different, and was witnessed by the then District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Begusarai. Chicken and pulao delayed the train by a vital 20 minutes.

When the train reached Patna, it was again detained on the excuse that Dr U. N. Shahi and other doctors were to join the train. In fact, Dr Shahi was not permitted to enter the compartment and he left feeling both sad and angry. The train remained at Patna until 11.30, and a few newsmen got off at Patna.

The train reached Danapur at 12.30 at night. Before he was operated upon, one of India's top heart specialists, Dr Karoli was contacted on the phone. He suggested various precautions as Mr Mishra was a chronic heart patient. His advice was ignored, and as soon as the operation began. Mr Mishra had a heart arrest. A cardiac operation was performed, but by then, L. N. Mishra was dead. Is it true that a fake operation on the grenade wounds was conducted on Mishra's dead body?

Since Mr Mishra had died under suspicious circumstances, it was necessary to conduct a post mortem. It is said that Ram Bilas Jha vehemenly opposed the post-mortem saying that the doctors would make a mess of the dead body. The post-mortem was not conducted. Who is responsible for this lapse? There should also be an inquiry into what Mr Mishra ate and drank in the train.

The next day the dead body was taken to Balua Bazar for the last rites. Ram Bilas Jha was present at the cremation. Mr Mishra's relatives told the DIG, Commissioner, DM, SP and Mrs Gandhi, in the hearing of everyone, that Ram Bilas was the 'murderer', and he should be asked to leave, or he could be murdered. Eventually, Ram Bilas had to leave.

A night before he left Delhi, Mr Mishra had told his wife: "I am going to Bihar. When I return. I will have to leave Delhi for good. You live here with the children. I tried my best to remain a part of the Delhi scene. But, Indiraji is determined to remove me. I would have left immediately for Bihar but Barooahji is in Kashmir. On my return I will discuss this with him then I will have to leave for Bihar".

The next day, the weather was bad

Who is who in the murder case

Yashpal Kapoor :	Former private secretary to Mrs Indira Gandhi.
Ram Bilas Jha :	Former Congress MLC of Bihar, a close associate of Yashpal Kapoor, and now a member of the CPI(M).
D. Sen :	Former CBI Director.
P. V. Hingorani (Rtd.) :	CBI official.
I. C. Dwivedi :	CBI official.
H. L. Ahuja :	CBI official.
K. A. Ramasubramaniam :	Chief Secretary to the Bihar Government.
Raghunath Pande :	Transporter and Chairman of the Muzaffarpur municipality in January 1975.
Arun Kumar Mishra :	Accused in the original CBI investigation, allegedly disclosed the conspiracy to murder Mr Mishra to the Samastipur jailor. He named Ram Bilas Jha and Raghunath Pande as co-conspirators.
Arun Kumar Thakur :	Approver in the original CBI investigation.
Sheo Narain Sharma :	Arranged handgrenades for Arun Kumar Mishra and Arun Kumar Thakur?
S. A. Rahman :	Jailor of the Samastipur jail.
Bir Chand Tantia :	Business man of Samastipur at whose house Ram Bilas Jha allegedly gave money to Sheo Narain Sharma to execute the murder plan.
Vikram :	Approver in the CBI case against some Ananda Marg followers.
Visveshwaranand I :	Original name is Hans Lal, resident of Bhojpur district, involved in a murder case, absconding. Real Visveshwaranand.
Visveshwaranand II :	Fake CBI approver, original name Madan Mohan Srivastava, resident of Darbhanga, reinstated in the job of a clerk in the PWD (after 11 years) after he made a confessional statement to the CBI.
Santoshanand :	Ananda Marg follower, alleged to have planned the murder of Mr Mishra.
Sudevanand :	Another Ananda Marg follower, alleged to have helped Santoshanand in the murder plan.
Ranjan Dwivedi :	A lawyer alleged to have procured passes for the Ananda Marg followers to enter the Samastipur railway station on January 2, 1975.
Girjanandan Prasad :	A stenographer in the Samastipur collector, who gave a statement to the CBI that Ananda Marg followers had stayed at his house the day Mr Mishra was injured in a handgrenade blast.

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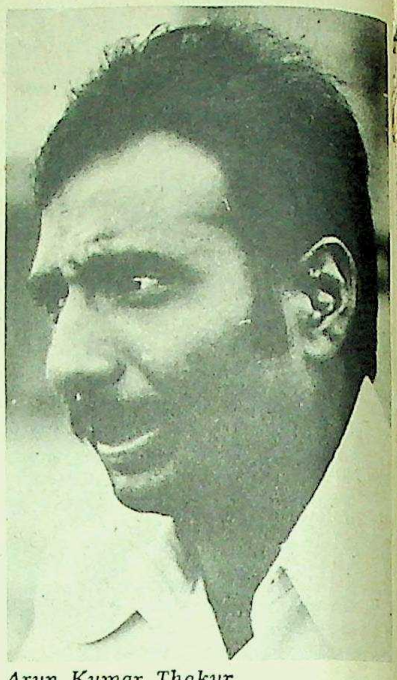
and the plane was delayed. Mr Mishra was at home, and there he decided against leaving for Patna. But Mastan Baba insisted that he must go. When did the Baba become Mr Mishra's political adviser? Who is he? It is said that the Baba, whose house was two miles from Jha's was once an ordinary sadhu and he reached Mr Mishra's durbar through Yashpal Kapoor: becoming a man of means in the process.

NOW let us turn to the main plot and focus our attention on a controversial apsect of the murder case. The Bihar CID had begun its investigation on January 3. On January 4, the CBI team reached Bihar to assist the State CID. On January 10, the CBI took the investigation completely in their hands. The rule is that once the CBI takes charge after State Government approval, the State CID cannot do anything. When the then director of the CBI, D. Sen went to Samastipur, he took the IGP, Bihar, along with him. Sen suggested that the State police and CID should help the CBI in its investigation. On this understanding the State CID came back into the picture; it would do whatever was asked of it by the CBI. The State CID would help the CBI whenever it received a written request to that effect. Prior to January 10, there were no concrete theories to guide the investigation. There were four plausible "suspect groups": JP agitators Naxalites, railwaymen and the Ananda Marg. The CID and the CBI has sources among those Anand Margis who have left the organisation. These sources were tapped. By the end of January, it was clear that JP agitators, Naxalites or the Ananda Margis were not involved. This satisfied the IB and the CBI. However, the matter took a new turn when an obscure Ananda Margi who lived in Darbhanga claimed responsibility for the blast. There was great pressure on D. Sen to do something. The State CID had handed over all its findings to the CBI on January 10. The State CID had a clue that there were two "Arun Kumars". Until then (January 10) not much was known about them. The police officers of Samastipur narrate a fascinating story. According to them, one of the police officers saw one Arun Kumar throwing the bomb; this Arun Kumar came to the police station fifteen minutes after the explosion. But for fear of being involved, the police officer kept quiet. Much later, the CID came to know of this. When this police officer was questioned in March, he said that he knew nothing. If this is true, was the case properly investigated? Was this incident suppressed due to lack of sufficient evidence?

Now let us turn to the theory of two "Arun Kumars". This important clue remained in the background during the whole of January. When the 'major' theories flopped, only then did the authorities turn their attention to this 'minor' lead. Arun Kumar Thakur was apprehended in

L. N. Mishra on the dais



Arun Kumar Thakur

the first week of February. The CBI issued a written order to the CID to arrest him. Similarly, soon after, Arun Kumar Mishra was arrested It is wrong, therefore, to say that the Arun Kumars were interrogated jointly by the CID and the CBI. Before this joint team, Arun Kumar Thakur confessed that the entire murder plot was executed by Arun Kumar Mishra, Shiv Sharma, one unknown person and himself. This "unknown" person is very significant to the murder plot. His identity is yet to be established. The IG, CBI P. V. Hingorani and DIG, CBI L. C. Dwivedi were among those who interrogated the two Arun Kumars. On February 13, 1975, CBI director, D. Sen spoke to Arun Kumar Mishra for an hour at the Dalsinghsarai inspection bungalow. What was their secret conversation about? Soon after, D. Sen told his CBI officers that Arun Mishra spoke the truth and if he agreed his version could he recorded in the court. H. L. Ahuja, DSP, CBI informed the court in writing that the CBI had arrested Arun Kumar Mishra and his confession was be recorded in the court. This intimation can be traced out among the documents. On the basis of this intimation, Arun Kumar Mishra's statement was recorded before the Chief Judicial Magistrate on February 21. Now, how can the CBI contend that the Arun Kumar episode was handled by the State CID? It is apparent that the CBI had a hand in promoting the Arun Kumar story. This point must be carefully noted if one wants to understand why initially the CBI pushed forward the Arun Kumar story but later tried to suppress it.

AFTER Arun Kumar Mishra's confession, the question arose as to who was "Boss Jha" and the 'unknown person", who came near the dais with Arun Kumar Thakur. Because the police knew that Arun Mishra knew "Boss Jha" efforts began to get the identity from Mishra. Mishra wove a tale of CPI(M) workers whereby Umakant Jha was suspected to be "Boss Jha" and Jogindeer Raut the "unknown person". Investigations showed that on that day Umakant Jha was in Jhajha in connection with a procession and went then to Jamuh to attend a court case. Umakant and Raut were released on bail. Thakur and Mishra were sent to jail. The CBI and the CID met in the offices of the Samastipur IB to devise further plans. They discussed how to extract information from Arun Mishra regarding "Boss Jha's" identity. S. A. Rahman, the jailer of Samastipur jail, was entrusted with the task of getting Mishra's confidence. The IG, CBI would meet Rahman every day to know if he had made any progress. Through Rahman, the CBI would send eggs, meat etc to Arun Mishra every day. Then Shiv Sharma was sent to the same jail. A few prisoners were also told to spy on the two. One night, Mishra and Sharma began quarrelling and they were heard saying: "Why doesn't Ram Bilas Jha come and free us?" On the basis of this information, Rahman extracted a confession from Arun Mishra and taped it without his knowledge. The tape was handed over to the CBI. For a day, the tape remained with the CID who copied it. The CID also had it transcripted and the IG, CBI, Hingorani, attested it as 'received'.

Suddenly, after two months the CBI declared that the Ram Bilas theory was wrong. All efforts were made to suppress the story of the tape. There was no mention of the tape in the CBI records. During a meeting with the Home Minister in

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July 1977, the Bihar CID said that they had the recorded version of the tape as well as the receipt which showed that the CBI had received it. For the first time, the CBI confessed that they had the tape. If the receipt was not with the CID, the CBI would have certainly killed that angle. In the meantime the CBI pushed forward the Ananda Marg story. Thus the Ram Bilas theory was abandoned without proper verification. The CBI had abandoned the CPI(M) workers' and the railwaymen's theory only after proper verification. Why was it negligent about the Ram Bilas angle? Apparently, D. Sen came to Samastipur when he was informed that the tape involved Yashpal Kapoor and Ram Bilas Jha and immediately dismissed the tape story. At this point, the CBI even stopped asking the CID for assistance. It should be remembered that the CBI had shown great interest in Arun Mishra intially. In fact it was a CBI officer, Ahuja, who asked the court to record Mishra's statement. D. Sen had spoken to Arun Mishra for an hour at the Dalsinghsarai inspection bungalow. Did Sen ask Arun Mishra to suppress Ram Bilas Jha's name? Was Sen's order instrumental behind Mishra's story of the CPI(M) workers which he narrated in the court? After his confession before the jailer, Mishra was transferred to Buxar where he was under constant watch by CBI officers. Did the CBI fear that he may divulge the Ram Bilas connection to others too. Eventually, Arun Kumar Mishra was freed.

The CBI launched a campaign to propagate that the State intelligence wanted to follow the Arun Kumar theory and not the Ananda Marg because they were interested in the cash award for solving the case. What is the truth? It is on record that D. Sen first told the IG, Bihar that a cash award should be instituted to provide an incentive for the CID. The award was announced by Brahmananda Reddy in the Lok Sabha in March and by Om Mehta in the Rajya Sabha. D. Sen also spoke to then Chief Minicter, Abdul Gafoor, who reminded the IG, Bihar on two occasions about the award. DIG, CID S. B. Sahay was asked to recommend names for the award. D. P. Ojha and K. P. Singh of the State CID were selected for the award. Then came Arun Mishra's taped confessions and the CBI became nervous. Later, after Dr Jagannath Mishra's statement, the idea of the award was dropped. Was this because the CBI realised that the award for the CID would lend credibility to the CID's theory?

The Mathew Commission report says that L. N. Mishra told Dr Jagannath Mishra soon after the grenade attack that it was a conspiracy hatched at a high level. What was this 'level'? A senior Minister like L. N. Mishra could not have meant the Ananda Marg. Dr Jagannath Mishra had issued a statement after the incident which said: "We shall find out the truth even if important people of the country are involved. We shall not flinch from sacrifice in order to find out the truth".

The CBI investigated the Ananda Marg theory during the Congress regime and chargesheeted the organisation. The case is still in the courts. When the Janata Party came into power in Bihar the CID said that the Ananda Marg theory was bogus and that they were not given the opportunity to investigate the Ram Bilas Jha angle as it was suspended at the initial stages.

THE person behind the revival of the L. N. Mishra murder case is Mrs Gandhi's insatiable opponent, Raj Narain. During a tour of North Bihar he came to know that the CID had certain documents which could indict Mrs Gandhi. He conveyed this immediately to Charan Singh, who spoke to officers of the Bihar CID and also heard the controversial tape which the CBI had taken great pains to suppress. Charan Singh's move was nearly aborted by the CBI. However, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Karpoori Thakur wrote to Morarji Desai and also met him. The Prime Minister asked Karpoori Thakur to launch a new investigation and this work was entrusted to S. B. Sahay. His secret report reached the PM through the Bihar Chief Minister. The report highlighted the shortcomings of the Ananda Marg theory and suggested that the Ram Bilas angle should be investigated further.

Sahay's report is based on the statements of Madan Mohan Srivastava, alias Visheshwaranand (a CBI approver), Jaldhar Das, alias Vikram, and Girijananda Prasad, stenographer to the Collector, Samastipur. It had been proved that Madan Mohan Srivastava was not the real "Visheshwaranand". Hence, what was the value of his testament? Vikram said that he was tortured prior to his confession. Prasad too declared in the court that his previous statements were not true. It had also come to light that Srivastava was reinstated ten years after he had lost his job. He was given an official intimation to come back to work one day after he gave his statement in the court.

There was an attempt to bail out Srivastava when he was in police remand. The CBI agreed with the idea of bail inspite of Srivastava's confession that he had conspired with the Ananda Margis to kill L. N. Mishra. How did the CBI agree to the idea of granting him bail? In fact, Srivastava was bailed out from the police station itself. According to reliable sources, Srivastava made his statement because he was promised immediate bail. There is a rule that an approver stays in police custody as long as the trial lasts. It is ironical that a person who was accused of criminal conspiracy by the State was reinstated in a Government job as soon as he made his statement. It is imperative that the case is investigated once again. ■

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

The confession

This is the tape record of the conversation between Arun Mishra and jailer Rahman, which was allegedly ignored by the CBI. In this confession Mishra hints that Ram Bilas Jha is "Boss" Jha. We would like to stress that the various allegations made by Mishra against various people are not necessarily true: we only publish the tape verbatim. This is being published for the first time.

JAILER: A man should be truthful, and should not implicate innocent persons. But.....

Arun Kumar Mishra: Even if I am hanged, I shall speak the truth. After hearing you I have gained confidence in God.

Jailer: If you have thrown a bomb at someone's instigation, you are not guilty. He is and his crime will not be forgiven by God.

Arun: Sir, I have yet to see another honest officer like you. I believe in you but I cannot ever trust the police. If I tell the truth to the police then they will either implicate me in the crime or get me murdered.

Jailer: Mishra, have trust in me. The officers of the CBI, the Inspector General of Police and the DIG-CID, Mr Sahay, are all good, honest men.

Arun: However, I shall not talk with the Superintendent of Police, Samastipur. He betrayed me, got me beaten and created trouble for me.

Jailer: The SP is a good man. Forget what happened in the past. He is the man who is now going to set things right (for you).

Arun: The truth is that I threw the bomb. Sheonarain was standing beside me. Thakur did not have the courage (to throw the bomb) and dropped it on the railway track.

Jailer: From where did you bring the bomb?

Arun: On Sunday, Shiv Sharma was waiting in the house of Tantia...

Jailer: Why didn't you make him wait at your house?

Arun: I was scared of my father. And. Ram Bilas Jha was waiting in Tantia's house from the start. That is why arrangements were made for Shiv Sharma to stay there.

Jailer: Who is Ram Bilas Jha?

Arun: He is the MLC of the Mohiuddin Nagar Thana. He was close to L. N. Mishra. Later, they quarrelled. That is why he made a plan to murder him.

Jailer: Is there anyone else involved other than Jhaji?

Arun: Yes, A very good friend of Jhaji, Raghunath Pande. He owns a number of buses and is involved in smuggling on the Indo-Nepal border. At first he was an ordinary bus-cleaner. Now he is a millionaire.

Jailer: Have you ever visited Pandeji's house?

Arun: Yes, I have been there. Many times. I remember, I went there on 15th December.

Jailer: Was there any conversation between Pandeji and Jhaji about (Lalit) Babu's murder?

Arun: Yes. It was for this that Jhaji took me along with him and told Pandeji that Mishra was a brave lad and would be able to do the work. He signalled towards me and said that Pandeji was an influential man and he had Ministers and officers at his beck and call. If you get caught he will see that you are released. It was Sunday (28th or 29th December). Tantia's house, Jhaji gave Rs 10,000 in front of Tantia to Shiv Sharma. He (Jhaji) told him that he would also get Rs 10,000 later.

Jailer: How much money did you people get?

Arun: Thakur and I received Rs 400 each.

Jailer: How long have Ram Bilas Jha and Shiv Shanker known each other?

Arun: He (Shiv Shanker) met Jhaji at his Mohiuddin Nagar house on 22nd November and came to my house on 25th November.

Jailer: Tell me something. You said if Lalit Babu was not assassinated in Samastipur he would have to be finished at Narayanpur.

Arun: Yes. A black car belonging to Pandeji was waiting at the railway station to take us to Narayanpur in case the need arose. There was a young man in the car who is very close to him. Pandeji's manager, Satyanarain Singh, was also in the car.

Jailer: Have you ever dined in a hotel with Jhaji?

Arun: Yes. I took snacks on 28th or 29th December with Shivnarain Sharma in Basudev Mistanna Bhandar. Other than this, on 25th November at around 12 at night when Jhaji came from Patna we took some snacks in Krishna Restaurant.

Jailer: Have you ever gone to Delhi or Patna with Jhaji?

Arun: Delhi, never. I have been to Patna many times. I used to stay in a hotel near the railway station. Jhaji used to bear the expenses.

Jailer: What does Sheonarain do?

Arun: He does business in illegal arms and bombs.

Jailer: Did you receive your money?

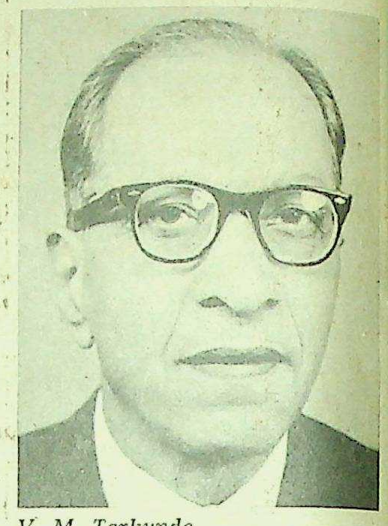
Arun: Sheonarain told me that I would get it when I was released from jail.

Jailer: How did you get in?

Arun: After Jhaji got down from the car he gave us three passes

Tarkunde's report

THE *Indian Express* stories are based on the findings of the Tarkunde Commission, and it was through these stories that the people came to know that the Tarkunde Report had been submitted to the Bihar Government in February 1979. The Report has achieved two things: Destroy the Ananda Marg angle of the story planted by the CBI and criticised the handling of the investigation of Jha from the evidence. The Mathew Commission which had supported the contention of the CBI has also come under attack. It has been said that when the names of Jha and Kapoor came to be mentioned, the CBI chief Mr D. Sen, acting under the instructions of the then Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, implicated the Ananda Marg. Instead of concentrating on the murder, the Mathew Commission shed tears over the climate of violence created by the JP movement. Arun Mishra was stopped from confessing by the CBI. Yashpal Kapoor was found moving around suspiciously in Samastipur when the murder took place. The report has further stated that a false Visheswaranand (Madan Mohan Prasad Srivastava) was found. In fact, the real Visheswaranand Hanslal, a resident of Tenduri village in Bhojpur district, is absconding. The report has noted



V. M. Tarkunde

the mysterious circumstances in which Madan Mohan Srivastava was reinstated in his job. The tale of torture suffered by another Ananda Margi, Vikram, has also been noted. When Mrs L. N. Mishra told Mr D. Sen that she suspected Mastana Baba who was close to Yashpal Kapoor and R. K. Dhawan, she was told to keep quiet otherwise Kapoor or some other bigwigs would be implicated.

A. R.

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Who is Guilty?

EVERY murder has a motive behind it. The theorists who would like to point their finger at the then Government headed by Mrs Gandhi must, therefore, back up their arguments with a reasonable motive. After all, why should Mrs Gandhi want a close associate of hers like L. N. Mishra eliminated? The "motive-theory" implicating Mrs Gandhi would like us to believe that L. N. Mishra had not merely fallen out with Mrs Gandhi but was on the point of exposing her dramatically.

Yashpal Kapoor, who had recently become private secretary to Mrs Gandhi, had been quite involved in the Rae Bareli election of 1971 — a fact borne out by the Allahabad High Court judgement which appeared later that year. It is believed that L. N. Mishra had contributed heavily to the campaign to elect Mrs Gandhi, but shrewd politician that he was, he had taken the wise decision to take receipts from Yasnpal Kapoor and many junior organisers of the Rae Bareli campaign. When the Tulmohan Ram scandal rocked Parliament, and the move to remove L. N. Mishra from the Cabinet gathered strength, Mrs Gandhi decided to remove him from Delhi and make him the Chief Minister of Bihar. But Mishra was not happy about this, and expressed his displeasure at being shunted off, to his wife and those close to him.

In the meantime, Mishra made another move. In an effort to ingratiate himself with Sanjay Gandhi he invested black money into Maruti. Sanjay fell into the trap by accepting the money. First Mishra bought some shares in the names of his relatives, then he picked up the Samastipur voters' list, picked out some names and addresses at random, and bought shares in those names.

It is believed that when Mrs Gandhi started pressurising L. N. Mishra to become the Bihar CM, he committed a grave political error. He told some intermediaries that in case Mrs Gandhi removed him, he would make public a receipt for Rs one lakh which he had contributed to her election campaign, and also expose Sanjay's bogus Maruti shares. Not only this, L. N. Mishra had also impulsively said that the receipt would be sent to Raj Narain. Along with Mrs Gandhi, even Raj Narain got to know of this, and started hovering around his house. In order to avoid him, L. N. Mishra started staying away from home. He realised that in case Mrs Gandhi got to know of what he had said, she would take severe action against him. In the end he gave an excuse to Raj Narain and got rid of him.

Yashpal Kapoor

It is also believed that some RAW officials were sent to Bihar to find out the truth about the bogus Maruti shares. They found that poor people living in small huts had bought costly shares!

Not only this, at the height of the JP movement, L. N. Mishra made attempts to contact Jayaprakash Narayan through his friend, Mr Gangasharan. To some it appeared that L. N. Mishra was doing all this as a penance for his sins. But actually, L. N. Mishra was probably about to do what Jagjivan Ram and others did later on.

Just before the assassination of Lalit Narain Mishra, Yashpal Kapoor was seen in Samastipur. Ostensibly, he had gone there to do some organisational work for the District Congress Committees. But according to the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr Abdul Gafoor, Yashpal Kapoor did not organise even one District Committee. Then what was Yashpal Kapoor doing there?

Mrs Gandhi, during the investigation, made inquiries about Rahman, the jailor, from Abdul Gafoor. It was the same Rahman who had got a confession on tape from Arun Mishra, in which there was a mention of Ram Bilas Jha and Yashpal Kapoor. It is believed that Mr Gafoor was removed from the Chief Ministership primarily because of this, as is evident from what follows. Reports reached Mrs Gandhi that Mr Gafoor wanted to implicate her in the L. N. Mishra murder case through the efforts of one Muslim officer, who was Mr Gafoor's man and whom he had promoted. Gafoor was at once called to Delhi and there he was removed from the Chief Ministership. L. N. Mishra's brother, Dr Jagannath Mishar, was then made the Chief Minister of Bihar. This little portion of Bihar poiltics is replete with mystery. If this mystery is solved, a lot of clues to the L. N. Mishra murder case may appear. ■

One versus one

PERHAPS the most fascinating aspect about this political murder is that it has virtually become a battleground for two beliefs, two organisations and two personalities.

First, there are two investigating agencies — the CBI and the CID. Where the CID began working at Ram Bilas Jha, Yashpal Kapoor and Indira Gandhi, the CBI has, without hesitation, put the Ananda Marg in the dock. The struggle between the CID and the CBI has now come out into the open. There are two types of people who were suspected, arrested and then released — disgruntled railway employees like Dukhit Ram, and CPI(M) Party members like Umakant Jha. While the Bihar Government took the help of an outstanding judge, Mr Tarkunde (who blew apart the findings of the Mathew Commissiou) to unravel the mystery of the case, the Central Home Ministry is still intent on taking the legal counsel of a lawyer like Mr Karl Khandelwal. The manner in which this case is taking shape, it is now quite clear that two political Parties — the Congress and the Janata — are now on a collision course. Not only this, there had also been differences of opinion regarding the case between the present Union Home Ministry and the last Bihar Ministry led by Mr Karpoori Thakur. And, of course, two serious cases are apparently interlinked: the Mishra murder and the bomb attack on Justice A. N. Ray.

L. N. Mishra's own family has been divided in two. His wife, Mrs Kameshwari Mishra, his son Vijay Mishra, and his other brothers have been laying the blame squarely on the Government led by Mrs Gandhi as a result of the recent findings. His younger brother, ex-Chief Minister, Dr Jagannath Mishra has refused to accept the findings of the Tarkunde Commission and has accused the powers of trying to falsely implicate Mrs Gandhi. Two women are also involved in this case, indirectly — Mr L. N. Mishra's widow, Kameshwari Mishra, and Patricia, the American wife of an accused Ananda Margi, Ranjan Dwivedi.

Lastly, two "political" *sadhus* are also seemingly involved in this case: Mastana Baba, who had persuaded L. N. Mishra to go to Samastipur, and the mysterious *tantric* scholar, Pandit Dinesh Mishra, who recently met Mrs Gandhi in Patna airport. Mastana Baba had forced Mr L. N. Mishra to go to Samastipur while Pandit Dinesh Mishra had forecast Mr Mishra's death many times. Will this struggle between so many dual forces help in solving the murder case and tracing the "two real assassins"?

A. R.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

The case against the Ananda Marg

L. N. MISHRA was fatally injured in a handgrenade blast on January 2, 1975, when he had gone to Samastipur to inaugurate a new railway line. On the same day around eight in the evening a similar blast shook the house of Mr Mahadev Sahu, Assistant Accountant of the North Eastern Railway. The CID started investigations from January 3. The CBI also reached Samastipur to help in the investigations on January 4, and on January 10 assumed responsibility for the inquiries.

Meanwhile the CID had arrested Mr Mahadev Sahu. The CID had a few questions: How did the grenade reach Sahu's house? How did it explode on the same day? Did the assassins rest in Sahu's house before or after the incident? The CBI also questioned members of the Sahu household. It was learnt that children of the Sahu family had picked up a grenade and brought it into the house for safe-keeping thinking it to be some strange object. This was found plausible by the CBI—after all which parents, involved in such a mammoth conspiracy, would have such a dangerous object within easy reach of children? It is apparent that the assassin might have quietly left the grenade on the road after the attack. Mahadev Sahu, who seemed innocent, was released. The difference of opinion between the CBI and the CID started from this point.

Among the injured, on the spot of the attack on L. N. Mishra, was a lower division clerk, Kishore. His presence among the bigwigs raised questions in the minds of the CID. Thus, Kishore was under suspicion. Later, the CBI too suspected him. It was learnt that before his death, Kishore had approached Mr Mishra to give his younger brother a job. The normal reaction would be: Why should a murderer ask a favour of his intended victim? Kishore could not estimate Mr Mishra's power in the Government setup. When the CBI failed to uncover anything, they released Kishore. This caused the second conflict between the two agencies—the CID and the CBI.

In Samastipur Hospital there was total chaos at that time. One Arun Kumar's name was on the "injured list" but was not registered in the hospital. This caused the CBI to believe that there must have been someone of the name of Arun Kumar who had been injured on the dais and brought to the hospital. He had later vanished without a trace. This put further questions in their minds: Why had he run away? Was he the culprit?

The CBI also involved themselves in this matter. The local police helped in rounding up a number of persons who could have resembled Arun Kumar. Later, the CBI were convinced that no Arun Kumar had been injured. True, there had been an injury which involved a certain Arun Kumar. This Arun Kumar had visited his injured uncle, Nawalkishore Prasad Singh, on the first day in the hospital. Arun Kumar's name had somehow been entered in the "injured list" while his uncle's name was not on it. Further, this Arun Kumar, an employee of the State Bank, seemed to be wholly unaware of this incident. The CID, therefore, was once again humbled in front of the CBI.

While the CBI cast its eyes elsewhere for clues, the CID directed its suspicion now towards those railway employees who had been dismissed during the railway strike. The CBI, too, joined them. Some leaders of

Krishna Murari Kishan

Ranjan Dwivedi

the railwaymen's organisations were questioned. Dukhit Ram and two others were arrested. All this, however, yielded nothing. At this juncture, high officials of the CID wanted their department to have a free hand in their investigations since they wanted to pursue those clues which they had gathered from their questioning of the suspected persons. The top brass of the CBI agreed to this fine dividing line of operations. The question of mutual competition was also there. This was further aggravated by the promised reward of Rs 50,000 (an idea later dropped).

The CID put everything into the investigation. They recorded the statement of Shankar, a vendor, among many others, and he revealed a lot. Arun Thakur and Arun Mishra were apprehended. Arun Mishra had been involved in three dacoities and a fight case on a railway station.

A strong line of interrogation was undertaken by the CID and it yielded "results". Arun Mishra confessed to the police and Arun Thakur to the magistrate. Arun Thakur said that he had committed the crime for money and had done so on the instigation of Arun Mishra. He could not say anything about the cause of the murder or from where he had procured the handgrenade. Arun Mishra cleared these questions: The plan to assassinate Mr K. N. Mishra was formulated in a jail, according to him. They were to be led by the CPI(M) leader from Jhajha, Mr Umakant Jha. The others involved were Joginder Raut and a friend of Umakant Jha, Sheo Narain Lal Sharma, who was a clerk in an arms shop. According to Arun Mishra: "We arrived in Samastipur on January 2, 1975 and stayed in a hotel. The handgrenade had been brought by Sheo Narain Lal Sharma, a few days earlier. It was Sheo Narain who threw the grenade."

Till March 1975, that is two months after the murder, the names of Jha and Pande had not appeared anywhere. It was only when Arun Thakur and Arun Mishra later spoke of a certain "Boss" Jha that the CID started suspecting Ram Bilas Jha. In jail, meanwhile, efforts were made to force Arun Mishra to confess that he had thrown the grenade on the orders of Ram Bilas Jha and Raghunath Pande and that he was to receive Rs 20,000 on completion of the job. Arun Thakur had earler stated in his confession that Sheo Narain Lal Sharma had thrown the grenade. In his "forced" statement to the CBI, Arun Mishra did not implicate Jha or Pande. Instead, he said neither he nor Jha were involved in the crime. These contradictory statements led to differences between the CBI and the CID.

The CBI after some time felt it was impossible to work in co-operation with the CID since the CID were treading on their toes. They decided to take full responsibility of the investigation and the CID had to return empty-handed from Samastipur.

The CBI soon began looking at the Ananda Marg. The Ananda Marg Chief, Anandmurtiji (Baba), had been arrested on December 29, 1971 on the charges of having instigated the murders of those Anandamargis who had been disillusioned and had deserted the Marg. His devoted followers appealed for his release to the Supreme Court. They took out processions and demonstrated. Three Margis had even immolated themselves in Patna and Delhi so that public opinion would force the Baba's release. But when all this was unsuccessful, Anandmurtiji released a message to his followers through Gopalji, an Anandmargi from Choutham (Monghyr). The last portion of the message was as follows: "...Most people have flown away. Those who are still alive have to complete the job. I will not be able to come out of jail through legal means. To root out the enemies you have to fight. I shall not accept this detention in jail. The law cannot stop me and I refuse to take any sort of legal help..."

According to the charge-sheet (Number 9) dated November 10, 1975 submitted by the CBI, there was a secret move afoot to release Baba through violent means. Those men-

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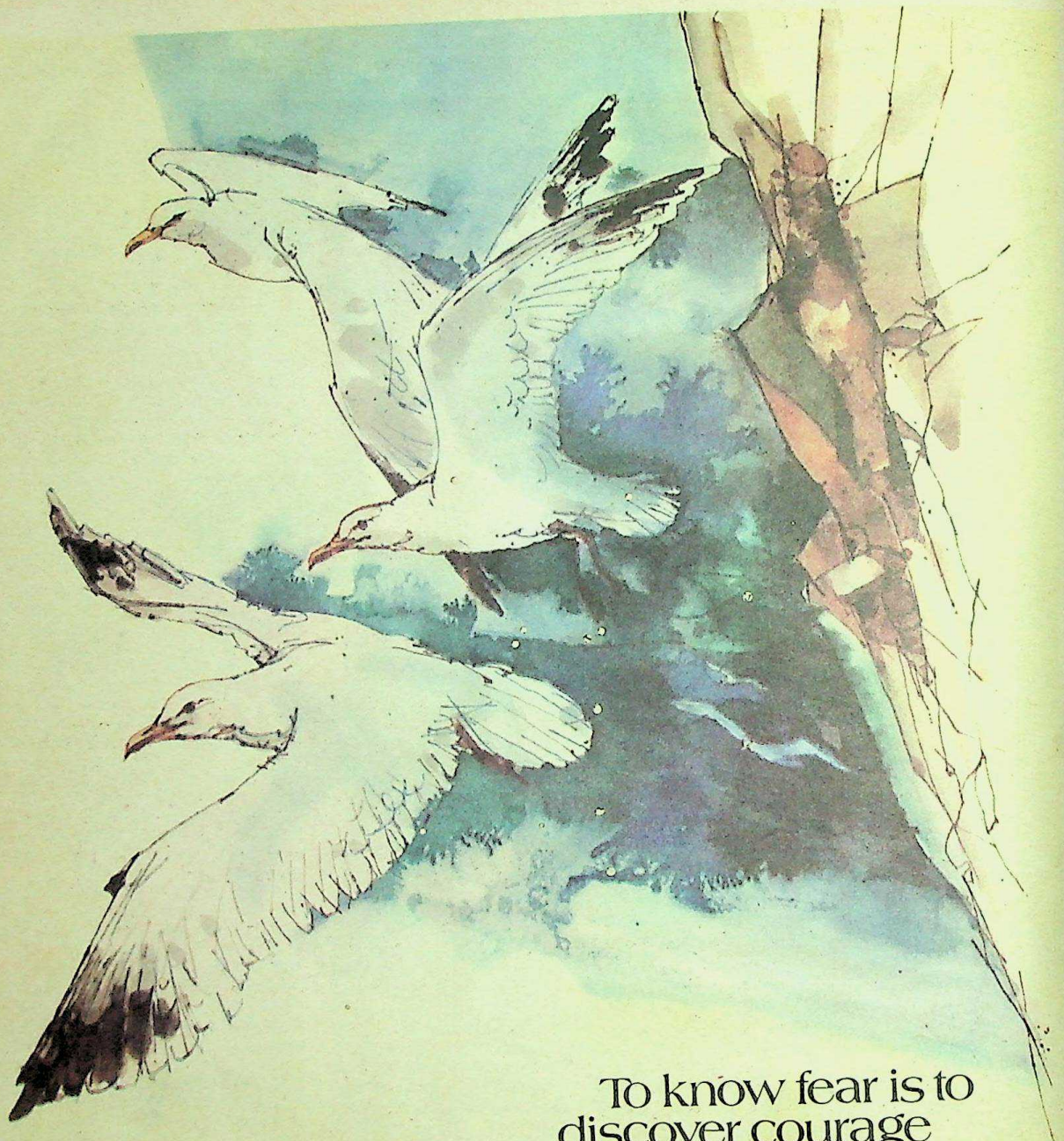

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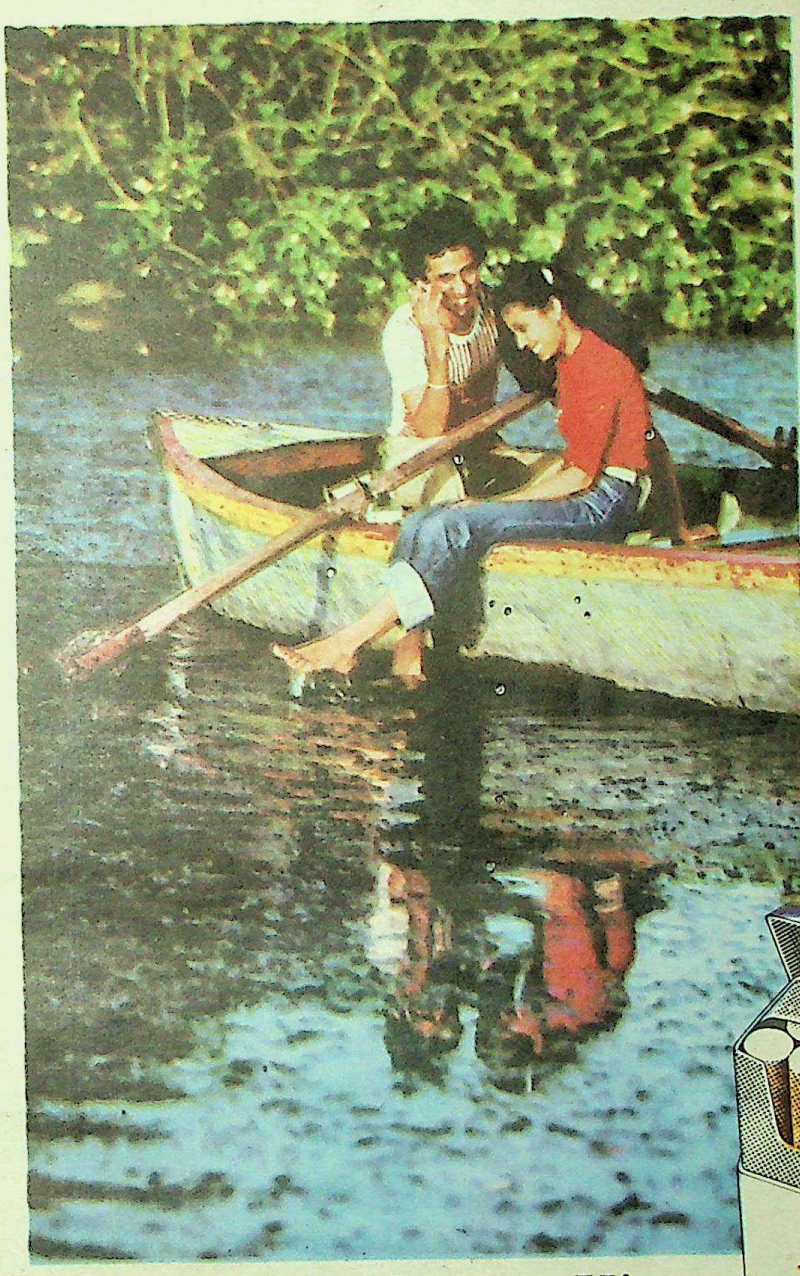

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tioned as part of the plot were: Santoshanand, Sudevanand, Arteshanand, Acharya Ramkumar Singh. Accused Ramashray Prasad was the coordinator who gathered funds, arms and weapons. On further investigation it was learnt that in the latter part of 1973 in Trimohan village (Bhagalpur) a secret plot to kill Avadhoot Madhavanand was hatched. Madhavanand had turned approver in the murder cases in which Anandmurtiji had been implicated. Hence this punishment. There Madhavanand was declared as enemy number one and the then Railway Minister was proclaimed as enemy number two. Mr L. N. Mishra's "puppet" Chief Minister of Bihar, Abdul Gafoor was declared enemy number three. In the meeting, the accused Santoshanand delegated the responsibilities to the others. Accused Binayanand was to take care of finishing Madhavanand while Visveshwaranand was ordered to murder Abdul Gafoor. The accused Arteshanand and Sudeshanand were ordered to put those Government officials handling the Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar (Anandmurtiji) case in their place. To put these plans into action, Visveshwaranand, Binayanand and Santoshanand gathered arms and weapons and kept them with Gopalji in Chautham.

According to plan, sometime between December 1973 and January 1974 Visveshwaranand allegedly attempted to murder the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Abdul Gafoor near the Republic Hotel and the Palace Hotel in Patna. He was not successful. Again, on January 7, 1974, Binayanand along with a few colleagues threw a grenade on approver Madhavanand in the Patna Collectorate in broad daylight. After throwing the grenade, Binayanand jumped into the Ganges. Fortunately, the grenade did not burst and Binayanand was caught by a few youths swimming in the river.

The CBI report stated that Santoshanand and Sudevanand under assumed names (Vinode and Ramchander), to destroy their enemy number two, Mr L. N. Mishra, had acquired grenades from one Ram Nagina Prasad of Ichapur in the 24-Parganas of West Bengal. In July 1974, Bikram under an assumed name, Sudhir, brought three handgrenades from Delhi and deposited them with Suryaprakash (alias Budhishwaranand) in Bhagalpur. When Budhishwaranand was arrested on July 13, 1974, three grenades and a revolver were found in his bag. At that time Bikram had somehow managed to escape.

The sole purpose of murdering these people was, apparently, merely to create anarchy in India. Mr L. N. Mishra was chosen since he was not only a leading member of the Central Board of Ministers but also carried considerable weight with the Bihar Government. His murder would serve not only as a warning to the Central and State Governments but also help in pressurising the Government to release Anandmurtiji.

The lethal egg

HANDGRENADES usually contain acid or are made of pieces of glass and explosives put together. The handgrenades used in the army are shaped like eggs and are as big as mangoes. As a result, they can be kept in the pocket without any difficulty or any problem. The handgrenades which are made both in India and Pakistan look identical and are manufactured by the same process. A handgrenade weighs 750 grams. The metal casing looks like the motor of a pump or of a fan or generally has the appearance of an electrical instrument. There are square grooves on the outer casing and it explodes into thousands of fragments. There is a chamber inside the grenade and the space between the chamber and casing is stuffed with TNT. There is a hole on the casing into which a base plug is fitted. Along the plug there are grooves and as a result, it can be opened or plugged on with ease. Connecting the chamber to the hole at the top is a detonator. A long nail, called the striker, is shoved in from the top and this has the action of a spring. The top of the striker sticks out from the casing to which a lever is attached. The lever is jammed onto the casing and to keep it this way a safety pin is clamped on from top. If the safety pin is removed, the lever is freed and hits the striker which is pressed down. The striker in turn hits the head of the detonator and as soon as this happens the detonator starts functioning and becomes red hot. The other end of the detonator which is connected to the chamber ignites the TNT and the grenade bursts into fragments. The time lapse between the freeing of the lever and the bursting of the grenade is roughly 4 to 5 seconds. Even if the safety pin is removed and the lever is kept pressed to the casing, the grenade will not burst because unless the lever is freed, the chain reaction which ends with the grenade bursting, will not take place.

A. R.

The CBI chargesheet says Ranjan Dwivedi was an Ananda Marg activist. He had reached Samastipur on January 1, 1975 along with Santoshanand and Sudevanand who had brought three grenades with them. Bikram had reached Samastipur earlier. The entry passes for the inauguration had been procured by Ranjan Dwivedi. This enabled Dwivedi, Santoshanand, Sudevanand and Bikram to roam about freely on platform number 3—the main gathering place. The avadhoots were in ordinary clothes. Before Mr L. N. Mishra arrived each of them had a grenade in their hands. They slowly made their way to the dais and as soon as Mr Mishra finished his speech one of them threw a grenade at him. While fleeing from the scene of crime one of them dropped a grenade near the metre-guage railway track. Assistant Accountant, Mahadev Sahu's 12-year-old son picked up the grenade thinking it to be something strange. Later, the grenade burst in Sahu's house.

On January 3, 1975 a leaflet issued by the Sashastra Krantikari Chhatra Samiti was found in the UNI office in Patna. It described the Lalit Mishra murder as the first step towards an armed revolution and warned the Government that its suppressive measures would never see fruition. According to the CBI, this message was written by Santoshanand.

Investigation carried out by the CBI brought out many important and incriminating documents from Gopalji of Choutham. Basing their investigation on these documents, the CBI brought out charges against 12 persons (Santoshanand Avadhoot, Sudevanand, Bikram, Ranjan Dwivedi, Ramnagina Prasad, Arteshanand Avadhoot, Binayanand Avadhoot, Ramroop, Gopalji, Visveshwaranand Avadhoot, Ramkumar Singh and Ramashray Prasad) under sections 120 B, 302, 307, 324, 326 and sections 4 and 5 of the Arms Act. Bikram and Visveshwaranand turned approvers and they were pardoned by the Chief Judicial Magistrate of Patna. Four others—Rudranand Avadhoot, Shankaranand Avadhoot, Mahendra Pratap Singh and Lakhan—have not been sent to trial for want of evidence.

The present position of the case is that the chargesheet of the CBI was accepted. The Indian Government instituted the Mathew Commission to go into the Lalit Narayan Mishra murder case in February 1975. They were asked to go into the 'basis and circumstances' of the explosion, the medical facilities available and the security arrangements undertaken. A number of witnesses appeared before the Mathew Commission. When Bikram and others who had turned approvers, appeared before the Commission, Santoshanand and Ranjan Dwivedi objected strongly saying that the case was *sub judice* and coming to a conclusion as to who had committed the crime would be wrong. Otherwise, the case would be influenced and thus there would be no justification for continuing the case. As a result, the Mathew Commission did not pursue the examination of these witnesses. Nothing concrete came out of the findings of the Commission which had its last sitting in May 1977. ■

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R.B. (alias Boss) Jha Talks

'I am innocent... The tape is fabricated' Ram Bilas Jha, suspected to be 'Boss Jha', accused by some of plotting L.N. Mishra's murder, defends himself in an exclusive interview to ARUN RANJAN. He attacks the Tarkunde Report and raises some questions of his own.

RAM BILAS JHA comes from Mahanagar in Bihar's Vaishali district, where his family has been in politics since 1924. Jha began as a student leader of the Socialist Party. Later, he worked for the district police, State intelligence wing and Central intelligence department before becoming a fulltime worker of the Communist Party of India. He also did a brief stint as a journalist. Currently, he publishes a journal, *Himalay Sandesh*, from Patna. He met L. N. Mishra through Chandramohan Mishra at the Bhubaneswar Congress session. Until L. N. Mishra's death, Jha was considered as the "personal political agent" of the then Railway Minister. Although claiming to be a Marxist, Jha continued to work for the Congress, and became a Congress MLC from 1972 to 1978. Arun Kumar Mishra pointed a finger towards him as one of the conspirators in his confessional tape, suggesting that he was "Boss Jha". Now that the CBI story has come under attack, Jha may again be in the dock. ARUN RANJAN spoke to him in Patna on June 4.

Q: How were you associated with L. N. Mishra?

A: I was purely a personal adviser. I would comment on some issues, analyse, make personal contacts on his behalf and send out and receive confidential information on his behalf. L. N. trusted me until his last moment. I challenge his friends, relatives and the intelligence departments to prove this wrong. My work was mainly confidential, that's why I cannot really describe it. Out of sheer jealousy some powers have taken this opportunity to implicate me. There was no one to defend me. Three forces could have helped me: the Congress, the CPI and the CPI(M). The Congress made no attempt to shield me because of my relation with L. N. Mishra. In 1974-'75, L. N. and Mrs Gandhi were on good terms and they were friendly with the big guns of the CPI: who, later, had time for me? The CPI(M) thought that I was an opportunist. Though CPI(M) leaders were implicated, those were the days when Indira was India. Therefore no one came out to defend me. At that time only three or four people really knew who I was, where I was. Among them were Mr B. N. Dixit, L. N.'s Special Assistant, Mr O. P. Gupta, his Private Secretary and Mr V. P. Gupta, his Additional Private Secretary. Only these people could say what my relationship with L. N. was like, what was his politics, where he was involved, who were his friends and enemies. Beside them, S. K. Birla, General Manekshaw, Harsu Pandit, Sunil Dutt and Nargis knew the colourful side of L. N. Mishra's personality. Perhaps by talking to them one can get to know about his real politics. I would not like to comment on L. N. Mishra's private life, about his family etc: that would be behaving like Mathai. There is another person in

Krishna Murari Kishan

Ram Bilas Jha

Patna who would discharge duties of the kind I undertook, during my absence. Dr Jagannath Mishra should find out why the relatives of his elder brother (L. N.) are angry with me. I will tell you something: I was the person who made Jagannath Mishra a legislator and then the Chief Minister of Bihar. Sometimes I would give him money for public service. This was also one of the reasons why L. N. Mishra's wife, Kameshwari Devi, did not like me. When I saw the breakdown of L. N. Mishra's family after his death, I broke off all connections with Jagannathji. It was painful, but what could I do?

Q: If what you say is true, how did you become the scapegoat?

A: I know how the police functions, and I know how political workers can be implicated in false cases. I am certain that the murder was not well-planned. L. N. would have survived even if he had moved slightly. Many people who were near him were not injured at all.

I would like to say in Tulsidas' verse, that at the hour of danger, a *guru vaidh* or a politician's junior can prove dangerous. The doctor who looked after the Mishra brothers could not take the right decisions because of his servile attitude. The Mathew Commission has expressed dismay for this failure. It should also be noted that if the murder was planned then would it have been possible to revive L. N. by simply administering first aid? Calling this haphazard attempt a "high-level" conspiracy is a conspiracy in itself.

Thirdly, after the incident, I told L. N. Mishra to go to Muzaffarpur. If he had set off for Muzaffarpur, he would have reached it in an hour. I had thought that by the time L. N. Mishra reached the city. Dr Nawab of S. K. Medical College, Darbhanga, could have reached Muzaffarpur: I wanted to contact Dr Nawab on the police telephone. I had said this in the presence of Jagannath Mishra and his cousin Chandramohan Mishra. Have Mr Tarkunde and his journalist-friends tried to find out why L. N. did not go to Muzaffarpur? Why was my proposal turned down? Who was behind this decision? People who had been injured far more seriously than L. N. were saved, and he would have been saved if he had gone to Muzaffarpur. Is this the sort of thing that happens in a well-planned murder? The expert medical committee of the Mathew Commission has noted that L. N. reached Danapur very late and could have been saved if he had received prompt medical attention. Then, why was there a delay in administering medical aid? If the murder was well planned and involved powerful, important people, would there have been such childishness? Six months before the incident at Samastipur, there was a lethal attack on L. N. at Danapur in which a few MP's were also injured. There was another attempt on his life at Pratapgarh, and a third one at Jhanjharpur. Will the Government publish the intelligence reports on those incidents? Will there be an inquiry? Who was involved in these attacks and why? Is the fourth incident related to the previous three?

Q: Your association with Yashpal Kapoor has been talked about. Would you like to clarify anything?

A: The "accusers" say that they heard about my relationship with Kapoor Saheb from "independent sources". But who are these sources? Two kinds of people can constitute such sources. Firstly, those who were politically opposed to L. N. Mishra; for instance, Abdul Gafoor, Kedar Pandey, Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav etc. They should come out openly and say what my relationship with Yashpal Kapoor was. Kapoor Saheb would generally put up with Bhim Narayan Singh and he can say something about my visits and our telephone conversations. During Gafoor's rule, Yashpal Kapoor had come here, as there was some problem about District

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Committees. Lalit Babu told me that this was part of an internal Party tussle between the Mishra brothers and Mr Barooah and company.

Apart from L. N. Mishra's political foes, his friends like Vidhakar Kavi, Shambhu Sharan Thakur, Ramesh Jha and Azad Saheb should clarify what my relationship with Kapoor Saheb was. If I had crossed over to Yashpal Kapoor's camp, L. N. Mishra must have told his close friends to beware of me as I had gone over to the other camp!

Q: Arun Mishra has described you as the moving force behind the murder plot in his confession. In this context what do you have to say?

A: The best way to hide the truth is to talk about a tape. Arun Mishra's tape is based on a fabrication. Each of his statements are prompted by the jailer's question. If you take away the questions. Arun Mishra's assertions collapse immediately. Secondly, the same Arun Mishra had implicated the CPI(M) workers in his first confession. If his first statement can be wrong, so can the second. Is Arun Thakur's approval sufficient proof of Arun Mishra's testament? What is the credibility of these two witnesses when they are in a closed room?

Third, has any objective, unbiased journalist, tried to find out what happened between January 2 when the incident occured and March 26, when Arun Mishra's story was taped? Why is everyone silent about this period? When was the State Government so anxious to cooperate with the CBI in those days? Doesn't Mishra's confession appear to have been forced in order to divert the common man's anger about the failure of the Government's machinery? The DIG who was involved in the case, enmeshed the then Chief Minister in his schemes. Everyone was anxious to save his own image at that time: hence the blunder. I will prove this. The State Government would have surely killed Mishra's first confession, but extra cunning mice tend to fall into their own traps. In an attempt to get the award, Mishra was set free. On March 16, 1975, the DIG, S. B. Sahay, received the President's medal and S. J. Bahadur, SP (Crime) was promoted as DIG and posted to Delhi. D. P. Ojha, SP, Samastipur a Police medal, and a cash award of Rs. 25,000, for K. P. Singh, DSP, Samastipur, Rs. 25,000, and Rs. 25,000 for other CID officers: in spite of the objection raised by the Home department there was a proposal for all this. Even now the relevant file carries this note: "It is very strange that the case is being investigated by the CBI and they have not completed the investigation. Mathew Commission is also inquiring into the matter. It is at a premature stage. Only accused had made confessions hence it is opposed."

But the Home Secretary and the other officers, came under pressure from high circles. Who were these "high circles"? Is it not necessary to find this out? Lastly, who were the people accused in Arun Mishra's first confession? If this is investigated, a lot of truth will come out. But the first confession has been totally forgotten.

Q: How was the reward withdrawn? How will we know the truth behind the CID's investigation?

A: The CID inquiry was in its primary stage. The entire theory was then considered wrong because the men who were accused of planning the murder in a jail cell had never been together in the same jail and hence they could not have hatched the conspiracy. This is the reason why the reward was withdrawn by the Cabinet on March 16, 1975. Just think: if powerful people like Yashpal Kapoor and Indira Gandhi were my protectors, would it have been possible to frame a new theory to implicate me? For such powerful people, would it be difficult to stop S. B. Sahay, Arun Mishra and jailer Rahman? In fact, this new theory was invented by the anti-Congress group and the officers who were loyal to them. Tarkunde has approved this theory.

The brain behind this was S. B. Sahay. I have a demand. Bihar is a caste ridden State. Therefore four honest DIGs from four different castes, A. P. Mishra (Brahmin), Sudhish (Bhumihar), Govind Narain (Kayastha) and Ram Narain Singh (Rajput) should find out how S. B. Sahay became DIG-CID. The conditions prevailing in the State in those days should form the background of this inquiry. Was the incident influenced by Phulena Rai's case, JP's agitation and the infighting in the Congress ranks? What were the activities of Sahay's caucus during Karpoori's regime must also be investigated.

Q: According to you, Arun Mishra's confession was made under duress. What about Arun Thakur? Why don't you have any faith in the CID?

A: Did Arun Thakur confess anything? He was merely asked to approve a part of Mishra's story. Fabricated theories have this feature: one person confesses while the second provide the preface and the background to make the story sound authentic and well-knit. Do you know how Thakur made his confession? He was having an affair with one of his female relatives. He was blackmailed on this score. You talk of faith in the CID. Tell me, what was the role of the CID in the attempt on Jyoti Basu's life? The CID had at that time extracted a forced confession from Hari Narain Yadav, who was innocent. Later, he had to be set free. Then the CID arrested Srikant Tripathi. Listen to one more thing: don't get startled. Some of the foolish officers handling the L. N. Mishra murder case were in the team which investigated the attempt on Jyoti Basu's life.

Q: Your name has been connected in the Mishra case along with those of Mrs Indira Gandhi and Yashpal Kapoor. How much harm has it caused you?

A: Harm? *Arre sahab*, if their names had not emerged as my protectors, my life would be in danger. I am deeply grateful to those reporters and newspapers who have linked me to them!

Q: Would you like to say anything more?

A: Yes, some unknown facts. When Arun Mishra's brother met him in jail, he (Arun) told him that the confession had been extracted from him under duress. His brother met Karpoori Thakur, his local leader (MLA). Karpoori Thakur spoke about this to JP who in turn took the complaint to the Home Minister, Brahmananda Reddy. The same Karpoori Thakur is playing a double game now. Thakur is involved in the Harihar Pande case. The controversial box which carried the letters demanding money was seized by S. B. Sahay, the present DIG of the Vigilance department. That is why Mr Thakur is toeing Sahay's line.

Ranjan Dwivedi, one of the accused in the L. N. Mishra murder case and in the attempt on the life of Chief Justice A. N. Ray, is a junior advocate in the Supreme Court. Mr Tarkunde had argued on behalf of Karpoori Thakur in the Harihar Pande case. And Ranjan Dwivedi was enrolled as a junior of Mr Tarkunde in the case. Tarkunde has been preaching morality and ethics to others. Is it ethical on his part to accept an accused as a junior advocate? There is something more. Mr Tarkunde should be aware of the norms to be followed before taking up a Government job, for which one needs to take oaths etc. He has not taken any oath. How could he then submit the findings? I will seek the clarification of the court on these issues.

Further, after the L. N. Mishra murder case, S. B. Sahay and his men have come into the Vigilance deparment. How is S. B. Sahay representing this case? Who will judge this — Mr Tarkunde or the Bihar Government? How has S. B. Sahay still got the documents? Although the new Chief Minister, Mr Ram Sundar Das wanted these documents the CID could not make them available at once. It is apparent that the S. B. Sahay group is motivated.

Now let's talk about the part played by the Congress MPs. They kept quiet for four years when my name was implicated in the case. As soon as Mrs Gandhi's name cropped up, they started shouting. Does this not prove that I am an independent? Almost every political Party has been using this story, this way or that. However, I am a happy man now. Indira Gandhi's supporters and affluent people like Raghunath Pande have started speaking out for me. This is the ethics of politics, isn't it? ■

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Nepal Awakes!

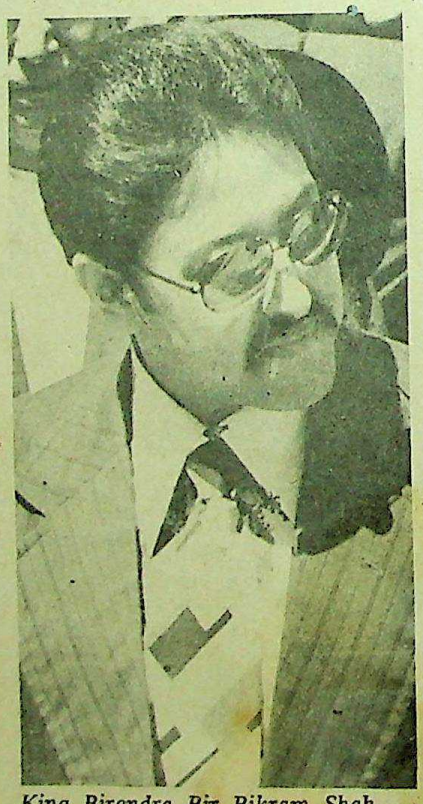
M.J. AKBAR reports from Kathmandu

AND now the countdown has begun in the landlocked kingdom of Nepal: the only one nation of the subcontinent to escape the upheavals that have visited the neighbours during the last decade. Nepal, not all that little, with 75 districts and about 130-lakhs population, is somewhat of an anachronism, having exchanged the overlordship of the King of England and the bondage of Ranas, with the authority of the King of Nepal after a curious revolution, and an abortive flirtation with democracy. Today the country is ruled by His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and a small crowd of bureaucrats and businessmen, but change has finally come into the air of cloistered Kathmandu. Better still, these winds of change have not blown from the north, but from the south. Nepal is once again searching for democracy.

The joke in Kathmandu these days is that the father of Nepali democracy is President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan. If he had not hanged Bhutto, the students would not have come out on the streets, the police would not have confronted the students and the whole chain of events leading to the King's call for a referendum on a multi-Party system to presumably replace the prematurely decayed panchayat system would not have been given. After 19 long years when political Parties were (and still are) banned, all avenues of protest (whether strikes or demonstrations or parliamentary opposition) were choked, it is a bit of a relief to Nepal that such jokes are circulating at all. And more than jokes are in the air. After years, the full-throated cry of "Beer Bireshwar Zindabad!", "Prajatantra Amar Ho!" and "Inquilab Zindabad!" sent shivers down a system which was already unstable. And all the King's horses and all the King's men are not likely to put it together again — alone.

The week between June 3 and June 10 was crowded with history. On June 5, the first proclaimed public meeting in 19 years took place in Nepal. In a small square off Patan, the old city on the fringe of Kathmandu, the Communist Party of Nepal called its faithful — or at least, that faction of the Party headed by Manmohan Adhikari. A small shop on the narrow lane leading to the square had a red T-shirt on sale. The slogan on the shirt was simple: FOR FREEDOM. Some foreign capitalist's money-raking bait to the decadent romanticism of white adolescents had at last acquired symbolism in this hungry corner of an exploited country. There were heavy clouds as the meeting began at 5 p.m. Soon the square was jampacked, and people had filled the housetops surrounding the cobbled square. And more were still coming in, heaving and pushing to catch a glimpse of history. The light drizzle intensified; after a prolonged drought that was hurting the country, the rain was a welcome relief, though hardly useful at a public meeting. But no one left; the crowd remained, listening to the speakers asking for democracy, and excitement glistened on every face. One cynic, on the edge of the crowd, turned to a peasant, and said: "The weather is not in favour of these politicians". The peasant replied sharply: "Why? They have brought the rain, what could be better news than that?"

And on Friday, June 8, the Nepali Congress held its first rally. The preparations were made on a suitably large scale, befitting the strength of the most important political Party in Nepal. Jeeps crowded with beautiful and enthusiastic women Party workers and their equally ardent male compatriots, roamed the streets days in advance, spreading the message that B. P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh and K. P. Bhattarai, the three stalwarts of the Nepali Congress who have suffered for years in jail and banishment, would be talking to their people after the great silence. On Thursday, on his doctor's advice, B. P. Koirala cancelled all his appointments at his modest house and rested, in preparation for the meeting. Ever since he returned to Nepal in December 1975, people have been coming to see him in large numbers every day; but this day he wanted to be alone. He did not want his voice to break down — a serious possibility, considering the throat operations he has undergone.



King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah

The administration had tensed, and police and soldiers began taking up positions around the city from the midnight of Thursday-Friday. People began talking about the prospects of trouble; small waves of tension rippled through the city. But by eleven in the morning, people had begun coming to the maidan in the heart of the city for the meeting scheduled to start at five in the evening. Eventually, a crowd of more than 50,000 built up. It was absolutely unheard of in Kathmandu. There had never been such a gathering. Local journalists, slightly bewildered, asked us to estimate the number of people who had come, assuming that we were more familiar with both political meetings and large crowds.

Punctually at five, the three senior leaders came in a jeep with young people clinging to the sides. And the roar of welcome which rose from the waiting audience, packed with young men and women, transformed the faces of the leaders who had waited so long and so courageously for this moment — a moment which had seemed to elude them so often in the past. On the dais came BP, the undisputed leader of the Nepali Congress, and his three close lieutenants: K. P. Bhattarai, the charming

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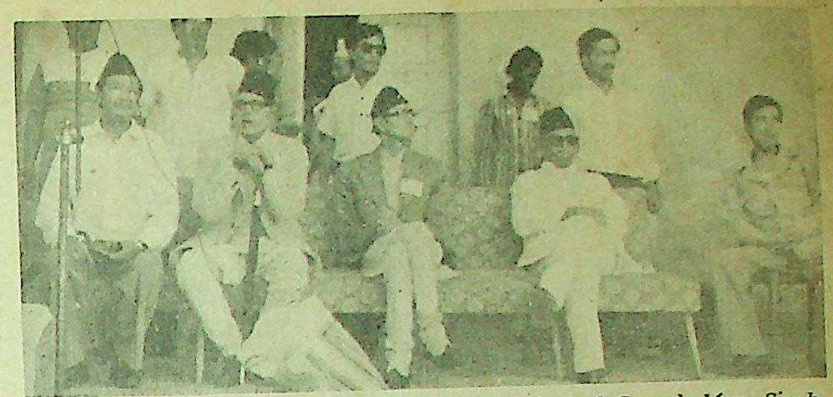
acting president of the Party, *Simbhagardan* (Lion-throated) Ganesh. Man Singh, leader of the Newars, joint acting president, and the most effective orator in the Party, and Parasu Narain Chowdhury, the quiet leader of the Tharus.

BP's theme was simple: "If democracy does not come, the country will not survive, and the King will not survive". It was a moderate speech, and he clearly did not want to irritate the authorities too much. Bhattarai was harsher, and his speech was more indicative of the hard line he advocates within his Party. Referring to efforts by some desperate *panch* to reform the panchayat system and avoid a change which would sweep them away, Bhattarai said: *"Gadhe ko jitna bhi saabun lagao, ghora nahin banta hai* (However much you may soap and wash a donkey, you cannot make it a horse)." But it was Ganesh Man Singh who set the audience alight — by detailing the corruption and disease which the panchayat system had injected.

His chargesheet could rock any Government. The first audit done in 12 years had shown that Rs. 400 crores of public funds could not be accounted for: where had this money gone? There had been massive and indiscriminate defoliation of Nepal's jungles by unprincipled traders, bringing down the jungles from 50 per cent to 21 per cent: who would answer for this crime? While the population was growing at a rate of 2.7 per cent, the growth rate of development was only 1.7 per cent: why? Out of the 94 per cent of the country which was the peasantry, 69 per cent were below the poverty line, although the Government's "Einsteinian mathematics" admitted only 40 per cent below the poverty line: in any case, what was being done for the poor? Each member of the panchayat was allowed to spend Rs 10 lakhs from public funds without any sanction: how was this institutionalised bribery permitted? Out of the last 27 years, the monarchy had surrendered effective power for only three years, and what had all these 24 years of monarchy achieved for the nation? The panchayat system could be summed up in five words: *jangal*, jail, *jatha* (poverty), *jamin* (land) and generalship (rule of generals). And since the panchayat system meant a system of five, that is why it would get only five per cent of the vote in the coming referendum, said Ganesh Man Singh.

There were cheers, cheers and more cheers, till in the growing darkness the meeting ended and the huge crowds began melting away from the epicentre of slogans, excited, chattering; and groups of young people formed impromptu processions with placards demanding restoration of democracy; and others jumped the fence surrounding the fields and swept towards restaurants in small groups. And the guardians of law and order in their uniforms stood silently. Peace had been maintained.

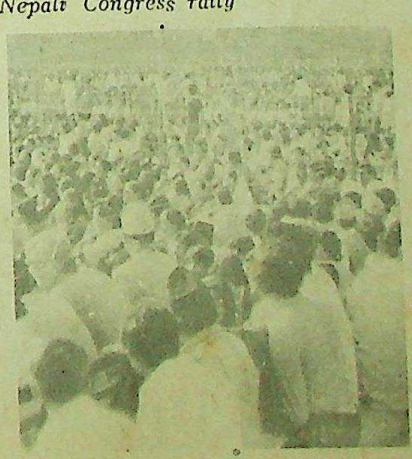


Parasu Chowdhury, K. B. Bhattarai, B. P. Koirala and Ganesh Man Singh

IF EMOTION was sufficient to bring in change, we would be probably writing the happy ending by now. The major stumbling block to the restoration of democracy could be the man who has initiated the process of restoration: the King. A senior Nepali Congress leader described the King's decision to hold a referendum as the "first act of independence and courage...the first adult decision made by the 35-year-old King". The palace was not unanimous; Birendra's relatives advised against this "concession". But despite the shadow of Iran, which certainly influenced the decision, it would be too much to expect the present establishment to surrender power so easily. There are too many vested interests at work; there are too many corrupt people at the top who are worried about the questions which a future Government might ask.

There are many loopholes that they can take advantage of. To begin with, although the referendum is expected by October, it could easily be postponed to next spring. Next: nobody is quite sure about what happens after the referendum. Will a national election be held to create a constituent assembly? According to K. P. Bhattarai, this should be the sequence of events: a referendum, followed by elections, which he is sure his Party will win with an overwhelming majority. The most important thing that the Nepali Congress would do if it came to power, he says glancing at the history of his country, is create a new Constitution in which there would be restrictions on the power of the King. For instance, on the King's control over the army. Efforts would be made to stop the direct participation of the King in the administration. And the King would no longer have the veto power. He gives the relevant example of the days when his Party was in power and he was the Speaker. Parliament passed a law abolishing princely states in Nepal, an anochronism which had not yet been removed from the country. To become law it needed the seal of King Mahendra. But the King simply refused to put his seal to the legislation. (He later abolished princely states himself after overthrowing the legally elected Government.)

Nepali Congress rally



But the Nepali Congress is not anxious for any confrontation now; it does not want to provide any excuse to postpone elections. Nepali Congress and Communist leaders are, indeed, eager to stress that the monarchy is a necessary institution. They accept the reality that the King still has support, even if his panchayat system does not; they know that the King is still worshipped as a god in many rural areas: the weight of tradition eases slowly in any society. Many of the volunteers at the Nepali Congress rally on June 8 wore a badge which proclaimed: "Sripanch Birendra Amar Rahun" (Long live King Birendra). The contradiction is only a recognition of reality.

But no such sympathy is expressed for the panchayat system. Ganesh Man Singh puts it colourfully: "The corpse of this system should be carried out in a Mercedes". Panchayat leaders therefore are the most nervous people in Kathmandu these days. Vishwabandhu Gupta, a deserter from the Nepali Congress, whose betrayal is still said to hurt B. P. Koirala who trusted him a great deal, has advocated a new theory: a multi-Party system should be introduced within the panchayat system as a compromise, and the King should announce this reform and withdraw the referendum. (Gupta was chief of the hated 'Back To The Village Campaign', withdrawn after the agitation.) Bureaucrats, have be-

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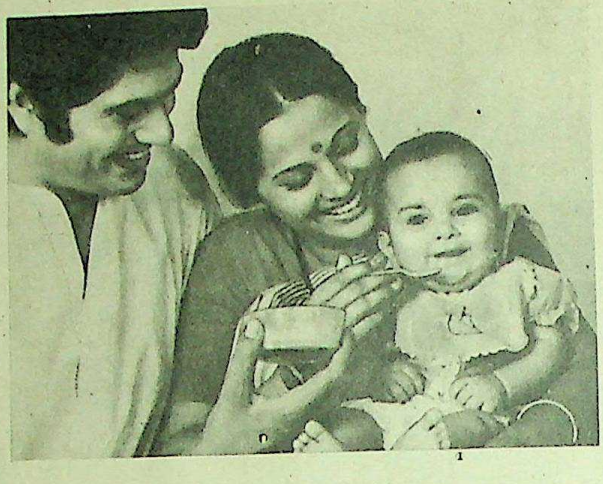

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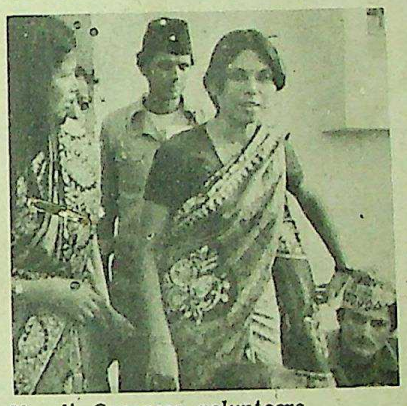
gun raising the scare that the process of change will ruin the nation, and once again the tough talk that has proved so hollow in the last two decades is being heard. What has put the fear in them is the rash of strikes and strike threats that erupted all over Nepal in the first few days of June. It was a simultaneous, spontaneous semi-revolt of the working class after years of repression.

Suddenly, Kathmandu's main breadearner, tourism, was on the point of being paralysed. The Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation, the hotel industry, and most vital, the Rashtra Bank, were facing threats of closure. In two days, more than 600 bank employees were arrested, and a special order banned strikes in Nepal. Milk disappeared as the dairy workers presented their demands for higher wages; beer became costlier or unavailable as stocks ran out following disturbances at the alcohol factory. By June 7 most schools in the valley were closed following a clash at the Tribhuvan University. The Nepal Biscuit Company, Golcha Woollens, Harishidi Brick and Tile Factory, the Kathmandu Kastha Udyog, Shree Textiles ... suddenly there was no end to labour unrest. The administration adopted the carrot-and-stick method, quickly granting some demands, and raising a stick with the other hand. This brought peace in some places, but no one was foolish enough to think that any lasting solution had been found.

Despite the Government's oft-repeated claim that the era of freedom had dawned, the stick was always visible. The Nepali Congress tried hard to distance itself from the strikes, attributing them to the rotten system but pleading with the workers to maintain industrial harmony in the national interest. More significantly, the Government has not given up any of the means it has, some legal, some unethical, to bring back authoritarianism. Certainly, none of the obnoxious legislation which had been used to suffocate the people has been removed. There are political prisoners still awaiting amnesty; nor have the hundreds who had to take shelter in India (officially called "undesirable elements") been allowed to reutrn. And the cases against B. P. Koirala which could lead to his hanging if he was convicted have not been withdrawn. Two people have already been hanged in the same cases: Captain A. K. Bahadur Thapa and Bhim Narain Shreshta. In fact, the major reason for the students' violent protest against the hanging of Bhutto was to warn the Nepal authorities that they should have no illusions that they could get away with anything similar in Nepal.

THE Indian Cooperation Mission is "celebrating" 25 years of its existence in Nepal — very, very quietly. And that is as good a comment on Indo-Nepali relations as any other. India has given Nepal more than Rs 200 crores in direct aid so far, and Nepal gratefully acknowledges this: but no more. Small brothers are sensitive about the generosity of Big Brothers.

Of course, we all know that aid is not given *gratis*; the quid pro quo is political influence, or equally often, preventing someone else's influence. In this case, China's. There is a vital difference between Nepal's relationship with India as compared to China. Nepal has no emotional links with China; China is a neighbour which can be dealt on formal terms. But India is something else altogether. The majority of the population can trace their lineage to India, and the Terai in the south of Nepal has always had an indistinct border. There has been much movement across this border, for historical and geographic reasons. Till recently, if a Nepali from the north-west wanted to go east (without the benefit of aeroplanes), he had to come down to India, travel east, and then go up again. Moreover, the mother culture of this Hindu Raj is in India — and any nation in such a vulnerable position naturally gets more



Nepali Congress volunteers

sensitive. Independence must not only exist: it must be seen to exist. Thus: quarrels.

India has been involved with internal Nepali politics. When the revolt against the Ranas was going on in 1951, King Tribhuvan took shelter in the Indian Embassy for months. Moreover, according to the Government's own admission (*Facts about Nepal* February 1975), 85 per cent of Nepal's imports come from India. As vital a commodity as salt is one of these essential imports. The other, and more disturbing side of the picture, is that Indian businessmen have controlled the trade and the smuggling that sustains Nepal for a long while. Nepal's nearest available seaport is Calcutta. For all these and more reasons, if Nepal is not actually at India's mercy, it is as near to it as any neighbour can get. And, according to the Nepalese, our Foreign Ministry bureaucrats have not displayed any sensitivity in applying this leverage whenever possible.

It is the queer and familiar situation where even leaders of the Nepali Congress, who have found shelter and sympathy here, have to repeatedly stress that they are independent in their thinking. While factions of the communists can openly proclaim that they are pro-China, or pro-Russian, it is extremely difficult for any politician to similarly proclaim that he or she is "pro-Indian". That would be suicide. Bhattarai demands that India "need not bribe the politicians and the civil service to get better concession from a poor country like Nepal". He makes a repeated distinction between moral support and monetary support from India: "It is in India's national interest to extend all moral support, which I am glad it is doing, to democratic forces in Nepal. In the long run, only a democratic Nepal can be a friend of a democratic India."

And well he might make a distinction. As one of the serious charges against the Nepali Congress is that it is taking money from Indian sources. Certainly, the senior leaders who stayed in India were being supported by friends and sympathisers within our country. In fact, one of the reasons why B. P. Koirala left for Nepal during the Emergency was because Mrs Gandhi had pressurised those who were helping him to withdraw their financial support to him. But it would be ridiculous to call them "Indian agents". To begin with, they would not be able to survive in Nepal if the people thought they were Indian agents. As Koirala himself points out in the interview to SUNDAY, he would probably be tougher with India than the present Government is if he came to power. And surely, on our side, we do not want another Mujib?

Nepal is so strategically located that, in these times of instability, the eyes of all super and regional powers are on this country. Everyone is keen to know what kind of Government will come to power. In classical fashion, what the foreign powers are doing, is buying support within every Party — there is nothing as safe as hedging one's bets. It is quite clear that foreign money does play a part in the country. SUNDAY has learnt that the deposits of the Rashtra Bank rose suddenly by Rs 30 crores in May, through many different accounts, and no one has a valid explanation of how this happened. Part of this money could be from the RSS, which is known to have funds in Nepal, probably in the custody of a senior politician of the ruling establishment. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr V. K. Sakhlecha's mysterious visit to Nepal in a State Government plane has already been exposed in the Indian Press.

There are far more questions in Nepal today than answers. The answers will take a long time in coming: precisely how long, nobody knows. Not Adhikari, not Koirala, not even the King. All they can try to do is to ensure that the people do not have to wait so long for the answers that they turn violent. ■

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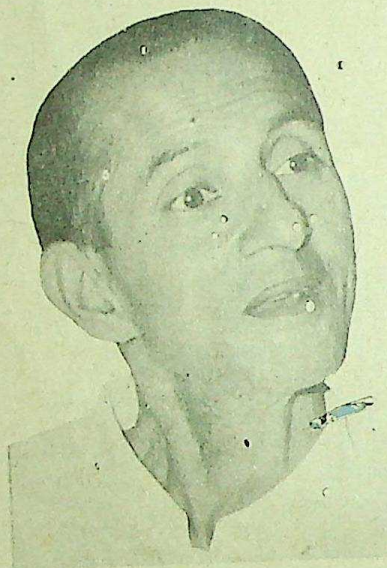
'Indian leaders should beware of me'

B. P. KOIRALA, the once and possibly future Prime Minister of Nepal lives simply in a typical Nepali house in Chabhill, Kathmandu. Two serious operations, the scars of which are prominent on the left side of his throat, have left his voice weak and slightly tremulous, but the spirit is still strong and the man retains the courage that has seen him through the most cruel of years — imprisonment, mental torture, solitary confinement, banishment. But he looks happy now. At long last the democratic Nepal that he has fought for all his life seems to be on the horizon; the referendum ordered by King Birendra looks like the last stretch of a long climb. M. J. AKBAR interviewed "BP" (as he is affectionately known) in Kathmandu.



Q: Has the King outmanoeuvred you politically by calling for a referendum?

A: Not at all. This is exactly what we wanted, because we could not have expected the King to repudiate the present system just like that. Moreover, he could not have restored the status quo ante, that is restored us (the Nepali Congress) to power without some such manoeuvre.

Q: Why did he call for this referendum?

A: Because he wants to promote the stability of his throne.

Q: Why are you interested in the stability of the throne? Why don't you want to end the monarchy?

A: There are three basic reasons. The traditional authority of the King must be utilised to solve the problems of the country. We are not yet a nation; we are, rather, an administrative unit. We have begun thinking on national lines only from 1951-'52. We do not have a polity as yet. And economically we are very primitive. These are formidable tasks, and we have to make use of the authority of the throne to achieve these three tasks. Moreover, during the transition period, the King will have a role to play. I always give the example of Spain. If the monarchy had not been restored in Spain I don't think the transition from Franco's fascism to democracy would have been possible so smoothly.

Q: Doesn't this sound like the language of compromise? Has not your history taught you that to compromise with monarchy is dangerous?

A: I have not compromised on basic issues: the restoration of democracy, on the need for elections, on the multi-Party system, on the Government being responsible to the people, on the primacy of Parliament.

Q: You don't think you are putting too much trust again on the palace?

A: We have reached a point in Nepal's history when the King has to make up his mind whether he wants to save his throne or be an authoritarian ruler.

Q: Were you using similar arguments to rationalise your position between 1952 and 1960 (when the "royal coup" threw out Koirala's Government)?

A: I told the late King Mahendra in a heated discussion with him in 1960—I think this was a little before the coup, perhaps in December itself—that the problems Nepal was facing needed total national effort and if the King thought he could autocratically solve problems he was grievously mistaken. The monarchy has been in power for nearly 20 years after that, and the King finds no improvement—economically, politically, in any way.

Q: Is it in the feudal nature to be responsive to the mass, to worry about the well-being of the people?

A: That is what people have been telling me—that this is the lesson of history. But somehow I feel, and I would like to believe, that in the interest of our nation, our King would be out of the usual run of kings.

Q: Does the King have any support among the people?

A: He has traditional authority. If he is removed it will certainly create a vacuum. And that will add to our national problems.

Q: Does the King like you?

A: I don't know. He has to like whoever is liked by the people. He should have no choice in the matter. He can't indulge in his personal likes and dislikes (when running the country).

Q: But Kings have always employed personal likes and dislikes in running their affairs.

A: That is why they have brought the situation to a point where a small students' struggle becomes a national crisis. It is because of politics which is based on personal idiosyncracies that the administration is so fragile, is so unresponsive to the aspiration of the people, is so alienated from the people.

Q: One of the things the King has done by unilaterally calling for a referendum, without consulting you, is to equate you with all other politicians of Nepal. He has shown you no special status, despite your record.

A: I couldn't have expected he would restore status quo ante. This was the device he chose. But we are going to be in power.

Q: What has been the impact of the referendum decision?

A: The King has defused the crisis and established his bona fides with the people. It must have come as a bombshell to many of the aspirants to power through intrigue and manipulation.

Q: Would you like to name some of these aspirants?

A: (Smiles) No names.

Q: But no date has been fixed for the referendum.

A: That is not possible; even if I were the King I could not have outright suggested the date. But my feeling is that the King wants to have the election as soon as possible and be done with it.

Q: But won't this delay slow the momentum towards democracy?

A: No. From the moment the King called for the election, there has been a qualitative change in the situation; people have started popular politics.

Q: What is the nature of the support that the Nepali Congress commands among the people?

A: I think ours is not a class Party; it's a national Party. Particularly on questions such as restoration of democracy, people from every walk of life look to us for leadership.

Q: It is said that your support is weak among the peasantry.

A: How can anyone say that? We won the elections in 1959 — through the peasant vote. If anything, we have improved our position since 1960. After all, we were the only ones who struggled; the others were nowhere.

Q: How do you intend to solve the problem of factionalism within your Party?

A: Ours is a democratic Party. Even in monolithic Parties like the Communist Party there are different points of view. But meet Ganesh Man Singh, Bhattarai and myself and see if there are any major differences between us. On the question of referendum there is total unanimity within our Party. We support this step of the King. Some of my colleagues want that in the interests of impartiality (in the elections) there should be further steps before the elections are held. But I don't

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insist on that, and they too don't raise their protest to the level of a condition. Similarly, a general amnesty for all political prisoners would be in tune with the steps the King has lately taken, and it would create a healthier atmosphere for a referendum — but I do not want to make this a condition precedent to a referendum. My colleagues emphasise this (the demand for amnesty) more than I do, but they too have not made this a condition.

Q: How powerful is the Communist movement?

A: It is very weak, because the movement is fragmented. Firstly, by rifts between the pro-Russian, the pro-Chinese and the nationalist communists. Then, among these broad factions, internal rifts exist — the factions are waging a more ferocious war between themselves than at anyone else.

Q: Why have the communists supported the King and the panchayat system?

A: I think it was an ideological anachronism, but strategically it is sound policy, because they could be effective in a situation where the two most important Parties were at loggerheads. Not having mass support, they could play an effective role by politicking.

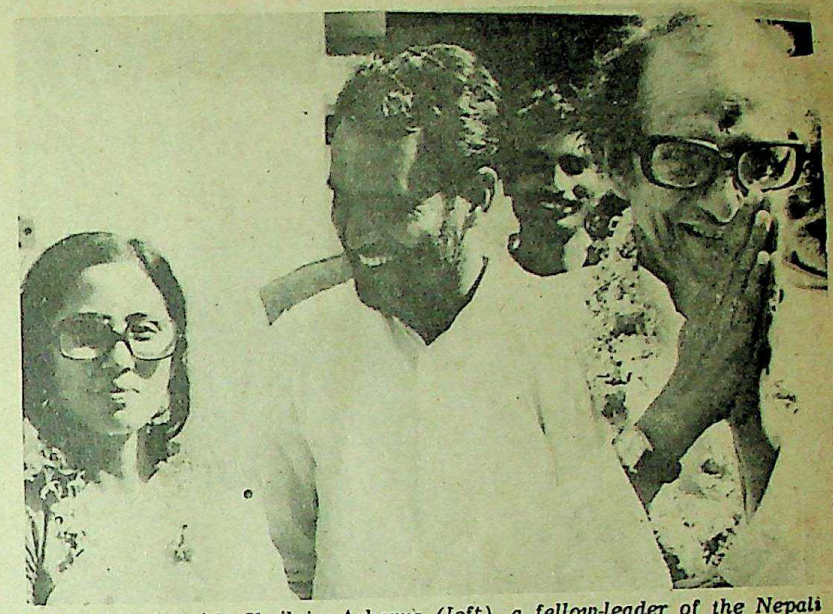
Q: It is well known that many Indian politicians, the Socialists in particular, are your close friends. Has your Indian connection hurt you politically in Nepal?

A: I was in Indian politics. Not many people know that I was for four years in a British prison during the independence movement. In 1930, I was arrested as a terrorist; I was operating between Benaras and Hajipur. And during the 1942 movement too, when I was arrested in 1942 I was kept with Rajendra Prasad in Bankipore jail for six months. Then I was taken to Hazaribagh jail where I was with Jagjivan Ram. I knew Chandrashekhar quite a few years ago; he was a junior member then; he has attended some of my summer classes in socialism. I know Madhu Dandavate, George Fernandes, Madhu Limaye, Surendra Mohan....

Why should this hurt me in Nepal? The unscrupulous Opposition has been trying to call me some kind of an Indian stooge — but that does not cut any ice. Every time I came back from treatment from Europe, I faced demonstrations by hired people. One of the slogans called me the running dog of Indian imperialism, but I don't think that has hurt my politics. My friendship with Indian leaders does not prevent me from being an ardent nationalist. I've been telling some of my detractors that an Indian leader should beware of me rather than me being beware of them.

Q: I think Delhi's South Block knows that.

A: (Smiles) I think, yes. I have some experience also (in this context). In 1960 we were involved in some important trade negotiations.



B. P. Koirala with Shailaja Acharya (left), a fellow-leader of the Nepali Congress, and Chandrashekhar (second from left) at JP's village, Sitabdiyara. BP and Chandrashekhar are old socialist friends

The South Bloc people were very adamant on certain issues and things were not moving. I contacted Nehru directly and he sent for L. K. Jha— Jha was a class fellow of mine from Benaras. Nehru said the treaty should not be delayed, and whatever I wanted should be given.

Q: What do you think of the bureaucrats who implement our foreign policy?

A: I do not want to comment on that because I have not had to deal with them. But sometimes they give the impression that they are too rigid, too unaware of the national susceptibilities of foreign countries.

Q: How would you compare Vajpayee's foreign policy with Mrs Gandhi's?

A: Vajpayee has been trying to soften the abrasive policy of his predecessor and I think he has improved relations with his neighbours — though I don't know if the improvement is only cosmetic. But I talked to Pakistani and Bangladeshi diplomats when I was in Washington and they also said there has been improvement since Mrs Gandhi's days. The Indian Government cannot go against the general mood of its people and we have been receiving massive popular support for our democratic movement. Vajpayeeji once admitted this at a Press conference two years ago. There is tremendous goodwill for us in India — never has there been such enthusiastic support for our cause.

Q: Is Indian money playing a part in Nepali politics?

A: I have no information about this. I don't want to say anything about something I do not know.

Q: But your Party has been accused of taking money from Indian sources.

A: This is a false accusation. This charge appears whenever we win an election and show our popular strength; or detractors come forward with this. Now we are accused of getting money from the Americans also. (Smiles.) One very important communist paper has accused me of riding to power on the back of Mr Carter!

Q: Do you have full control over the agitation now taking place in Nepal?

A: You see, we have full control over the genuine agitation. But we have no control over the anti-social elements. (By now) all genuine movements have been suspended and there is, by and large, a peaceful atmosphere in the country. We created a situation (where peaceful change was possible) when we decided to return to Nepal with the slogan of national reconciliation. We created an atmosphere where people could organise and speak out against the system. When the students decided to launch a movement, we did not associate ourselves (officially) as the Nepali Congress, but we asked our members to assist the movement wherever possible. We did not want this movement to acquire a political overtone because our policy was not one of confrontation. We had permitted our units to organise agitations on local economic issues, or sectional issues, but we did not want to confront the King with a political struggle. The student movement did play a role, but it was not the main factor which has induced the King to call the referendum.

Q: Do you think the King was haunted by the fate of the Shah of Iran?

A: I don't know. But the situation in Iran must have been one of the factors which the King must have taken into consideration. ■

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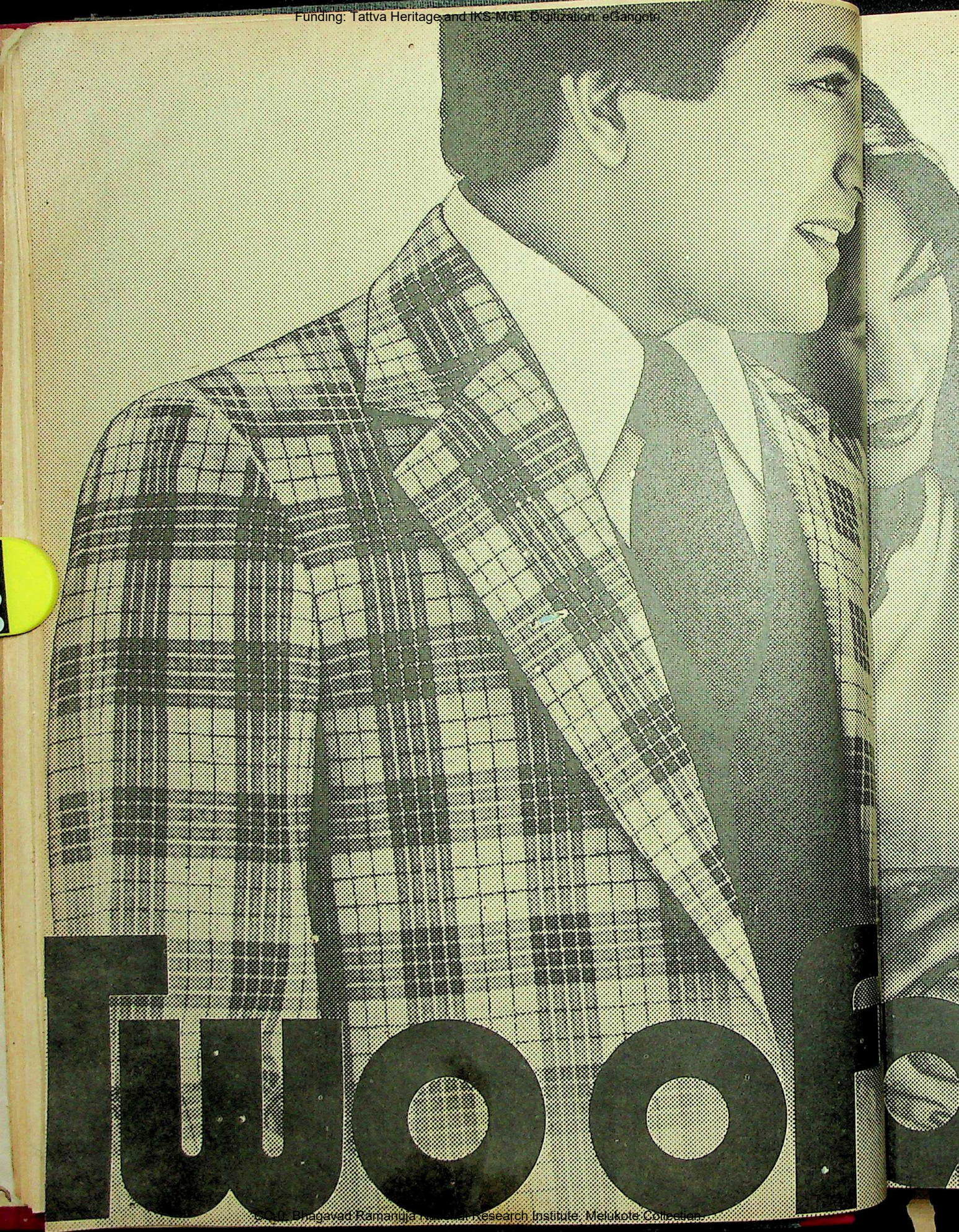

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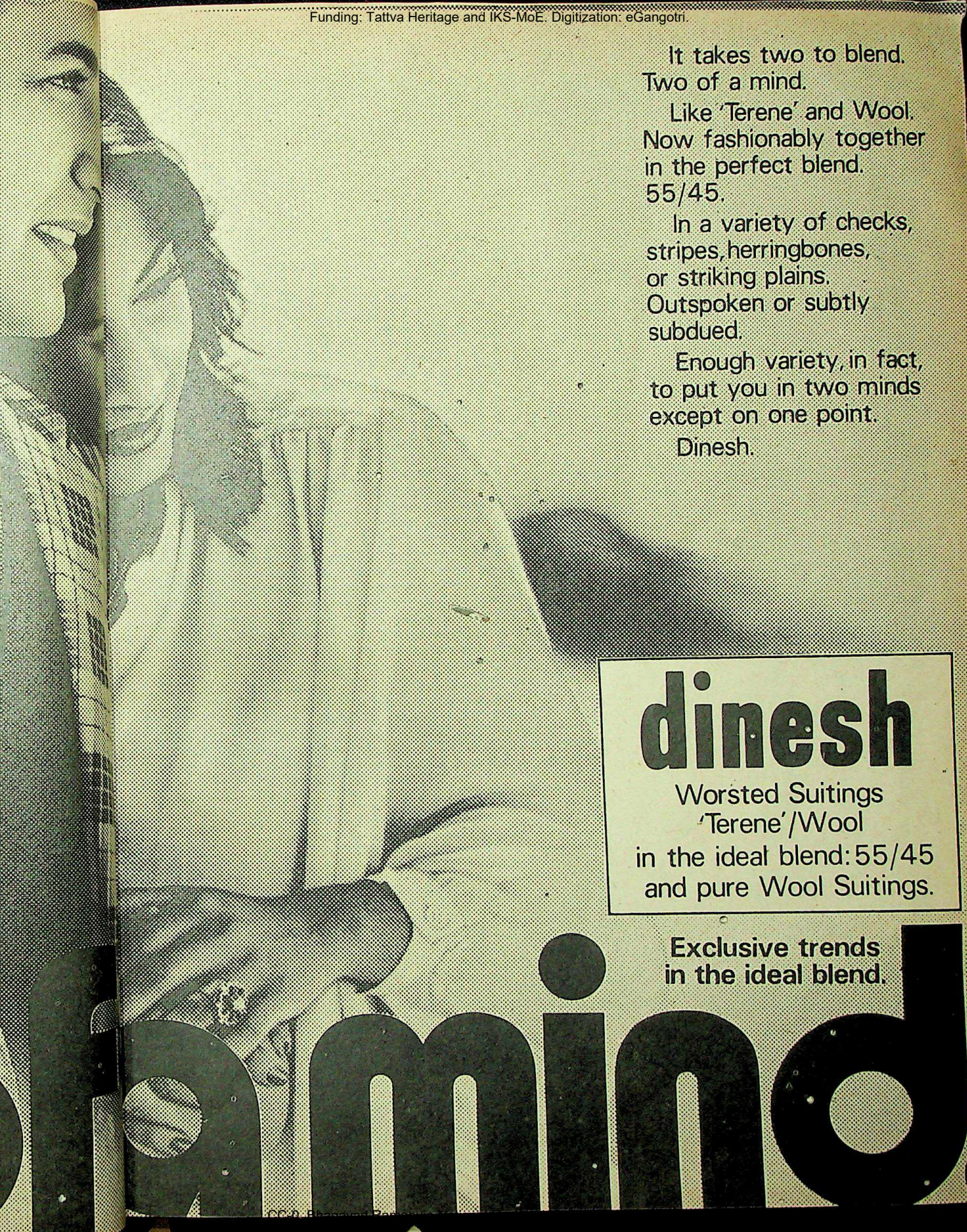

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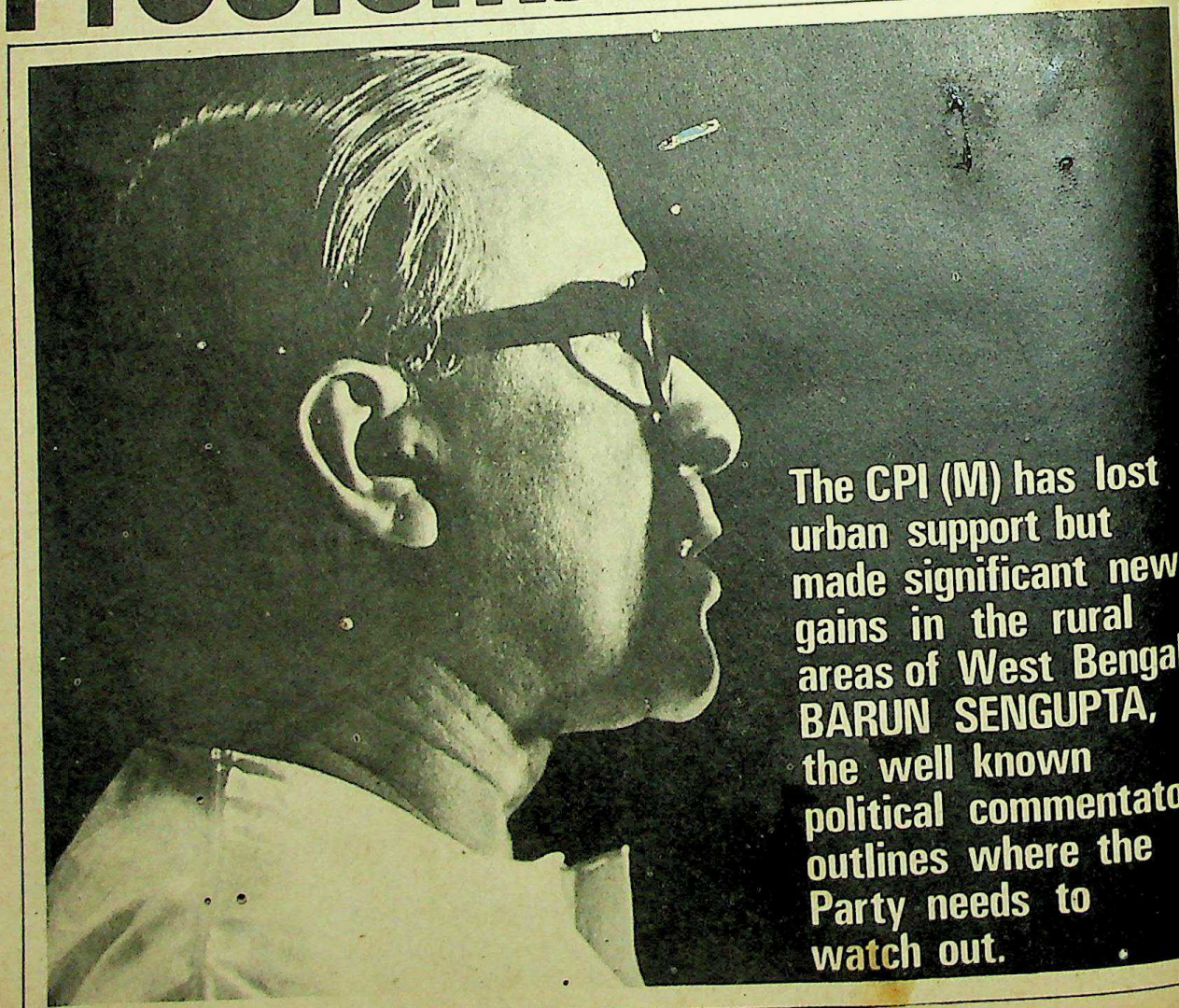
Problems of Power

THE Left Front Government of West Bengal is two years old. In these two years its popularity has diminished quite a lot in the urban areas, particularly among the middle class. Correspondingly, its influence among the rural poor has gone up considerably. The organisational strength of the CPI(M), the main partner in the Left Front, has gone up at least four to five times among the poor and lower middle class in the villages.

That the influence of the Left Front Government has dwindled in the urban areas can be ascertained by anybody who keeps his eyes and ears open in trams, buses and commuter trains. Critical views about it can be heard both in the greater Calcutta area and the district towns. The main reason for this is that it is this middle class itself which had expected the most from it. Many of them had thought that if a Government came to power under the leadership of the CPI(M) then a lot of the problems of the State would be solved quite easily. But that has not happened. In the area that concerns the middle class the most—employment— the Government has not been able to show any success in two years. Quite to the contrary, the power crisis has aggravated the unemployment problem. Hundreds of small units in West Bengal have closed down against the onslaught of the power shortage. Everybody has realised that there is now little hope of new industry starting in the State under the present conditions of power availability. That in these conditions there is no hope of new job opportunities coming up in any significant way, the middle class has clearly grasped.

The other main cause of the middle class anger with the Left Front Government is the twin problems of power shortage and transport difficulties. These problems were there also during the Congress raj but not in this magnitude. The urban middle class has never had to face such a crisis situation before. The CPI(M) is trying its level best to tell the people that both these problems are the result of the inefficiency and poor planning of the previous Congress Government. Initially many people accepted this explanation. However, when they found that even



The CPI (M) has lost urban support but made significant new gains in the rural areas of West Bengal. BARUN SENGUPTA, the well known political commentator, outlines where the Party needs to watch out.

Chitrajit Ghosh

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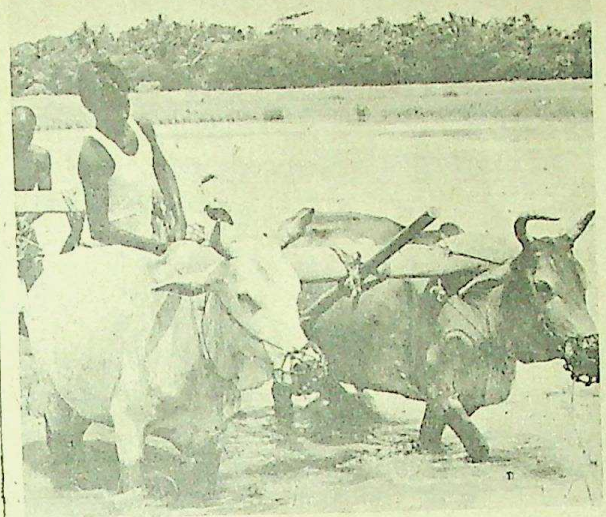
Chitrajit Ghosh



Two views from the agricultural State: the CPI(M)'s influence has increased rapidly among the villages

after the lapse of many months the Government was not able to provide a solution, then most of them ceased to blame the Congress Government entirely. They are now quite critical of the Left Front Government. What annoys them more is that they are not sure that the leaders of the Government care much for the solution of the problems. The public cannot see the Left Front Ministers trying their utmost to solve them. The leaders are rather trying to save themselves by shifting the whole blame on the previous Government. The public cannot quite appreciate this attitude. When in the height of summer there is no electricity for hours every day and people have to wait for an hour or more to get a foothold in a bus, who would not lose his patience? If the Congress was in power now the Left Front people would certainly have called many bandhs and created a lot of disturbances.

Other than the problems of unemployment, power and transport, the things that have made ordinary people lose hope in the Left Front Government are the prevalence of callous heartlessness, inefficency and corruption in Government hospitals and offices. The Left Front people have for years blamed these things on the Congress rule. At one time people automatically thought that with the removal of the Congress from power these problems would also begin to disappear. But the sad fact is that the Left Front Government, even after two years of rule, has not been able to bring about any change in the working of Government offices and hospitals. In many instances the situation now is worse than before. Particularly the condition of the hospitals in Calcutta and the district towns. The Chief Minister himself has repeatedly asked Government employees to come to work on time, work conscientiously and be helpful to the common people but till now this has not borne any fruit. This is in spite of the State Government having increased the pay, allowances and other facilities of its employees. Left Front leaders now admit in private conversation that it is much easier to get people to launch agitations to get more for themselves than to get them to work harder.

On the one hand the increasing problems of unemployment, power shortage and transport and on the other hand the callousness and inefficiency in Government offices and hospitals—these are slowly making the ordinary people, particularly the middle class thoroughly disillusioned with the Left Front Government. This feeling has grown in the last one year. During the first year of Left Front rule people gave them a chance, wanted to see how they progressed. From the second year the criticism of their failure has become more strident.

THE foregoing, of course, does not mean that the Left Front Government has done nothing for the urban areas. There has been a lot of improvement in the condition of Calcutta's roads. Lawlessness among students has decreased. Examinations are being held much more regularly and properly.. Mass copying in examinations has decreased.

What is most important, the CPI(M) on coming to power, has not tried settling old scores. From 1971 onwards many supporters of the CPI(M) have been murdered by Congress and Naxalite supporters. Many thousands of CPI(M) workers and activists have had to leave their houses and take shelter in other localities. But after coming to power the CPI(M) has not started to take revenge in the greater Calcutta area. The violent role that the CPI(M) adopted during the days of the 1969 United Front rule has been totally abandoned this time. No Congress or Naxalite worker has been either beaten up or made to leave his neighbourhood. Against many of them there were charges of murder. The Left Front Government has not dug these up. It has allowed everyone to live in his own neighbourhood and participate in legitimate politics. During Congress rule many Congress workers were victims of the infighting within their Party and found themselves in jail. But under the Left Front Government no Congress worker has gone to jail, either under an old murder charge or because of his current legitimate political activities.

But it is in the nature of ordinary people to only remember the failures and forget the achievements. This happened during the Congress days, it is happening again during the Left Front days. That is why ordinary people are giving more importance to the power and transport problems and criticising the Government for its failures more. Many people are also annoyed with the way the Government has beaten the refugees out of Marichjhapi. This is because for many years it was Parties like the CPI(M), Forward Bloc and the RSP who had been insisting that those who had to leave East Bengal would have to be settled in West Bengal. But when these same people forced the Marichjhapi residents to leave for Dandakarnya under very brutal circumstances many ordinary people were pained.

THE influence of the Left Front Government and the CPI(M) have increased the most among the poor in the villages. In the last two years the CPI(M)'s organisational network among them has been strengthened four to five fold. Many among them feel that after a long time there is a Government that they can call their own. The political influence of the rural poor is still very low. The political, social and economic life of rural West Bengal is determined still by the

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middle and upper middle classes. But a poor man and a *jotedar* (landlord) both have one vote each! If the CPI(M) can work among the rural poor faithfully and honestly for three more years then it will be very difficult to dislodge it from power. This is because the poor are obviously in a majority in the villages in West Bengal.

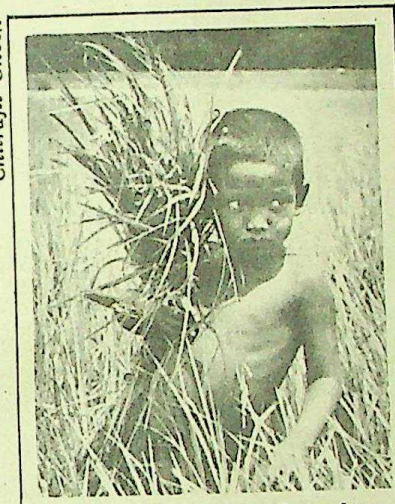
The rural poor are pleased with this Government the most because of the wheat and money they earn through the 'food for work' programme. In this year alone the Government has distributed more than 60,000 tonnes of wheat. After a long time every one of the rural poor has had something to eat. With the food they have got Rs 2 each. Lakhs of poor people have been helped in this way. This wheat has been provided by the Centre but this is not known to the poor people. They know that this wheat and money have been given by the CPI(M) Government. In most cases the programme is being conducted in areas under panchayats controlled by the CPI(M). That is why the poor people are grateful to the CPI(M).

This largescale distribution of free wheat and the CPI(M) agitation have in many areas raised the effective daily earnings of agricultural workers. Earlier in some areas in the State in the off season agricultural labourers could earn about Rs 2-3 per day. Now they earn Rs 3-4 per day. For this also it is the CPI(M) that is thanked.

The third reason for the popularity of the Government and the Party is 'Operation Barga'. The law for recording the names of bargadars (sharecroppers) in the Government files was already there during Congress rule. But in practice only a few names had been recorded then. Landowners used to take advantage of this and evict share-croppers at will. Landowners used to be quite whimsical in selecting bargadars every year. In West Bengal unregistered bargadars total over 3,000,000. The present Government has arranged to have their names registered quickly. Now landowners cannot change bargadars at will. Even if a piece of land is sold, the interest of the bargadar is protected. Slowly the banks are also lending money to the bargadars against their registration certificates. Formerly only landowners got bank loans. For this also the rural poor is grateful to the Left Front Government.

As a result of all this the upper and middle classes in the villages are very sore with this Government. With the registration of the bargadars' rights land prices have gone down. In many areas bargadar-free land fetches twice the price of land with bargadars. They now do not want to give the owners of the land more than one-fourth of the produce. Formerly the landowners would have evicted such disobedient bargadars. But that is not possible now. Naturally landlords are furious. They are angry at the rise in the wage rates of the landless labourers. This has increased their costs. No landlord wants to raise his cost of cultivation.

On top of this is the issue of losing leadership positions in society. During the long period of Congress rule one class of people had systematically established themselves in leading roles in village society. They used to determine everything about village life. They used to form groups and fight among themselves, but kept their feuds within themselves. They were all mostly the upper and middle classes of the rural society. The CPI(M) has changed this arrangement. The rural leadership of the CPI(M) comes from the lower middle class. The lower middle class, with the support of the poor, is driving out the middle and upper classes from their positions of leadership. That is why in rural Bengal the plight of the upper and middle classes is the most pathetic today. Not only have they been economically harmed, their social leadership is also being threatened. In many cases the new



Chitrajit Ghosh

A full belly, but what does the CPI(M) mean to him?

leaders have humiliated and insulted them. The upper and middle classes of the rural society today are furious with the Left Front Government. These are the people in West Bengal today who want the quickest fall of the present Government. If they had the political machinery of the city-based industrialists today then the Government would have found the going much more rough. Some of them are trying to join hands with the CPI(M) and retrieve as much of their property and status, others are asking for a joint protest by the two Congresses and the Janata. They are clashing with the CPI(M). The Party is trying in every possible way to break the resolve of those who are not surrendering to it voluntarily. They are even being beaten up.

CERTAIN dangers are also looming larger before the CPI(M) at as great a speed as its popularity in the rural areas is increasing. Many of the thousands of lower middle class people who have joined the struggle of the CPI(M) in the last two years have done so out of a desire for power. Just after Independence many rural people came and stood by the Congress. Most of them have no political training. The ideological belief and commitment of many of them are also not very strong. But in their hands has come a lot of power. Through the panchayats the total power for rural development is now in their hands. All the money is spent by them. All Government sponsored work in the rural areas as also all relief aid is distributed by them. But they have no administrative experience or political tradition. Therefore a lot of malpractices and groupism are bound to surface. This is in fact already visible. Also visible is extreme partisan behaviour.

The CPI(M) leadership will try its utmost to lead them in the channels of Party-approved activity. The question is whether they will succeed. Recently the Party leadership, in a secret circular, has asked the district leaderships to keep a very strict eye on them. But it is not easy to bring thousands of newcomers under the yoke of Party discipline. If they go astray they will dig the grave of the Party in the villages. If they keep on the right track they will be able to build a fortress of strength for the Party. For this the Party will have to motivate them politically rather than dangle before them the fruits of office. Undoubtedly this is most difficult. It is so much easier to tempt people.

But seeing the state of their following among the middle class, the CPI(M) must surely be realising the folly of either trying to tempt people with the fruits of office or leading them along on an agitational path. The more people get, the more they want. The middle class following of the CPI(M) is no exception. Even though the CPI(M) has delivered the goods quite considerably for them it still does not have their support. The CPI(M) is trying its utmost now to fill Government offices with its supporters. It is trying to fill the lower rungs of the State police similarly. But what is the guarantee that they will not change after some time? Many State Government employees are supporters of the pro-CPI(M) State Co-ordination Committee. When in Opposition the Party with their support called innumerable successful bandhs. But now that the Party is in power and wants them to be more hard working, is it getting any co-operation? If the CPI(M) tries to follow partisan politics in the villages through the panchayats then it will be committing a grave mistake. It will begin with favouritism for Party members, which will be followed by favouritism for sectional interests and lead ultimately to nepotism and personal corruption. And this sort of inexorable logical conclusion will ultimately ruin the Party. ■

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'Secessionist politics has no future in Kashmir'

FAROOQ ABDULLAH, 41, is the eldest son of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and the director in charge of the Sher-e-Kashmir National Medical Institute Trust. He is already being talked about as the most likely successor to his father. Dr Abdullah is not only a doctor; he is also politician. He was president of the J & K Youth National Conference till its dissolution in October 1976. He lived in England for 12 long years and married a Briton. But immediately after Sheikh Abdullah became the Chief Minister he gave up his British citizenship and his practice in England to fly back to Kashmir. Z. G. MOHAMMAD had an hour-and-a-half long conversation with this VIP-son at his residence in Srinagar.

Q: When do you intend to relinquish your directorship of Sher-e-Kashmir Medical Institute and join active politics?

A: My basic profession is looking after the sick. This I will leave only when I am dead. But I am never away from politics. Whenever the situation has demanded my presence, I have always been there. So the question of joining active politics does not arise.

Q: What was the main reason for Mirza Afzal Beg and Shiekh Abdullah falling out? Was it an attempt to pave the way for you?

A: No! It was not to pave the way for me. Sheikh Sahib had made it amply clear that if Beg Sahib outlives him he will be our guide. Certain things went against Party discipline and they fell out. My father never stood by untruth.

Q: Isn't it that Mirza Beg wanted to see you out of politics?

A: I have no idea about it. I have always known him as a great friend of my father. I have never quarrelled with him. Why should I?

Q: Mirza Afzal Beg's comeback is talked about a lot.

A: I can't speak on it. Only the Party president, Sheikh Sahib, and the general secretary can talk about it. My only wish is that the nation's good is taken into consideration.

Q: You are tipped to succeed the Sheikh. Who will be your main contender within and outside the Party?

A: People alone will decide his successor and time alone will show who he will be.

Q: These days politicians' sons, daughters, sons-in-law keep getting into politics. Is it not a dangerous trend?

A: I have always said politicians' sons have an edge over others because they are nearer to the political scene and seat of power. The difference is only in degrees, the amount of involvement in their parents' work. And if one is able to help one's parents in a good way and not use this for bad ends then it is not a bad thing.

Q: Should parents actively promote their son's political career?

A: No one must be thrust on the people. Let them grow with the masses and let them learn the hard way. Thereby they will be more useful to people.

Q: Don't you feel that after Sheikh Sahib secessionist politics is going to thrive again?

A: As far as secession is concerned, even today there are elements who are trying to stage a comeback on this issue. Let me make it clear that Sheikh Sahib and the people of the State joined the Indian Union on three fundamental principles: secularism, socialism and democracy. So long as these three pillars remain strong everywhere in India, I don't think that politicians using secession as a plan will have any future.

Q: What was the reason for the spontaneous upsurge in Kashmir against the execution of Mr Z. A. Bhutto?

A: This was a sudden outbrust of the people's feelings against the inhuman treatment meted out to a man who had done much for Pakistan. It will not be wrong to say that in the United Nations he spoke for Kashmir for long. People still remember that. People believe that if there was any person, who could stabilise the Muslims of Pakistan, then it was Bhutto.

Q: During the recent demonstrations, people demanded the liberation of Pakistani occupied Kashmir. Could you comment on this, please?

A: I strongly feel that our brethren in Azad Kashmir are suppressed and are being harassed by the military junta. The BBC has clearly shown in its broadcasts that Azad Kashmir (Pakistani occupied Kashmir) wants to come out of Pakistan. But unfortunately the Government of India seems to be silent on the issue. The people of Kashmir clearly demonstrated their desire for the liberation of their Azad Kashmir brethren.

Q: Does it mean that the Bhutto execution has eliminated the Pakistani factor from Kashmir politics?

A: No. I think it has generated hatred against the ruling military junta. I feel that the Muslims of the State think that the people of Pakistan are suppressed by the present Government. I don't think people on the whole ever wanted to be a part of Pakistan. And recent happenings in Pakistan have vindicated the stand of people like my father.

Q: Some years back you visited Pakistani occupied Kashmir? How do people there feel?

A: I saw their pitiable condition. For that visit I am grateful to the late Mr Z. A. Bhutto, who permitted me to visit Azad Kashmir even when the Azad Kashmir President was against my visit. At that time, I had told the then Prime Minister of Pakistan about the state of development of Azad Kashmir. There were no roads. No medical amenities. Only a few educational institutions. The Pakistan Government have paid no attention to the development of Azad Kashmir. People on the whole there do not want to be a colony of Pakistan.

Q: What is the reason for the mounting resistance against Sheikh Sahib in the Jammu region?

A: When you talk of the Jammu agitation I must correct you. The Jammu area does not mean Jammu city only. It means the districts of Dada, Kathua, Poonch, Rajouri, Udhampur and Jammu city. The agitation started over the recruitment of some teachers in Poonch. Previously these jobs went to the city dwellers only. But now the policy is to provide equal opportunities for development to all the parts. Maybe some mistakes were made by the officials. This gave the politicians who were out of power a chance to agitate so as to create a situation in the state favourable for the imposition of President's rule. So that these politicians could again rob the people of their rights.

Q: Do you feel that the Central Government wanted the disturbances in the State?

A: I don't know.

Q: Do you feel that the RSS was behind the agitation?

A: Yes, I am certain that the RSS played its role in it but I warn them that any division of the State on a religious basis will destroy the integrity of the country. ■

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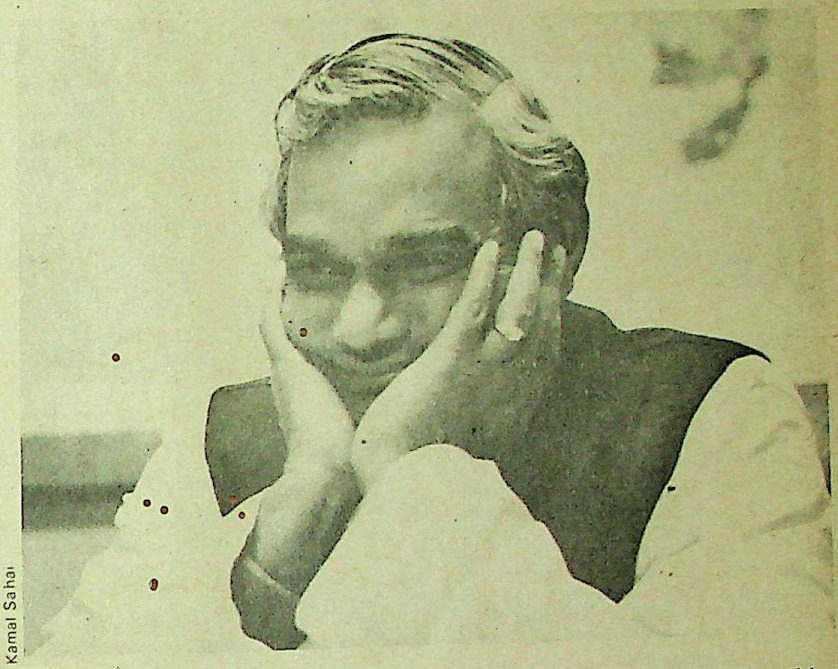
Vajpayee's fringe benefits

By RAJENDRA MATHUR



Kamal Sahai

SURELY the public speeches of a Minister are not his private property. When the speeches are being made any interested journalist may record them on a tape, transcribe them and splash the entire text across the pages of his newspaper, space and the news editor permitting, without bothering about copyright or royalties. Radio and television are equally free to use them, and by the same analogy a publisher may anthologise them in a book.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, however, has decided to derive some private benefit out of his official performances. He has brought out a book entitled *New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy*. It is published by Vision Books, has 256 pages and is priced at Rs. 65.

The book is a compilation, from cover to cover. It contains the two speeches which Mr Vajpayee delivered in the United Nations General Assembly in 1977 and 1978, the speech he delivered while replying to the Lok Sabha debate on the demand for grants made by his Ministry, the speech he made in the conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1977, the learned speech that he delivered in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, and so on and so forth. Would you like to know what Mr Vajpayee said while welcoming Mr Ramphal, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, over a banquet? Or the way in which he welcomed Mr Warren Christopher, the US Assistant Secretary of State? What did he say on alighting at Kabul airport? How did he fare in a television interview at Belgrade? Did he speak like a Japanese in Japan? If you want to gorge on all this trivia, please shell out Rs. 65.

There could, of course, be no objection to a Foreign Minister writing a treatise on his own foreign policy, and earning royalty therefrom. Mr Vajpayee *could* have attempted to define the new dimensions which the country's foreign policy has presumably acquired after his Party's coming to power. But he has not written a book at all. He has handed over to his publishers the official transcripts of his speeches, from which both parties should be collecting a sizable packet.

If Vision Books have paid the author a 15 per cent royalty Mr Vajpayee would be getting Rs. 9.75 for every book that is sold. Assuming that the publishers have brought out a first edition of 10,000 copies, the royalty accruing to the author would amount to Rs. 97,500. That should perhaps be the minimum. If, however, the royalty were to be 20 per cent and the number of copies 20,000 the amount accruing to the Foreign Minister would add up to Rs. 2,60,000. A tidy fringe benefit, apart from the junkets abroad! And he has been in office only for two years.

Why could this book not be printed by the Publications Division of the Government, run by Mr Vajpayee's faction-mate Mr Lal Krishna Advani, and sold, let us say, for Rs. 15? This establishment has in the past published speeches delivered by Nehru, Radhakrishnan, Rajendra Prasad and Indira Gandhi. Would it not have been more Janata-like if the speeches of the first non-Congress Foreign Minister of India had been published in cheap editions, and going by Vajpayee's own logic, in Hindi? Is it not the duty of the Government to make official documents inexpensively available to the people?

The copyright of the book, we are informed, is held by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. It is a ridiculous claim. As a matter of fact if an enterprising publisher were to reprint the entire book without any kind of permission whatsoever, and sell it for Rs. 25 instead of Rs. 65, Mr Vajpayee couldn't do a thing about it. He need not be paid a penny for the piracy. It would be mean to grudge an author his royalty in an illiterate country like India, and a six-digit return should be something to crow about. But the objection is that Mr Vajpayee has not personally authored the book. It is a collection of official transcripts and many minds must have contributed to the texts as they appear here. (If they haven't, what is the entire South Block there for?)

If Mr George Fernandes were to write a book about the new dimensions of India's industrial policy in a similar fashion he could surely sell it to obliging industrialists at Rs. 165 a copy. And the Government may entrust the publication of the next Five-Year Plan to a private publisher, who may then sell the tome for Rs. 500. Copyright: The Union Minister of Planning. In Mr Vajpayee's book there is only one thing which deserves the protection of the copyright: the preface by Mr M. C. Chagla. But a price of Rs. 65 is surely exorbitant for a three-page preface.

It is to be hoped that Mr Kanti Desai will not now start a publishing house to bring out the *Selected Speeches of Morarji Desai* in a suitably priced de luxe edition. It is also to be hoped that the Publications Division will awaken to the fact that there has been a different Government in office for the last two years, and although what its Ministers have been saying has been jejune in the extreme, there may be nuggets of sense which may be worth culling and presenting. ■

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Aligarh—the fag-end

By O. V. VIJAYAN

*THE complaint of Mr. Harikesh Bahadur (in Parliament) that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of Aligarh treated him and six other MPs 'very casually and in an insulting manner' led to loud protests against the conduct of these officials...Mr. Harikesh Bahadur particularly mentioned that the Superintendent of Police smoked in the presence of seven MPs, and when asked either to smoke later or go outside to finish his cigarette and come back, walked out...*News Report.

In my lean days I had worked with a coaching shop which prepared boys for the competitive examinations, so had a deep understanding of the working of the bureaucratic mind. I rushed to Aligarh, and brushing aside a policeman on guard, stormed into the Superintendent's room. And sure enough, he was there sitting with his feet on the table and smoking away to glory.

"Aligarh is burning," I said, "and here you are, smoking instead of fiddling."

I brought in the fiddling to impress him with a bit of ancient Roman history.

He smiled like all policemen do, and said blandly, "You're right, sir."

"Why don't you put the cigarette out?" I said. "Just smother it in the ash tray."

"This is a Dunhill, sir," he pleaded. "And I'm enjoying it."

"But dash it, we're a parliamentary democracy," I said. "Use that ash tray."

The IPS boy was shaken when I brought in the subject of parliamentary democracy, because such things brought back memories of all the cramming done for the competitive exams. Seeing him dither, I plugged my line harder.

"It all began with the Magna Carta," I said "and now we've gotten as far as Ershine May. Have you read *Parliamentary Practice*?"

"I'm sorry, sir," he said.

"Benjamin Franklin—" I began formidably.

I saw the sweat glisten on his brow.

"I'd read it all, and forgotten it," he said in desperation. "Please, sir, don't force me to take the examination again."

I patted him on his pips.

"Have no fear," I said. "This Government is committed to the undoing of the Emergency apparatus. So there'll be no refresher courses or re-exams. In fact all over the Hindi belt they're copying freely in the examination halls. Well, this man Benjamin Franklin—"

"Sir", he said.

"He was beheaded for inventing the cigarette," I said. "And our Government is committed to prohibition and the banning of cowslaughter."

The Policeman fidgeted, then said, "Sir, may I corret you?"

"Shoot!" I said, and the very next moment regretted that indiscreet use of slang.

"It was Sir Walter Raleigh, sir," he said apologetically. "Ben Franklin merely invented the kite to prove that even adults could fly them."

"It all amounts to the same thing," I said. "But what I want you to remember is that he went up the scaffold for smoking before the Commons."

"Sir!" said the policeman, in a deathlike whisper.

"Remember there has been a riot here," I said. "A non-communal riot, a secular riot, and if you will, a joint-sector riot. I mean, one where the Government and the rioters creatively interact. It's your duty, as a senior police officer, to keep off cigarettes. Do you see the logical connection."

"I do, sir," said the policeman. "I'll see anything you ask me to see."

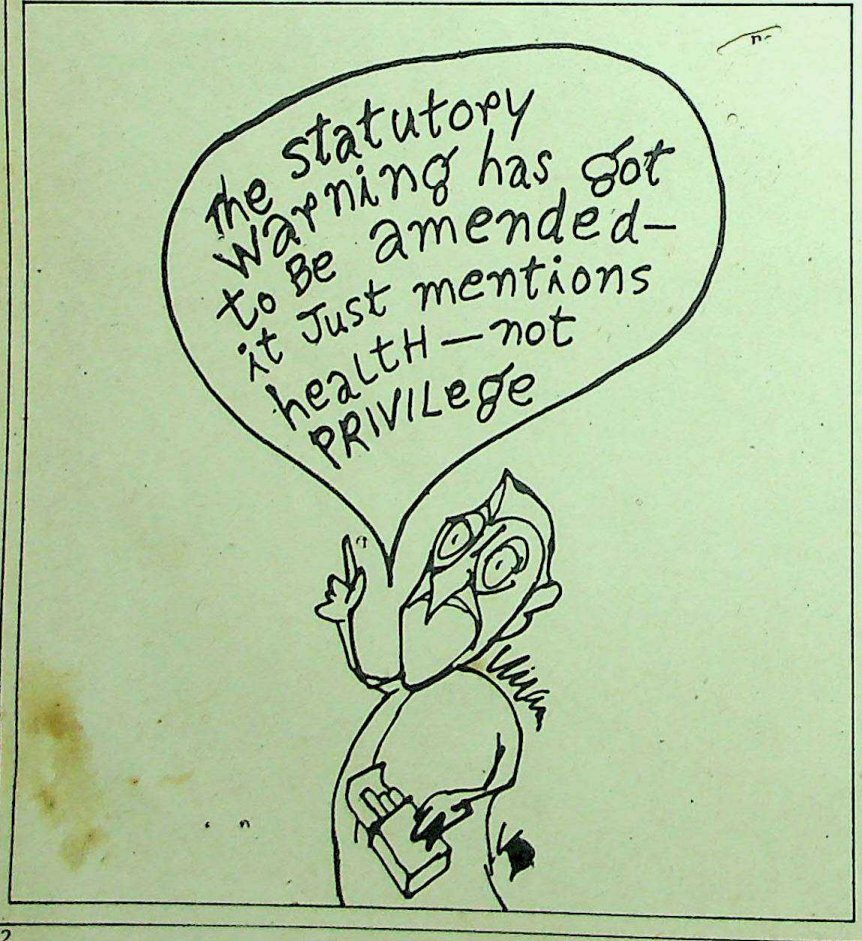
"The Prime Minister will be pleased to hear this," I said.

"Could we put aside our cigarette packets and our arms," said the policeman, "and march on the politicians to pay them our respects? Would that amount to mutiny, sir?"

"I hope not," I said.

Before leaving him, I gave him a copy of the *New Revised Rural Police Manual*, which forbade police officers to smoke in the presence of rural politicians who held their own cigarettes between the little finger and the next digit, and dragged the smoke through the clenched fist from between the thumb and the forefinger. There was something disconcerting and elitist in the way the officer cadre smoked their cigarettes, which made it difficult for us to implement our election promises.

It's all quiet in Aligarh.



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As satisfying as friendship..

STATUTORY WARNING: CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH.

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Dawoodi Bohras challenge their high priest

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER reviews the findings of the Nathwani Commission, instituted to enquire into charges against the Bada Mullaji of the Bohra community

AFTER about one and half years' stormy existence, the Nathwani Commission, appointed to inquire into the allegations of persecution of the conscientious objectors among the Bohras by their high priest, has, at last, produced its report. The commission, appointed by the "Citizens for Democracy" — an organisation committed to protect human and democratic rights — at the request of Jayaprakash Narayan, passed through a meandering course. On July 14th, 1977, JP wrote to Mr V. M. Tarkunde, the General Secretary of the Citizens for Democracy: "My friend S. M. Joshi met me this morning and explained to me how the Dawoodi (Bohra) community is suffering under the injustices perpetrated on them by their high priest—Bada Mullaji—of their community...The high priest functions like a State within a State. He levies taxes and penalises his followers for acts which he considers an offence to him. Recently, a deputation headed by S. M. Joshi went to see the Prime Minister to appoint a commission to enquire into the grievances regarding harassment of the reformist section of the Bohra community...The Prime Minister expressed his inability to appoint a commission but he suggested that a non-official committee should be asked to do this work and in this connection the work of your committee in regard to the atrocities perpetrated on the Naxalites in Andhra was mentioned."

So the inquiry commission was constituted by the Citizens for Democracy at the instance of JP. Though it was an unofficial commission, the high priest, not unexpectedly of course, raised the well-tasted slogan of "religion in danger". Many Muslim leaders, overawed by the power of the high priest's purse, dutifully orchestrated the slogan. They were being more opportunist than orthodox, at least in this case. The obscurantists, hand in glove with the vested interests, exerted so much pressure (all this speaks volumes about our secular political culture!) that even Jayaprakash Narayan retracted (Or was it a case of amnesia as thought by a section of the Press?). However, the commission with Mr Nathwani, a retired high court judge and the sitting member of Parliament as its chairman, had, besides Mr V. M. Tarkunde, Dr Alam Khundmiri, Dr Moin Shakir and Mr Chandra Kant Daru of Ahmedabad, as its members. Despite the hysterical outburst organised by the Bohra priesthood against the commission, it held its sittings to examine the witnesses at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Delhi.

UDAIPUR is the citadel of the reformists and hence it has suffered most at the hands of the high priest's cohorts. Apart from stray incidents of violence, there have been organised attacks. One Mrs Mehfooza Abidali Adeeb, aged about 30, narrated before the commission the harrowing tale of collective assault at Galiakot (near Udaipur) in 1973. According to her, "28th February, 1973, is the day which still creates a shiver in my heart. On that day suddenly a mob came and started beating us. They were saying that I am an enemy of the *Dai* (high priest). They were swearing that they will outrage my modesty. Then I was asked to condemn my husband because he is *kafir* (non-believer). When I declined to do so one individual rushed towards me and dealt a lathi blow on my head. I felt giddy. After some time I regained consciousness. I saw that some persons were casting lustful eyes upon me. They also abused me and tore my outer garment. In this state I had to run up to (the) market from that place."

There are hundreds of such incidents. The commission has investigated only a few and established their veracity. The commission has also documented in detail the rigours of *baraat* and its disastrous consequences. There are many instances in which betrothal were broken due to pressure by the priestly class because one of the family members belonged to the reformist group. There is a tragic case of two daughters of Tayyabbhai Koicha of Bombay who had taken active part in the reformist movement. One of the two daughters, Shirin stated that both remained unmarried and lived isolated lives in Bandra for 35 years. Their mother was not allowed to be buried in the Bohra cemetery.

The report has, with the help of documents as well as oral evidence, proved it beyond any kind of doubt that the plight of the advocates of reform and their supporters is worse than that of untouchables in the Bohra community. In fact the Bohra high priest is guilty of creating a new class of untouchables in free India. The commission finds the charge that the Bohra priesthood seeks to establish total control over the members of the community and demands total conformity to be quite well-founded. The priesthood in fact leaves no aspect of a Bohra's life uncontrolled. The commission has proved with documentary evidence the case of the high priest ordering followers to vote for certain candidates in the municipal, State Assembly and Lok Sabha elections.

The commission, therefore, says in the concluding chapter of its report which runs into more than 225 pages: "Our enquiry has shown that there is large-scale infringement of civil liberties and human rights of reformist Bohras at the hands of the priestly class and that those who fail to obey the orders of the *Syedna* and his *Amils*, even in purely secular matters, are subjected to *baraat* resulting in complete social boycott, mental torture and frequent physical assaults." Then the commission goes on to observe, "The *Misaq* (the oath of unquestioning obedience to the Head Priest) which every Bohra is required to give before he or she attains the age of majority, is used as the main instrument for keeping the entire community under the subjugation of the *Syedna* and his nominees."

The *Misaq*, in its present form, has been described, as a "bond of slavery" by the commission. It contains some highly objectionable conditions. The breaker of the oath has to suffer serious consequences. The taker of the oath is warned thus: "If a person taking the oath breaks it, all his possessions, i.e. movables, cash, housing, utensils, jewels, ornaments, carriages, horses, cattle, milch

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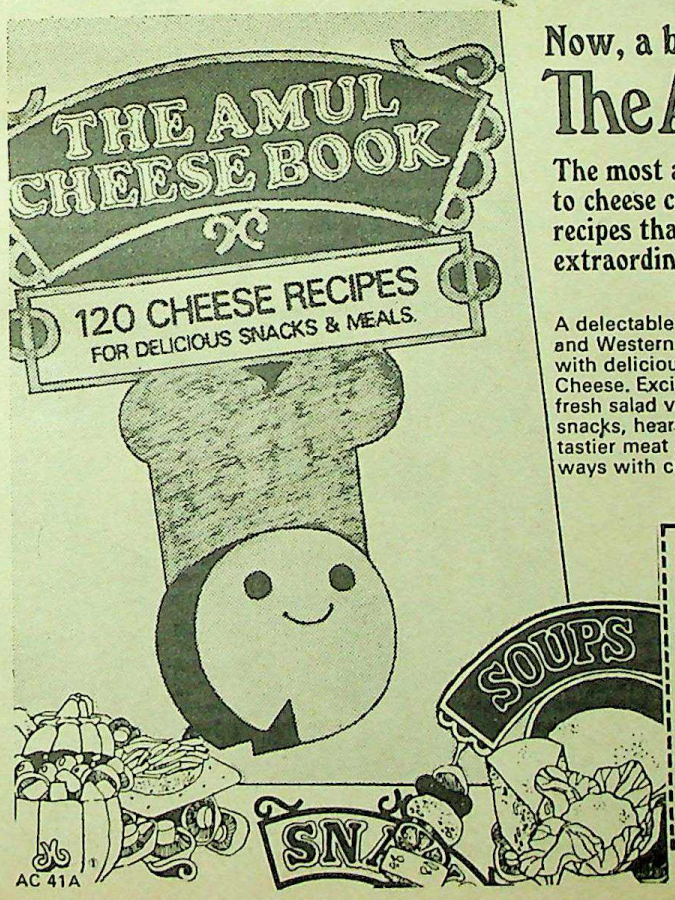
cows, she - buffaloes, slaves—males and females — *and all worldly materials become unlawful for him. All his property is liable to be looted* and to be distributed among the poor and the needy...And if the breaker of the covenant has a wife that wife becomes forbidden to him. The breach (of covenant) has the effect of three *Talaqs* (divorce) against the wife...The woman can never marry him again, neither he can take her as a wife."

The commission, therefore, observes : "We have seriously considered the question whether the abolition of *Misaq* should be recommended as measure of necessary social reform. There can be no doubt that insofar as the *Misaq* involves an undertaking to accept the guidance of the *Syedna* in religious matters, it represents an essential feature of Bohra faith and calls for no interference. But we have seen in Chapter IV that the *Misaq* is so far-reaching as to involve unconditional surrender to the *Syedna* in secular as well as religious matters and that it amounts to a virtual charter of slavery. We have also seen ... that it is the breach of *Misaq* in secular matters which is made the basis of all-sided persecution of dissenting Bohras. We therefore recommend that the *Syedna* should in the first place be requested to limit the *Misaq* to obedience of his directions in religious matters." "If he refuses to do so", the commission observes, then, "the giving of *Misaq* in its present form should be prohibited by law."

Baraat is the most obnoxious weapon used by the high priest to persecute the reformists and their supporters. It is nothing short of medieval barbarism. The commission, therefore, recommends : *"Baraat* or social boycott should be made illegal and be penalised as an offence." The report further rightly points out. "The full facts about the *Baraat* and its consequences were obviously not placed before the Supreme Court when it decided the case Saifuddin Saheb vs. State of Bombay (AIR 1962 S.C. 853). *Baraat* among the Bohras is not proclaimed for religious apostasy, nor does it merely imply exclusion from communal worship and use to communal property." *"Baraat* is proclaimed", the report tells us on the basis of documentary evidence, "for non-conformity in secular matters and it implies complete social boycott, isolation from close relatives and friends, loss of business and employment, and virtual imposition of untouchability. Contrary to the view expressed by the majority of the Supreme Court in the above case, abolition of *Baraat* is undoubtedly a matter of urgent social reform."

The *Syedna*, over the years, by forcible exactions, and wielding the weapon of social boycott, has accumulated vast fortune. He has compelled the Bohra philanthropists to endow charitable trusts to him personally and, over and above that, refuses to account for these charitable funds. Anyone who questions him or any member of his family or any *mulla* appointed by him about the trust funds is put under boycott. The commission, therefore, feels that "all the trusts where the *Syedna* claims to be the sole trustee, and the receipt and expenditure of all the customary taxes and *nazranas* (tributes) should be regulated by suitable legislation. Acts like the Wakf Act of 1954 and the Durgah Khwaja Saheb Act of 1955 show that such legislation is constitutionally valid. Since many of the trusts receive income from different parts of India and other parts of India and abroad, and since the customary taxes and *Nazaranas* are also collected in India and other parts of the world, legislation for the regulation of such trusts and income should be the responsibility of Parliament rather than of any State Legislature."

The commission has recommended these and other measures in order to mitigate the sufferings of the Dawoodi Bohras at the hands of the unscrupulous priesthood. It remains to be seen how far the government musters political courage to make necessary enactments. The power of the purse can exert formidable pressure; much more so if it is also used to buy over the politicians belonging to the minority community. The *Syedna* has plenty of money to play this game. For him the stakes are too high indeed. ■



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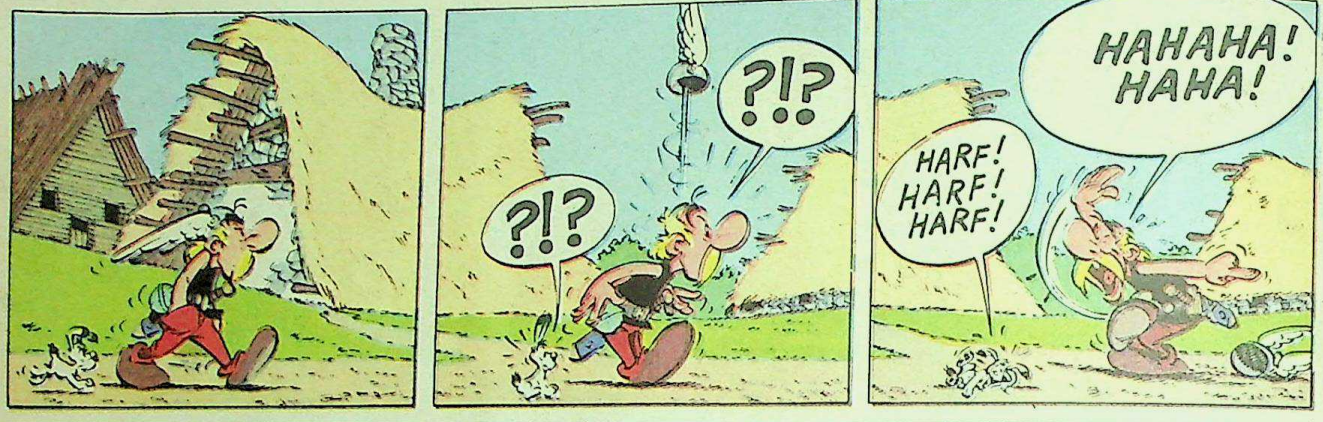

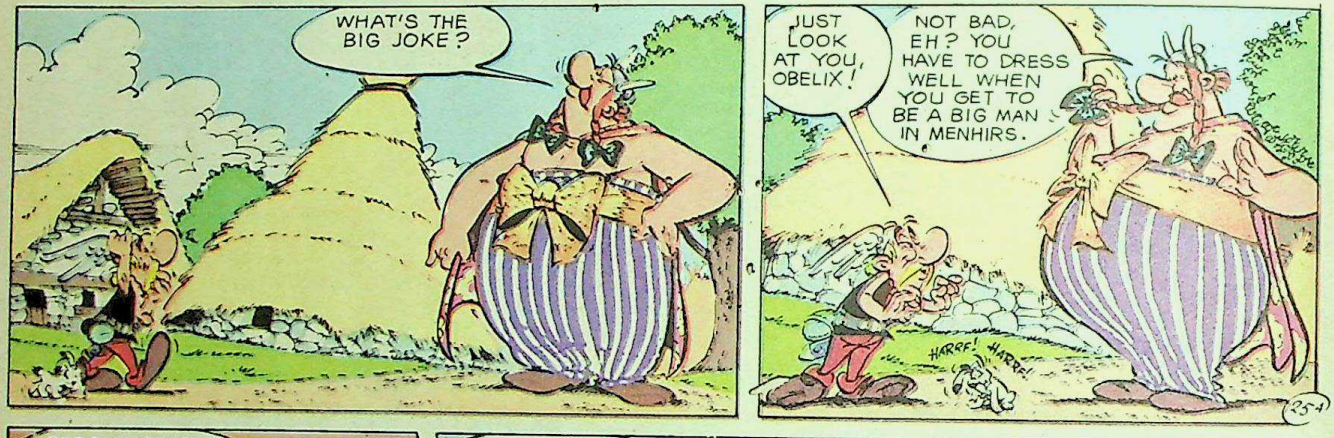

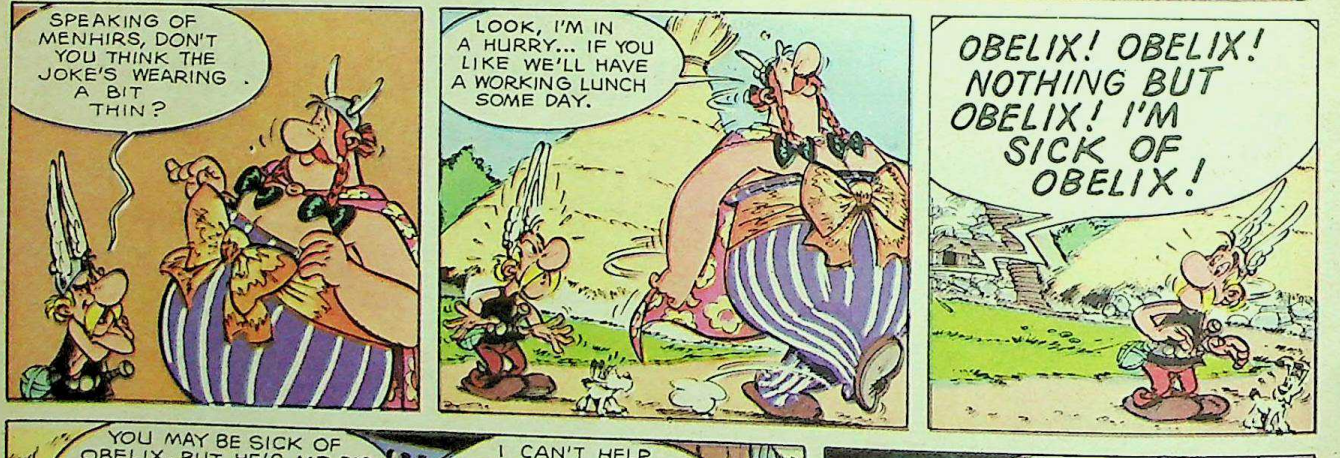

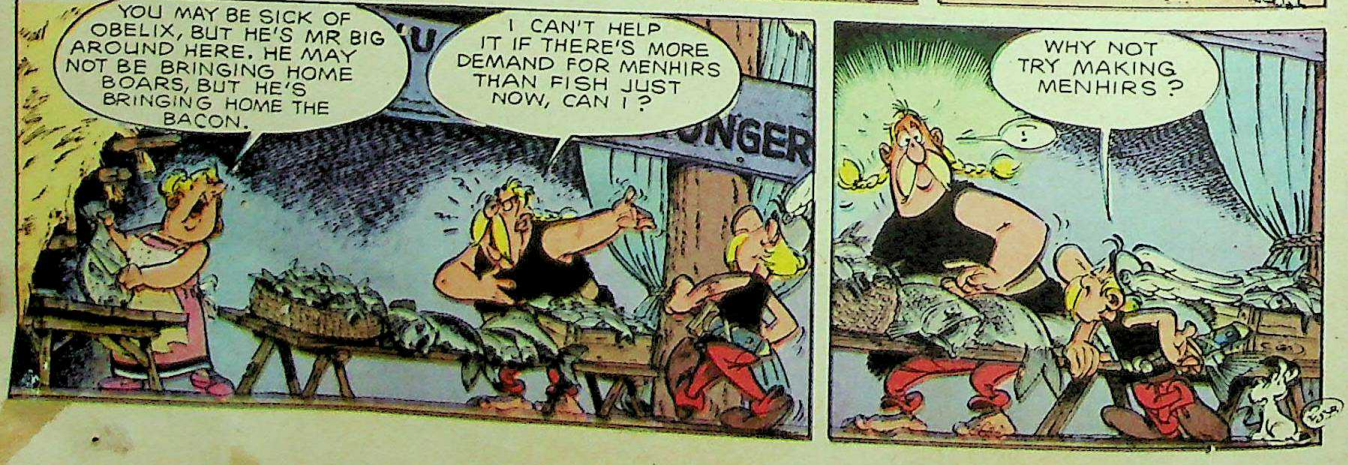

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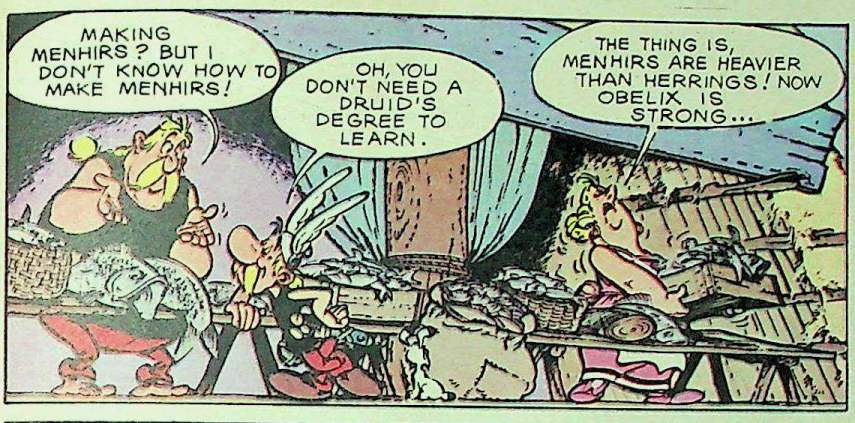

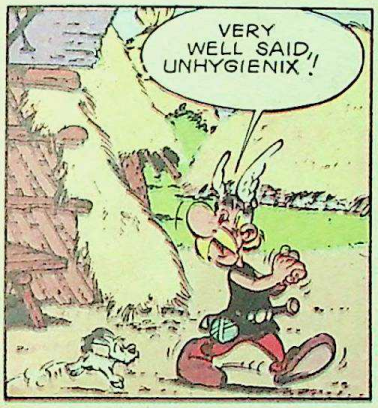

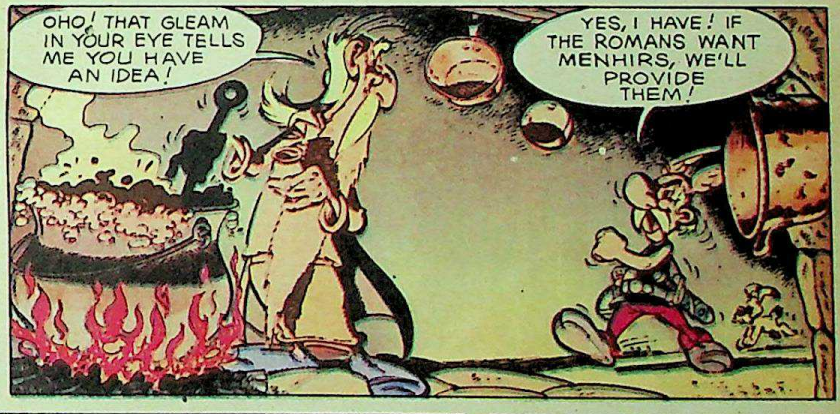

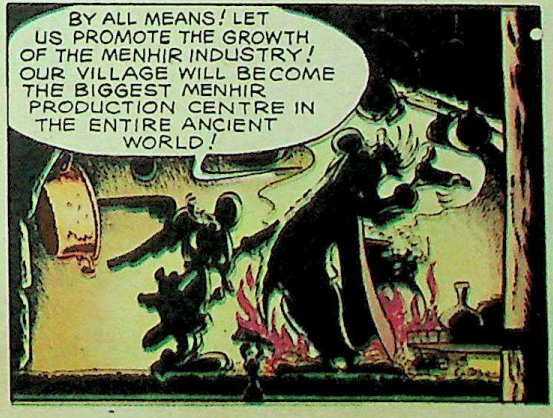

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The father Socialist

By BHOLA CHATTERJI

IN his foreword to the 476-page book, a compilation of most of Narendra Deva's important speeches and essays, Janata Party President Chandrashekhar says that Narendra Deva was the epitome of "all that is virtuous in our public life. He symbolized selfless sacrifice in the service of society". Is that a somewhat larger than life picture? Not at all, says Brahmanand who has edited the book. The 42-page editor's note strives to substantiate Chandrashekhar's observation that might appear a trifle mellifluous to those who would rather have men and events assessed in terms of arithmetic. Taken at its face value, Brahmanand's introduction to the book would convince you that the Janata Party President, his close association with Narendra Deva notwithstanding, has done no more than justice to the man.

Enough for a prelude. The focus may now be turned on the man who was, in the words of Jayaprakash Narayan, "the vanguard among (Marxist) Socialists in the country". The failure of the civil disobedience movement had cast a shadow on the Indian political scene. Disillusioned with the Congress leadership, a few young Congressmen mooted the idea of radicalization of the freedom struggle, reorientation and redefinition of its methods and objectives. The idea did not get frozen in the track of debate and discussion; it materialised in the shape of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP), thanks to Narendra Deva, Jayaprakash, Yusuf Meherally, Rammanohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan and Asoka Mehta. The CSP was formed at Patna in 1934, as a Marxist group within the Congress. This provoked the criticism that Socialism and nationalism being irreconcilables, the Socialists should have, if they were sincere about their professions of faith, made their debut as a separate group outside the Congress.

It fell on Narendra Deva to refute the critics' argument. In the course of his Presidential address to the Party's foundation conference Narendra Deva stated that the Socialists did not opt for an independent existence because "we do not wish to isolate ourselves from the great national movement against British imperialism which today the Congress symbolizes ... the present stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution ... In the peculiar conditions of India, the Socialists can very well work within the Congress and combine national struggle with Socialism".

His defence of the Party's stand did not conflict with either his understanding of Marxism or his commitment to principled politics. This explains why he did not drag his feet when it became evident that the Congress was fast degenerating into an outfit of "social climbers", that it could no longer be depended upon to perform even the limited task of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution. Addressing the Party's Nasik conference in 1948 he said: "I have been so far advocating that we should not quit the Congress. Today I am telling you that we must get out of the Congress." There was no dithering, not the slightest effort made to stall a decision that might not have been to everyone's liking. He could not care less, for the problem involved, other things apart, principles of political conduct.

IT was still a long way off before Indian Socialism would learn to talk the language of high principles and allow expediency to determine its policy and action. The Socialists in this part of the world were yet to appreciate the utility of pragmatism that could short circuit the road to power, albeit limited. And they had not become tame enough not to raise questions and difficult to boot. Or to accept any ideological formulation without dissecting it. Naturally, Narendra Deva had to face the question whether his understanding of Marxism implied a denial of democracy as it was generally understood. The answer was an emphatic "no". For his Marxism was not an immutable religion that knew the final answer to every conceivable problem.

And he made it clear that he would have nothing to do with a political system that did not derive its sanction, freely expressed, from the people.

That caste and politics of religion have from historical times made a muck of life in the subcontinent is not particularly a revealing observation. Could it be denied that politicians of every hue and shade have all along been cynically using them as political tools? One could not agree more with Brahmanand when he says in his introduction that "the exploitation of caste and communal bitterness is the basis of the political system today in India". How did Narendra Deva propose to combat it? Initially, he was of the opinion that other measures besides, caste-based "alignment of the down trodden" would be "a happy and an inevitable feature of elections". Such alignment, as he put it, "reflected that the lower castes, consisting of landless agricultural labour and the small peasantry, were rising against the vested interests, the economically superior higher castes". Did he expect that the caste struggle would eventually transform into class struggle? Not quite unlikely.

BUT then reality belied the expectation and he was constrained to utter a word of caution as early as May 1948: "The growth of conscious casteism must be arrested now, since it has exhausted its utility. It is now necessary to tell the lower castes that their real enemies are the vested interests and that the upper castes had held them under their yoke only on account of their economic superiority. The oppressed castes must be told that the remedy of all their ills lies in joining hands with the other economically oppressed people, maybe of any caste or creed, to fight the vested interests even among the lower castes." That is an approach with which few sensible Indians would disagree. In fact, Jayaprakash also prescribes more or less the same remedy. But, in the given climate of unreason and insensibility, who is going to pay heed to what essentially hinges on rationality.

Not a system-builder, system building requires a certain closed mind, Narendra Deva was one of those rare intellectuals in politics who were incapable of tagging the word "ism" to their name. Equally true is the fact that he was one of the three theoreticians, the other two being Lohia and Jayaprakash, of the Indian Socialist movement. What distinguished him from his peers was that he could with equal ease conduct a turbulent Party conference as well as occupy a University vice-Chancellor's chair.

None would accuse Narendra Deva of looking back once the journey commenced. By the time independent India's first general elections were over the Socialist movement had slid into a process of fission, fusion and fission. In spite of a fine crop of intelligent and dedicated men, the like of which no other political movement here could pride itself on, Indian Socialism got irrevocably enmeshed in debilitating internecine conflict. Much to his chagrin, he could not reverse the process that ultimately split the movement down the middle. All this, however, could not shake his conviction that "the salvation of the world lies in democratic Socialism and only those who have a firm faith in democracy and Socialism can be the vanguard of the new movement for world peace." Brahmanand has not failed the man who was indeed one of the best minds of our times.

Towards Socialist Society, Acharya Narendra Deva, Edited by Brahmanand Centre of Applied Politics, New Delhi. Rs 90.00

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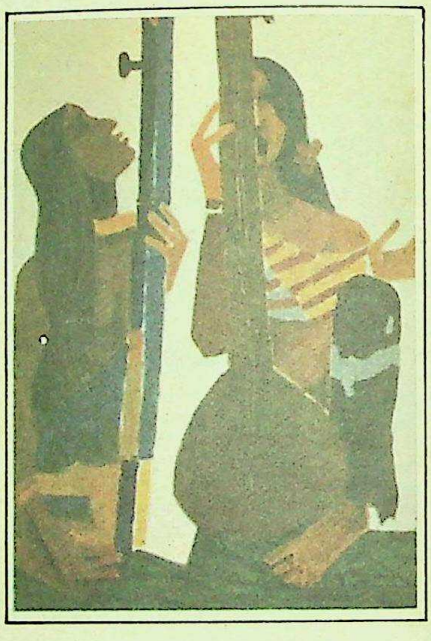
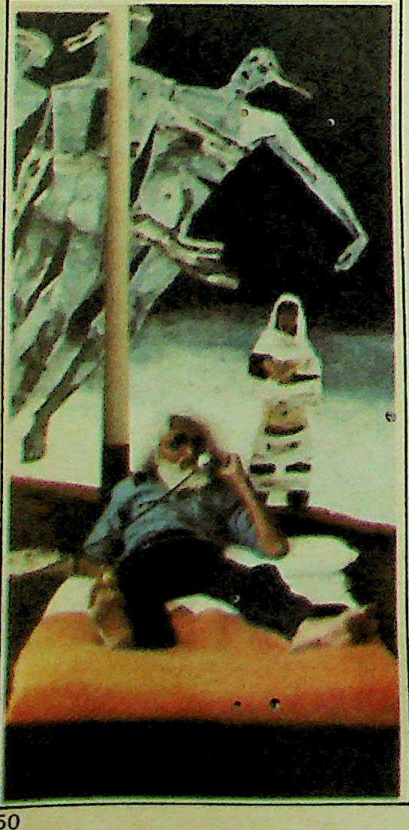
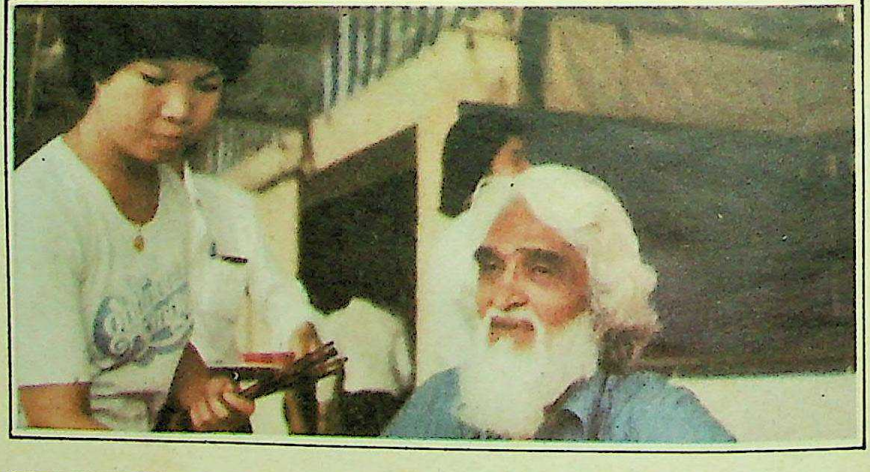
REVIEW

A brush with success

TANIA SHAH meets noted painter M.F. HUSAIN who held an exhibition of his work at Kuala Lumpur recently.







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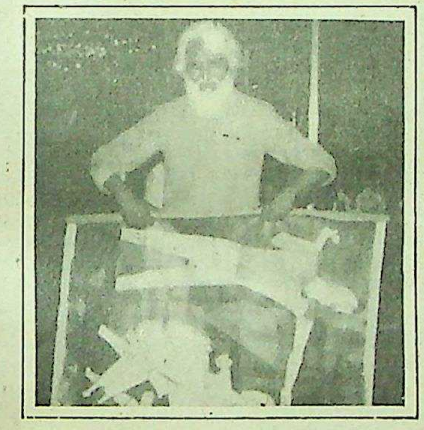
IT is difficult to be Muslim today and not to be affected, one way or the other, by what is happening in the world of Islam. M. F. Husain's recent paintings reflect his perceptions of the changes, the turmoil and the bloodshed. The main paintings at an exhibition he had in Kuala Lumpur in May depicted men being executed—'grey men in limbo silently fighting with their self-inflicted wounds. The woman is a symbol of mercy and hope to the doomed men". Other paintings also had reflections of Islamic images and calligraphy.....Khomeini's face, a black *chador* a gold Arabic letter imprinted on a background of sunlit sand.

Husain is more optimistic about what is happening than some of his paintings reflect: "I don't believe that things can go backward. I believe in the ability of youth to perceive the future...to me in the final analysis it is the individual that matters, not a political system" The exhibition was at the Kuala Lumpur Hilton in a foyer full of greenery and fountains. Husain, barefoot and



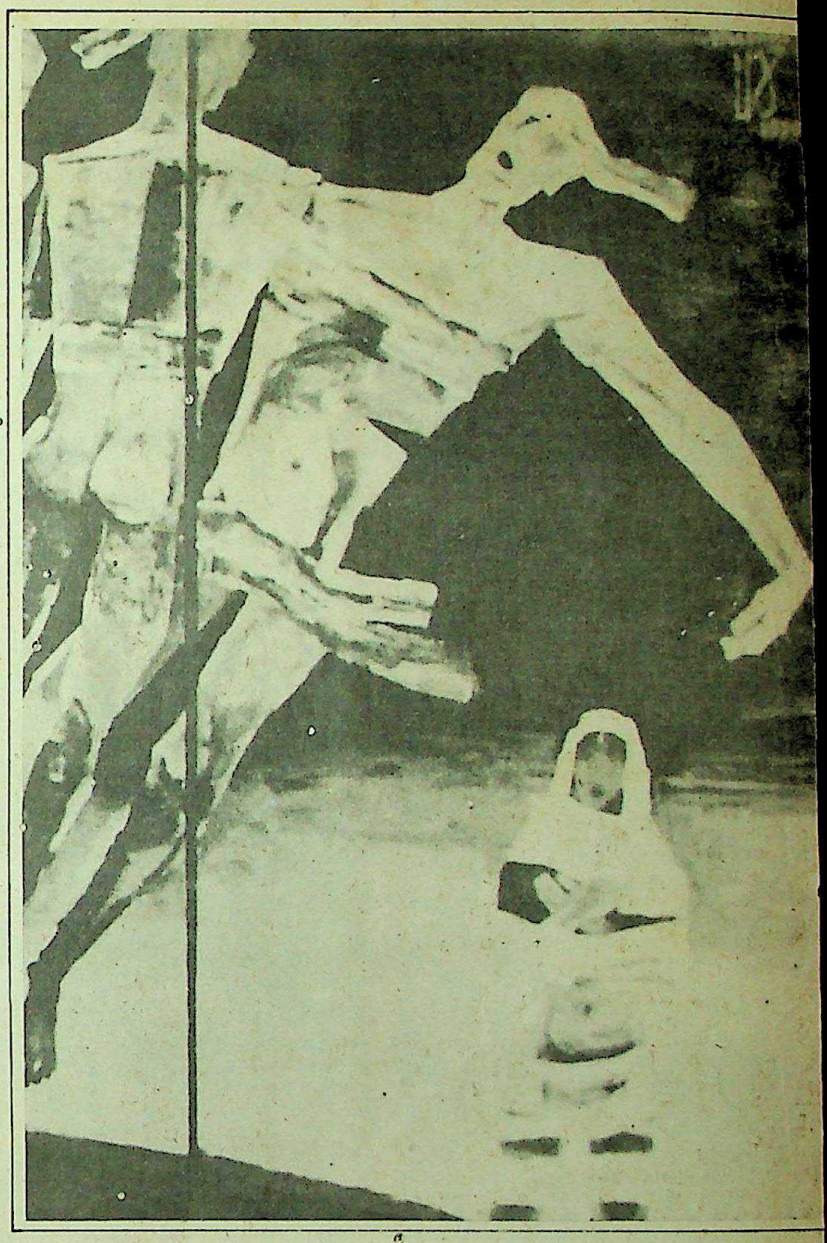
in a black *salwar-kurta* with a gold pendant round his neck, looked like a prophet or an eccentric aristocrat.

The Malaysian President, Tun Mohamed Suffian, opened the exhibition and said, "Shri Husain has done the almost impossible: bridged East and West, orthodox tradition with today's freedom. His works, although essentially Indian, have won the praise of international art critics from Tokyo to Prague. I trust that Shri Husain will open new vistas of creativity, help show our artists new trends of communicating their emotions to the world at large; help them find new meeting-points which will result in the birth of a style Malaysian and yet belonging to the world".

The Vice-Chancellor of the Malaysian University, Professor Ungku Aziz, was also there and remembered that he had bought his first painting by Husain in Calcutta in the early Fifties. "There were these brilliant sketches done on cardboard and the art dealer told me the artist was so so poor that he couldn't afford to buy canvas." The Vice-Chancellor said he would like to see Husain's work exhibited in the universities so that more people could see them than would come to the Hilton.

The exhibition, which was organized by the Pundole Gallery, Bombay, was on for four days. In the mornings students would come and talk to Husain about art and about their problems. An intense, bespectacled 18-year-old told him that he had been forced to leave home because his parents thought art was a waste of time but he had sent one of h paintings to an American Universi competition and they had offer him a scholarship. Husain asked see some of his work. The 18-yea old was silent for a few momen then said "You can't.....I could afford canvas so I painted on t cupboards and walls at home."

Husain's success in Malaysia a at another exhibition in Dubai April has prompted a Dubai art de er, Mr. A. Khan, to start a galle of modern Asian art in Lond "The East has a great deal to of the world of modern art, it is simp a question of promotion and exp sure," he said.



Photographs by Tania Shan

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A decision on the wrong track

Will it put Railways back on the rails ?

THE performance of the Indian Railways has been under fire from all the economic Ministries in the past few months. The Ministers of Energy and Steel persistently attacked the Railways at meetings of the Cabinet's Economic Monitoring Committee because of the slow movement of coal, fertilisers, steel and cement, among other things. But the Railway Minister, Mr Madhu Dandavate, could not offer any satisfactory explanation to his Ministerial colleagues. Finally the Minister did find a solution : If he could not defend his Ministry's inefficiency, he could at least find a scapegoat. And so, late in the evening of Saturday, June 2, the Cabinet Secretary, Mr Nirmal Mukherjee rang up the Railway Board Chairman and ex-officio Principal Secretary to the Government, Mr K. S. Rajan, and informed him that he had been removed from his post and appointed Officer-on-Special Duty (OSD) in the Cabinet Secretariat. A senior Railway official, who was fourth in the hierarchy of the railway officers' cadre, Mr M. Menezes, was appointed Mr Rajan's successor. Mr Menezes had been working as the Defence Production Secretary at the time of his sudden elevation to the most coveted post in the Indian Railways. Mr Rajan. who is scheduled to retire on April 30, 1980, refused to move to the new post and proceeded on two months' leave. Two members of the Railway Board, Mr S. C. Misra (Member-mechanical) and Mr J. N. Kohli (Member-traffic), who were senior to Mr Menezes, also proceeded on leave following the new appointment. Mr Misra and Mr Kohli are due to retire on June 30 and September 30, respectively.

The new appointment came as a windfall for Mr Menezes. He was due to retire on February 28 next year, and had Mr Rajan continued in his post till his normal date of superannuation, April 30, 1980, Mr Menezes would have retired in the rank of Secretary to the Government and not risen to the rank of Principal Secretary.

Apart from the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr V. Shankar, who holds the rank of Principal Secretary, the post of Chairman of the Railway Board is the only other office equivalent to the rank of Principal Secretary in the Government. When the Government decided to appoint Mr Rajan as an OSD in the Cabinet Secretariat, the resultant problems of administration were therefore overlooked : along with the Cabinet Secretary, the administrative head of the department, there would have also been an OSD of the rank of Principal Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat. The confusion caused by this situation would have been unprecedented in the annals of Indian administration. Fortunately, Mr Rajan refused to move to his new post.

The reason given by the Minister, Mr Dandavate, for Mr Rajan's removal was that the Government felt the Railway Administration needed toning up; by implication, Mr Rajan had failed in his duties and therefore was given the order of the boot. But sources in the Railway Board assert that Mr Rajan was an able administrator and his removal is an attempt by the Minister to find a scapegoat for his own failures. They point out that the administrative set-up of the Railway Board is such that each member of the Board has total autonomy regarding the portfolio he holds. The role of the Chairman is purely administrative and each member reports directly to the Minister. The failure of the Railways, for which it has been criticised by the economic Ministries, is in regard to the movement of essential goods and, as such, it was the office of the Member (traffic) which needed to be toned up, these sources said.

The sources in the Railway Board said that the former Railway Board Chairman, Mr G. P. Warrier, who is now Chairman of the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), is still calling the shots in the Rail Bhavan. Mr Warrier was Chairman during the 1974 Railway strike and a group of officers who were responsible for masterminding the Railway Board's handling of the strike are still ruling the organisation, it was alleged. These officers owe personal allegiance to Mr Warrier. Even in the Minister's personal secretariat, there is one man who received accelerated promotions during Mr Warrier's time and is still "reporting" to his former boss, the sources said. They pointed out that as a result of the machinations of this group, many railwaymen victimised in the 1974 strike had not been rehabilitated, despite the Janata Government's declared stand on this issue. Mr Rajan was not in the good books of this group and through its agents planted in strategic positions of the Railway Ministry hierarchy the group successfully engineered his removal, it was alleged.

In fact the Railways do need toning up. The equipment used by the Railways needs immediate overhauling and replacement. Thirty per cent of the locomotives and 40 per cent of the coaches are worn out and need immediate replacement. Seventy per cent of the tracks are so old that they can bear a pressure of only 90 pounds per square feet. Against the backdrop of this alarming situation, the number of gangmen has been cut drastically in the last few years. The shaky balance between tracks, engines and wagons is upset with the slightest disturbance in the work-schedule. This was amply demonstrated during the recent work-to-rule agitation by railwaymen. Whether or not the cosmetic changes brought about by Mr Dandavate will help the Railways out of this situation is anybody's guess.

Old-timers in the Railway Board

Ex-Chairman Rajan (second from left) with Mr Dandavate (third from left)

Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

recall the shabby treatment meted out to the former Railway Board Chairman, Mr B. C. Ganguly, by the then Railway Minister, Mr K. Hanumanthaiya, in 1971. Mr Ganguly, who was a skilled engineer, was sacked when he was on tour. The dismissal order was communicated to him in a saloon by which he was travelling. In Mr Rajan's case, it took the administrative section of the Railway Board less than 24 hours to replace the nameplate in the Chairman's room in Rail Bhavan. The decision was taken late on the Saturday evening and by noon on Sunday the nameplate had been changed. Mr Menezes has been appointed for a term of three years. That is, he has not only earned an unexpected promotion, but also an extension of two years. He has a reputation of good service and his performance in the Defence Ministry has been praiseworthy. But whether the new Chairman will be able to keep the Government pleased till the expiry of his extended term has become a matter of speculation among senior officers who are extremely critical of the way in which the matter has been handled by the Government. One official interpreted the removal of the Railway Board Chairman as "the shape of things to come in the Government's drive to redress the present-day problems".

Mr Rajan's reaction to the whole affair was: "Is the Railways the only thing that is going wry in the country? At this rate every IG of police should be asked to go." It is not certain what step Mr Rajan would take after the expiry of his two-month leave. But while the dust raised by his removal and the voluntary departure of two Railway Board members is yet to settle down, a rumour is circulating in the corridors of Rail Bhavan that another member, in-charge of finance, Mr V. C. A. Padmanabhan, may soon be asked to go.

A CORRESPONDENT, New Delhi

Banking on humour

Was an innocent parallel carried too far?

BANKERS are not given to banter. They are serious people handling money. Nor do customers, big or small, take them for a ride.

It is in this background that humourless politicians took an innocuous question paper set by a panel of two examiners for book-keeping and accountancy held last April under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Bankers.

A Janata Party functionary from Tamil Nadu sent Prime Minister Morarji Desai a clipping of a brief letter to the Editor which appeared in the Madras edition of the *Indian Express*. Mr Desai, in the normal course, sent it to the Reserve Bank Governor, Dr I. G. Patel for comments. Dr Patel of the Indian Economic Service passed it on to Mr P. C. D. Nambiar, President of the Institute.

The question paper sought to find out the candidates' knowledge in regard to drawing up of a balance sheet for a partnership firm. The exception taken was to the names of the partners. They were simply Morarji, Charan and Ram. The final accounts of the firm were prepared by Patel, an accountant of the firm. The question paper then went on to give details of the partnership firm. They were very precise. The details, however, were rather drab as they had come from a chartered accountant; one of the examiners.

The following are the details: "Morarji, Charan and Ram are partners in a firm sharing profits and losses in the ratio of 2:1:1. It is agreed that interest on capital will be allowed at 5 per cent per annum and interest on drawings will be charged at 4 per cent per annum. (No interest will be charged or allowed on current account).

"The following are the particulars of the Capital, Current and Drawings accounts of the partners:

	Morarji	Charan	Ram	
Capital (1st January 1978)	75,000	40,000	30,000	
Current account (1st January 1978)	10,000	5,000	5,000	(dr.)
Drawings	15,000	10,000	10,000	
Interest on drawings (1978)	500	190	350	

Dharm Vir Jayner

Charan Singh: testy retort

"The final accounts as prepared by Patel, the accountant of the firm, showed a net profit of Rs 60,000 before taking into account interest on capital and drawings and subject to the following adjustments:

a) Life insurance premium of Morarji's son amounting to Rs 1,000 has been debited to Plan account and depreciation thereon charged at 20 per cent

b) Travelling expenses of Rs 3,000 of Charan for attending Kisan Sammelan paid by the firm on 30th June, 1978 has been debited to travelling expenses.

i) You are requested to prepare profit and loss adjustment account.

ii) Profit and Loss appropriation account.

iii) Current accounts of the partners for the year 1978.

Janata Company Limited offered 3,00,000 equity shares each at Rs 12 per share payable, Rs 3 on application (including premium of Rs 2), Rs 3 on allotment and the balance in two equal instalments at the end of 3 months and 6 months from the date of allotment.

Applications for 4,10,000 shares were received by 30th June, 1978 and shares were allotted at the rate of three shares for applied for on 15th July, 1978. Rs 30,000 were refunded by 31st July, 1978. All amounts due were received on due dates with the exception of the final call on 3,000 shares. These shares were forfeited on March 21, 1979.

The candidates were to draw a balance sheet. The examiners were Prof T. Aguiger, retired Vice-Principal of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and Mr N. H. Krishnadawde, a chartered accountant. Both obviously considered the question too innocent to merit attention. It was meant for about 3,000 candidates who would privately enjoy this dig at politicians.

The Government at the Centre is undoubtedly a partnership concern with unequal shares held by each one of them. Mr Charan Singh was annoyed. He thought the questions were "malicious". He has suggested that the examiners be dropped from future panels. They should not be given any Government or public sector work. In fact, he would like the Union Law Ministry to examine whether a case for defamation could be brought against the examiners. The Minister of State for Finance, Mr Satish Agarwal, considered it a "serious lapse" and "highly objectionable."

A. N PRABHU. New Delhi

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Police to get more

But who will foot the bill ?

WHILE the so-called consensus at the one-day Chief Ministers' Conference with the Home Minister, H. M. Patel, in the capital to "better the policeman's lot" has put the temporary brakes on the police agitation in the country, it remains to be seen how large the gap between promises and actual performance is. The five major steps agreed upon by the Chief Ministers were: higher pay scales for policemen, special pay for extra hours of duty, housing facilities, permission for police associations and the abolition of the orderly system.

To implement these steps, however, might be very difficult since each of them have major obstacles to overcome first. Higher pay-scales and special pay, for instance, proved a ticklish issue at the Conference, with a number of Chief Ministers demanding central grants for this sudden increase in expenditure. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Mr V. K. Saklecha, for example, flatly refused to increase the police pay scales on the plea that the State Government just did not have enough money to do so. The Home Minister, on the other hand, was equally adamant that the Centre was not ready to give any assistance whatsoever. Mr Patel's argument was that since the police issue was a State subject, the question of the Centre providing any financial assistance to increase police emoluments did not araise.

A large number of Chief Ministers, particularly from the poorer States, said that they did not even envisage being able to increase the police pay-scales and pointed out that they did not have the same resources (like the affluent State Punjab) to increase the police paypackets suddenly. The Punjab Chief Minister, Prakash Singh Badal, in fact came in for strong attack from some Chief Ministers for "panicking and rashly increasing the salaries to policemen". The Chief Ministers blamed him for precipitating the police agitation in other States by the pay hike he allowed.

Housing facilities is another promise which is likely to sound hollow very soon. The decision at the Chief Ministers Conference to provide 75 per cent of the policemen with houses within the next ten years is fairly limited. Even this small target looks a formidable one if one takes into consideration the fact that less than 50 per cent of the policemen have houses now. The Centre has promised no assistance and very few Chief Ministers are ready to answer the question: where are the houses going to come from?

There was strong resistance by a number of Chief Ministers to formation of police associations. The anti-association lobby was led by the Chief Ministers of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh who felt that associations would be "detrimental to the discipline of the police force." Even after Mr Patel assured them that such associations would not have much teeth since they would not have the right to strike or agitate, the Chief Ministers insisted that elected associations could not be permitted. After wrangling over the issue for many hours, the question of asociations was left hanging with a vague announcement that the Chief Ministers were in agreement in principle with police associations.

Sunil Dutt

H. M. Patel: will not budge

The only issue which was speedily agreed upon by the Chief Ministers was the abolition of the orderly system understandably since this did not affect them. A strong resistance to this however is expected from police officers who are very upset about the withdrawal of privileges enjoyed by them for decades. "If they want to improve the policemans' lot, how can they forget the officers' lot", complained a Delhi police officer bitterly. There is a reported move by police officers to fight against the abolition of orderlies. "We are not just going to stand and watch the few privileges we have being robbed like this. If they stop us from having orderlies then why should they leave out the army officers", asked a police officer.

But perhaps the major issue which is likely to prove crucial in the future, and wasn't discussed at all in the Chief Minister's conference, is the fate of thousands of policemen arrested and dismissed or suspended from service during the two-week-long police agitation in the country.

The majority of these are in Punjab, where the Inspector General of Police, B S. Danewalia has a stake in seeing to it that the 'errant' policemen are severely punished since he was personally humiliated during the agitation. While most of the active agitators are languishing behind bars they still command tremendous support among their fellow policemen outside. Their continued arrest and dismissal is likely to be a constant source of anger and dissatisfaction among the policemen.

Ultimately, the outcome of the policemen's agitation, as well as the decisions taken at the Chief Ministers' Conference, is a tremendous moral victory for the police constabulary in the country. While the announced benefits might not materialise, the police constable today is feeling on top and has learnt the crucial lesson that agitation could bring them rich dividends. This new-found confidence might prove difficult to break in the future if the police decide to take to the streets again.

AJOY BOSE, New Delhi

Fire in the press

IT's a star crossed time for the local established evening papers in Bombay. And harvest time for a new eveninger called *Mid-Day*. The reason: the sensitive rotary and lino machines of the Free Press Journal group, which has some of the most enteprising journalists in the city, were badly damaged in a fire that engulfed the press section at 2.30 p.m. on Friday, June 15. Its popular eveninger the *Fress Press Bulletin*, (circulation, 40,000) was to have increased its pages to 12 and introduced three new comic strips from that day. But everything has come to a halt. "The press could have been saved," said the electrical engineer, Sardesai. "I had just come out of the press after seeing the Nasik edition sent out, and I heard the shout 'fire, fire'. I turned round to see leaping flames. We tried to use the fire extinguishers but there was no water. Even when the fire brigades came they were helpless for 20 minutes. There was no pressure in the mains and precious time was lost waiting for water. There were about 50 people in the building, including the night staff and two journalists who live on the top floor. The night staff were alerted and they rushed down the main staircase of the five-storeyed, 80-year-old concrete and stone building".

Reporter Deepak Neogi who lives at the top was also warned but he

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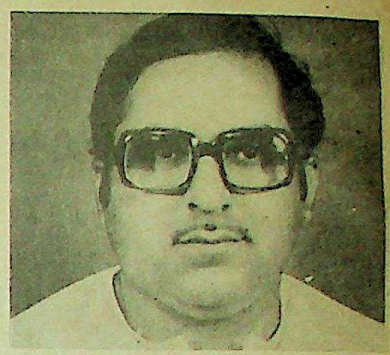
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

could not come down as the stairs were a thick black cloud of smoke. "I watched the flames rising slowly higher and higher from the ground floor to the first and as I wondered what would happen to me the fire brigade snorkel reached me and brought me down to safety". Sardesai, a frail old man, had tried to rush up the steps to warn Neogi and had to remove his clothes down to his briefs because "it was so scorching hot. My dentures also melted and I have lost my teeth" he added, showing his missing dentures.

According to one eyewitness, the Nasik edition was already printed and they were running the city edition when the fire broke out. The fire brigade men suspect a short circuit. Others say there were oil-soaked logs near the machine, causing the fire to spread. A fresh stock of Swedish newsprint had just arrived.

The Free Press group is owned by young Calcutta industrialist Jaikumar Karnani and brings out *Navshakti, Janashakti* and the *Free Press Journal*. It has been bogged by labour trouble over the years. "We have never had smooth sailing," said one of the oldest staff members. "We have always had to struggle for every wage rise. In the last six years we had five strikes. Almost every year we have been on the streets and now we are really on the streets. One doesn't know when the press will start working again. The machines are in a terrible condition." The *Onlooker*, a weekly printed by the group elsewhere, is not likely to be effected. Meanwhile, *The Times of India*, often referred to as the Grand Old Lady of Bori Bunder, has been on strike in the press section since June 11 and with its eveninger (circulation 25,000) also effected, the field is open for Khalid Ansari's (Inquilab group) new eveninger *Mid-Day*. The eveninger was scheduled to come out from June 26, but its date was understandably advanced to June 16 to take advantage of the vacuum. "It could not have been better timed," said one journalist. "A real god-send".

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay



Janata MLA, Ramesh Varlyani

Muster roll scandal

Janata MLA alleges graft in irrigation project

THE Rs 4.86-crore Muster Roll scandal of the Jonk Irrigation Project in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh has outlasted three Chief Ministers and appears to have got a new lease of life under the fourth one—Mr Virendra Kumar Saklecha.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani, Janata MLA and secretary of the State Janata Legislative Party, who unmasked the scandal and raised it in the Vidhan Sabha, wanted the seizure of muster rolls; suspension of officials concerned and a CBI probe into the whole affair. But Mr Manharan Pande, the Irrigation Minister, while accepting that serious irregularities had been committed in the project refused to hand over the case to the CBI. He wanted Mr Varlyani to be content with only a departmental probe.

Work on the Jonk Project, which was meant to irrigate the parched lands of Raipur district started in 1973—but all these years it has been mainly a source of widespread corruption. Tenders were called for the work and some contractors even started the work but they gave it up since some of the officials were hostile towards them. The officials then recommended to the top brass that since the contractors were reluctant to work, the job should be done departmentally under a muster roll. It seemed a well planned strategy which must have had the blessings of all—from top to bottom.

In 1973 Mr P. C. Sethi, the Chief Minister cleared the muster rolls. When Mr S. C. Shukla took over.

MP Irrigation Minister, Manharan Pande

sanctions for all irrigation projects were raised for he considered himself an expert on the subject. When the Janata Government came to power in the State and Mr Jabar Singh became Minister for PWD (Building and Roads), he scrapped the muster roll system observing that in most of the construction works done departmentally under the system, officials were minting money. But Mr V. K. Saklecha, as Irrigation Minister and Mr Manharan Pande, Minister of State for Irrigation, let the muster roll system continue in their Department. It is interesting to note that even when Mr Saklecha became Chief Minister, he did not give up the Irrigation portfolio though he raised Pande to Cabinet rank. Both, however, did nothing to discourage the muster roll system.

The muster roll scandal started brewing since the commencement of work but became serious in 1976-77, as the figures of payment reveal—1973-74 : Rs. 8,50,000; 1974-75 : Rs 7,56,000; 1975-76 : Rs 15,27,000; 1976-77 : Rs 97,63,000; 1977-78 : Rs 1,67,26,000 and from 1-4-1978 to 31-12-1978 : Rs 1,67,26,000. The monthly figures for payment are equally interesting—January '77 : Rs 16,87,000; February '77 : Rs 6,62,000; March '77 : Rs 25,00,000; The corresponding figures for 1978 when the change in leadership of Janata Government in the State was affected were Rs 15.58,000, Rs 17,69,000, and Rs 47,35,000

What is unique is that according to the muster rolls work continued during the monsoon as well. Payments made during the monsoon of 1977 were July : Rs 2,28,000 August: Rs 6,09,000; and September : Rs 4,44,000. In the 1978 monsoon when the Janata Ministry had had a year's experience and Mr Manharan Pande was well in command of the Irrigation Department, the payments made were : July Rs 19,85,000; August : Rs 7,60,000 and September : Rs 8,10,000. Nowhere in India is muster roll work done during monsoon and Jonk is an exception.

If the muster roll figures are taken at their face value, they would reveal that during March 1977 and March 1978 at least 20.000 to 40,000 persons were employed in the Jonk Project. It is contended that the Jonk area can hardly claim 3,000 workers for muster roll work and that too when they are gathered from all over the Balorabazar sub-division, where the Project is situated.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani has alleged that all ten fingers of persons available were used for thumb impressions on the muster rolls. Payments made by the project are also at very high rates. Mr Varlyani told Members in the Vidhan Sabha that *Morrum* which costs Rs 3.00 per cu.m. was bought for Rs 9.00 per cu.m. and the price paid for soft rock (Rs 22 per

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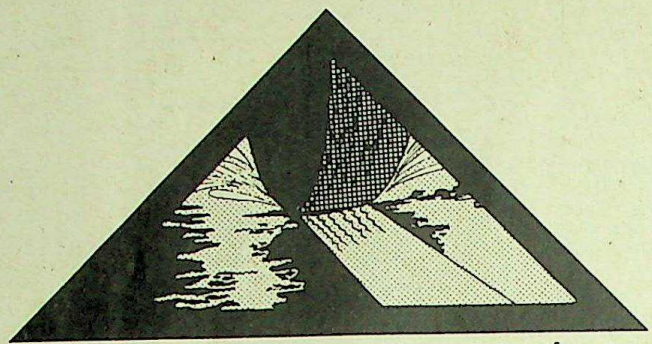
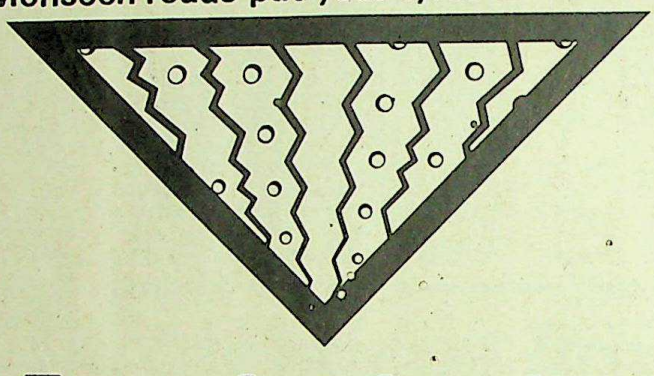
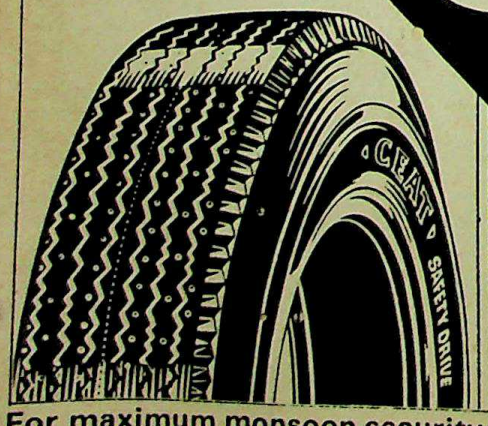


Monsoon roads put your tyres to the test.



For safety's sake fit Ceat's Safety Drive.

CEAT



Ceat's Safety Drive gives you

- a surer road grip
- instant braking
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For maximum monsoon security: Ceat tyres for scooters, motorcycles and cars.

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cu. m.) was actually the price of hard rock.

Since the Jonk Project involved work costing several crores of rupees it was proposed that two sub-divisions of the Irrigation Department would be responsible. Actually one sub-divisional officer was entrusted with the job. And since 1973 it has been his monopoly. Under the rules a sub-divisional officer (SDO) of the Irrigation Department cannot be given independent charge of any work estimated to cost more than Rs 30 lakhs. The SDO was given a transfer order last year. Within 24 hours of receipt of the transfer order, he got it cancelled. A pro-Janata Party and also pro-Janata Government daily of Raipur published a report mentioning that the SDO paid Rs one lakh to the Irrigation Minister for cancellation of his transfer. Mr Manharan Pande has neither contradicted the report nor sued the daily. Another officer of the project, a junior one, met the Chief Minister and Mr Pande at Bhopal, although protocol does not permit such direct interviews. The official later said that he had donated Rs 80,000 to the Janata Party from the funds earmarked for the projects. Another official of the Project is said to be running two construction companies. Yet another has built a Rs seven lakh-bungalow for himself at Raipur. Incidentally, Mr Pande has got himself a new bungalow at Takhatpur in Bilaspur district.

And so Mr Manharan Pande has every reason to reject the demand for the CBI probe or suspension of officials and seizure of muster rolls. Circumstances forced him to admit, however, that there were irregularities in the work on the Project. He is not prepared to hear anything against the Jonk Project. He does not believe in Press reports and says that the Press which has been charging the Jonk Project with corruption has benefited much from it. He charged the pressmen with being sleeping partners of corrupt elements and raising funds through them for their dailies.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani said that since he had raised the issue in the Vidhan Sabha he has been receiving threats and warnings against pursuing the scandal any further. He had raised the issue first in September 1978 in the Vidhan Sabha but it did not yield any results. Now the Government has agreed to an examination of the matter by the Chief Technical Examiner of the Irrigation Department, but his other demands which could help a meaningful probe has been rejected. Mr Varlyani maintains that the officials had actually been extended time and opportunity to tamper with the muster rolls and they were fully exploiting the opportunity to save their skins.

M. V. KHER, Raipur

Urs demurs

Will Karnataka go the Maharashtra way?

A SHARAD PAWAR-type Government is likely to take shape in Karnataka also if Indira Gandhi were to try to pull down one of the few stable Governments in the country. Her recent two-day visit to Bangalore turned out to be a total failure. The anti-Urs group could not even produce 35 MLAs before her.

According to political circles, Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who was here recently too, had offered his Party's support to Chief Minister Devraj Urs in case a section of the pro-Indira MLAs were to withdraw support, but their number is too small to upset the big majority Urs enjoys. Although, differences between Mrs Indira Gandhi and Urs may not reach a showdown stage (because both cannot afford to antagonise each other at this crucial period), the Janata is getting ready to fish in the troubled waters. The anti-Jana Sangh faction inside the Janata, numbering about 30 MLAs, has already been hobnobbing with the Congress (I) after its leader Veerendra Patil, after having been defeated by the Jana Sangh nominee H. D. 'Deve Gowda in the State Party President's election, deserted it to seek the cosy comfort of the Bihar Raj Bhavan. This means that if Urs's proposal to have an elected President for the KPCC is rejected by Indira Gandhi, he will have no other go but to retaliate and the best course suggested is to stage a Sharad Pawar-type of coup in Karnataka also. The Janata Party is too willing to swallow one of the only two surviving Congress (I) States in the country.

Urs: no return?

However, this proposal of the Prime Minister, which is understood to have the blessings of Charan Singh also, has not been liked by the State RSS and Jana Sangh. Lingayats and a section of the Vokkaliga MLAs too are opposed to this idea of saving Devraj Urs, having suffered a lot under his regime.

But this section, though comprising the powerful landed gentry and having the blessings of Brahmin and Lingayat Jagadgurus, is likely to ultimately lose as even the little remaining scheduled castes, backward classes and Muslims inside the State Janata are forced to come closer to Urs's group under the attack from RSS-Jana Sangh which has captured the State Janata. Even the tiny Socialist Party group will support Urs. The CPI and RPI have always been with him. That means Urs will get solid support not only from his Party MLAs but also a sizable section of the Janata, frustrating the Indira Gandhi game. If things do reach such a critical stage, Urs may form a new regional Party and go in for a coalition with the Janata as in Maharashtra. Already, Urs has had consultations to this effect with leaders in different parts of India.

Indira Gandhi would be solely responsible for destablishing the stablest Government in the country and also killing one of the two last surviving Congress Governments. This is the price Indira Gandhi will have to pay for her ego that could not tolerate the growing popularity of Urs. By this the desperados in the Congress (I) would be also forcibly driving Devraj Urs nearer to the Janata and particularly towards Charan Singh. Such a forcible exit from the Congress (I) at a time when it actually needs him so badly, might even help him to get over the problems created by the Grover Commission. The Janata leaders will be obliged to help him in return for staging this coup.

With Indira Gandhi facing serious problems before the different courts and the RSS under severe attack from the progressive forces all over the country, the ouster of Devraj Urs from the Congress (I) is expected to pave the way for the emergence of that long-awaited Third Force. Already, there are enough indications that RSS-Jana Sangh and Indira Gandhi are thinking alike on many issues and the birth of such a Third Force will force them to come together.

V. T. RAJSHEKAR SHETTY, Bangalore

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

NOTHING anybody says is going to stop *Randhir Kapoor* from directing his next film under the R. K. banner. "I am one of the best directors in the country," says Mr Kapoor, and is not worried by the fact that he is the only one saying that. "Arrey, it's just because my past two films did not do all that well. If the films had done well, and even if I was a s..t director, everybody would have said I'm the most talented guy in the world. These blokes here are like that," says a knowing Randhir (or Daboo as his close pals in the industry call him). Besides, Randhir has an extra ace up his sleeve where his next film is concerned. He will be directing his brother Rishi Kapoor for the first time. To which one catty observer said, "Two hams in one film! It's bound to be a success." Now that's being unfair. Give a guy a chance, will you?

"I don't know why people think I'm involved with *Raj Tilak*. I am like a child of the family in that house," *Bindiya Goswami* told me when we met on the sets of *Shaan* some time ago. She denied that she is involved with anybody (including Vinod Mehra) at the moment. "I'm too young for that sort of thing. Besides, I have my career to concentrate on." When I met Raj Tilak later on, he laughed at what Bindiya had had to say, though he refused to confirm or deny her statement. All he said was, "I don't see why these girls have to open their mouths so big. All they have to do is keep quiet and not say anything. Don't they realise that by talking like that when everybody knows what they are, they make proper asses of themselves?" You learn by experience, Tilak *saab*, you surely do!

THERE were all kinds of of comments following the engagement of *Rishi Kapoor* to *Neetu Singh*. And the industrywallahs who had insisted all along that he would never marry her, were asked what they had to say now.

Amilesh Banerjee

Neetu Singh : not bothered

"We'll wait for the marriage to take place before we give our final comments on the subject. After all, what's in an engagement. Waheeda broke one, Shabana broke a couple. Everybody knows that engagements are a joke in the industry." Keeping what had been said in mind, when I met Neetu Singh (in between her busy shifts the other day, as she has been shooting at top speed to complete her numerous assignments) I asked her why she and Rishi had not got married at once. Why the engagement? After all, the doubting Thomases did not lay much importance on an engagement. Neetu took it sportingly and said, "But what makes you think I am living my life to please the doubting Thomases? And in any case, they are people who will never be satisfied under any circumstance. Once I get married, they will say, 'Wait till she gets her first child. After all, what's in a marriage?' Don't tell me you want me to bother my head about such stupidity?" No Neetu baby, we don't want you to bother your head about anything. From now on you just concentrate on keeping Rishi happy.

NOWADAYS, it seems, newcomers will resort to anything to get themselves some publicity. They start maligning their elders, people who have been respected in the industry for so many years. These are not my thoughts, but these are the views expressed by a couple of producers and directors whom I have been meeting on the sets, when I go to meet the stars. One producer was complaining of one newcomer in particular—*Dolly Jena*. "That girl," he grumbled, "would come around to producers offices and stick there like a leech, and refuse to get up unless they gave her some hope, if nothing else, for work in future. And now, just to get into the limelight, she has gone to the office of some film magazine and made all kinds of maligning statements against filmmakers of various standing and repute." Well then, if the producers already have their standing and repute, why are they bothered? After all, what a mere newcomer has to say can hardly make a difference.

I'M not very intelligent, but even I can see signs of a cool-off in the *Zeenat-Sanjay* liaison, the cold breeze coming from Zeenat's direction. Why else has her mother been giving a whole chunk of dates for foreign location shootings? So that Zeenat can be away from Bombay from July right on to October. Zeenat, of course, says it is because of the hot weather and the rains. But I strongly suspect the reason is six feet tall, not higher. And the only reason why Zeenat has carried on so long with this romance is because she has found it difficult to shrug him off. Where her other boyfriends were concerned, they had been busy with their own careers and did not have so much extra time and energy to pursue, soothe and pamper Ms Aman. But Sanjay has all the time in the world, and something tells me that Zeenat is not going to find its easy at all to get rid of this leech.

IT is a matter of pleasure to *Mumtaz* (who spends more time here, in Bombay, among the film folk, than with her husband) that no other heroine has been able to replace her, and it hasn't been for want of trying. "Rekha now copies me without reservation. Look at some of her latest films and you will know what I am talking about," advises the pug-nosed, once-famous heroine. And it leaves me wondering. How does Mumtaz know whether anybody has or hasn't replaced her or whether Rekha copies her or not? Does she spend all her time seeing every film that is released just to satisfy her ego about the fact that she is irreplaceable?

SHIRJEE

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

KHAAS BAAT

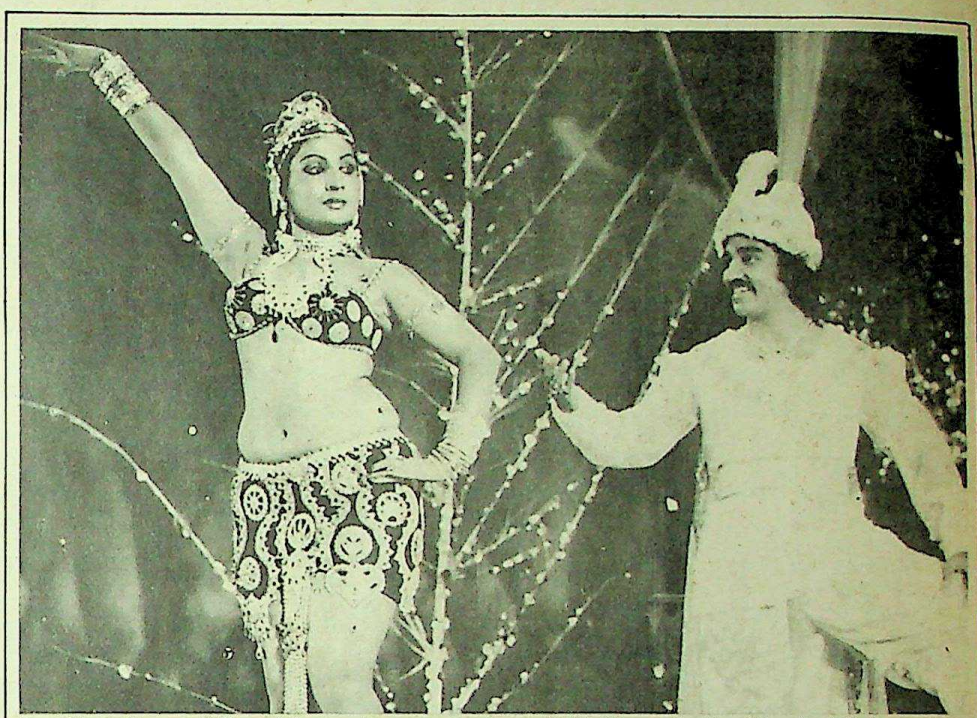
GUESS who's obsessed most with *Deepa's* (alias Unni Mary) mammaries? Her own mother. This sweet, bulky lady doesn't miss an opportunity to tell you how her only daughter developed a well-formed bosom even before she was eleven.

Deepa's mother wants us to believe that her daughter used to "swallow too many vitamin pills" and that's how she acquired her famous bosom (well, it isn't as famous as Katy Mirza's). The girl is just seventeen—so the carefully preserved baptism certificate says. Her mother is a bit peeved about the fact that people stare at Deepa's bosom and then decide she's over twenty.

Deepa finally passed her matriculation examination. But as some cynics believe, she need not have studied for it. Her very presence in the examination hall, they say, would have been enough for the star-struck examiners to have passed her. But she did study, her mother maintains: "You know, my daughter goes to sleep with books all around her." So much for the cynics!

Deepa had two major ambitions in life: to pass her matriculation examination and to act in a hit Tamil movie. Now both of them have been achieved. The film, *Rosappu Ravikaikari*, a remake of a Kannada super hit, *Prasangada Gende Thimma*, is one of the biggest hits of the season. Though she has a small role in the film, she's still the heroine. And what's more, after this film, Tamil producers are taking more interest in her.

ONE of the amusing scenes I recently witnessed at a studio in Madras, was the picturisation of a song sequence of a Telugu venture, *Yugandhar*, a remake of the Hindi film *Don*. There was *N. T. Rama Rao* (NTR), the superman of Telugu films, doing the *kaike banaras-paan* dance. The people of Andhra are great *paan* eaters and the producers feel that the song should go very well with the Telugu audiences. However, NTR, with his paunch, sagging jaws, and an expression of ennui, looked quite silly in the dancing scenes. And this isn't the first time that he has done such a silly scene: there was this classic film



Jayabharathy and Kamalahasan in a scene from "Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp"

Rama Krishnalu in which NTR and A. Nageshwara Rao kept hugging each other's bare breasts in a prolonged bathroom scene. But then NTR's popularity has few parallels down South. He's still going strong despite the presence of younger actors like Kamalahasan and Chiranjeevi. Anything he does is acceptable. His heroine in *Yugandhar* is Jayasudha.

CHEAP bedroom humour is both a regular and a sickening feature in many Tamil films. But the lousy jokes in *Nallathoru Kudumbum*, a film godfathered by *Sivaji Ganesan*, are really irritating. Not only are they in bad taste, but they also take up a good portion of the film. Ironically, Sivaji Ganesan is often hailed as a "clean actor".

JAYABHARATHY, the heroine of *Allavuddinum Arputha Vilakkum*, continues to accept more and more roles which demand mild stripping. Already a proven veteran of a number of hits, in which she portrayed sober characters, Jayabharathy got a bit panicky when several young starlets started exhibiting their vital assets without any inhibitions. Apart from Seema, there were several others: Manju Bhargavi, Surekha, Mamta and Shuba, who were prepared to strip even before the director finished his first cigarette. Jayabharathy's stripping spree began with *Itha Ivade Vare* and continued through such soft-pornos like *Rathi Nirvedham* (Sexy Dreams) *Aval Oru Nadodi*.

PRAMILLA's new rented house, off Adayar, Madras, seems to have brought her luck: her career has started looking up and now she wants to buy the lucky house. Problem: the owners are not keen on selling it. It's good that Pramilla is thinking of acquiring her own house: she has a terrible reputation of being a lousy tenant. Many house-owners here have changed their minds at the last minute, and decided not to make their house available when they heard that Pramilla was moving in.

K. R. VIJAYA is sponsoring the Tamil remake of Sawan Kumar's *Sajan Bina Suhagan*. It is understood that Vijaya will plays Nutan's role. And Krishnan-Panju, her favourite directors, are associated with this untitled Tamil film. This duo has directed more than twenty films featuring Vijaya. An interesting feature about these directors: you find only Panju on the sets. Krishnan, introvert and withdrawn, is supposed to prepare and finalise all the paperwork. He must be very good at it, for the films made by Krishnan-Panju are completed within a very short time.

RAJNIKANT was in great form on the sets of *Kali*, a much publicised Tamil venture being directed by I. V. Sasi. Seema is the heroine. Said Rajni, "I am once again working on three shifts to complete all the pending assignments and then only I want to relax." Surely, he does not want to have another nervous breakdown, which would only make his rivals feel happy. Rajnikant and Kamalahasan's last film together (as things stand now), *Allavuddinum Arputha Vilakkum* (also advertised as Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp) is a solid hit in Kerala. Its Tamil version awaits release.

PIOUSJI

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Beginning June 24

This week the Sun alone is in Gemini, Jupiter and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are in Leo, Uranus is in Libra and Neptune is in Scorpio. Kethu is in Aquarius, Mars and Venus are conjoined in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Cancer and Leo from Gemini.

ARIES (March 21 — April 20) In spite of all the pains you take in doing your work, you will not achieve success. Financially this period does not seem to be good and you might have to go in for loans. Taxpayers are advised to keep their accounts up-to-date. Avoid travel and be cautious in your movements outside. Pending suits and debts will cause you worries. **Good dates:** 26, 2 8and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.

TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) This is an ideal period for love and matrimonial affairs. You will gain financially through a new friend. The homefront will be quiet and peaceful although there are chances of social gatherings in the weekend in which you will be a host. You might have to cancel an important journey at the last moment. You will gain by your contracts with elders, family relatives and officials. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) The beginning of the week will be troublesome for you. Your companions will quarrel with you. Any legal suit will cause you worry. Be careful in your talks with friends and relations. Take decisions fast. Cancel tours and do not take part in any social gatherings like parties. **Good dates:** 26, 27 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 3. **Favourable directions:** South and South-west.

Cancer (June 22 — July 22) This is the opportune time for looking after your domestic problems. Purchase and dispose property now. It will be financially gainful for you. You will receive some good news from far away. Parties are in the offing. Your health will be good. This is a good time for speculation, sports and gambling. **Good dates:** 24, 27, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.

LEO (July 23 — August 22) The latter part of the week is going to be good for you. In the beginning you will have to face problems in your job and home. Many people will frustrate your prospects. However, this week is good for love and matrimony. One of your old friends will help you in an important matter. **Good dates:** 28, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) This week is going to be a very busy one for you. Take care of your health and see that you get plenty of rest. Avoid all sorts of controversy with business partners and family members. Defer courtship and marriages at this time. A short journey will solve a problem now bothering you. Financial debts will not worry you. Some of you will go in for new vehicles. **Good dates:** 25, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable directions:** North and West.

LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) For businessmen, a new contract will be beneficial. Partners and relatives will prove helpful. Discuss your problems with others before taking any major decisions. Women and children will gain presents. Avoid travels. This is not a good week for gambling and speculation. **Good dates:** 27, 28, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

SCORPIO (October 23— November 21) This week will be one of great tension. So, do not lose your cool and be patient. Your homefront will not be calm and peaceful. Your subordinates will betray you. Try to postpone important decisions. Avoid love and matrimonial negotiations. Take care of the health of children. Don't stand guarantor for anyone. Health will be excellent this week. **Good dates:** 27, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North.

SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) A congenial atmosphere prevails in your home and office. The time is good for parties and entertainments. Do not neglect your responsibilities. There is no need to worry about financial matters. A distant relative will send you some good news. Some will gain promotions.. Business will be good. **Good dates:** 28 and 29. **Lucky numbres:** 1 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.

CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) You should be swift in your actions. There will be an acute shortage of funds. Some of you will go in for new loans. The weekend will be successful. Meeting influential people will help you in your career. This is a good week for love and matrimonial affairs. Letters will bring in good news. **Good dates:** 26, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 10. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Your homefront will be very lively and pleasant. Some good news is in the offing. Your words will carry weight. Financial problems will not trouble you. Some family members may fall sick and this might cause you mental worries. Do not be impatient. Try to fight against opposition in your job and you will be rewarded. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.

PISCES (February 20 — March 20) The week will be a pleasant and lively one. Friends and relatives will be around to share your happiness with you. You might not gain financially but this should not dishearten you. Letters will bring in good news. The time is not favourable for legal matters. Some of you will go in for new debts. **Good dates:** 24, 28 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.

M. B. RAMAN

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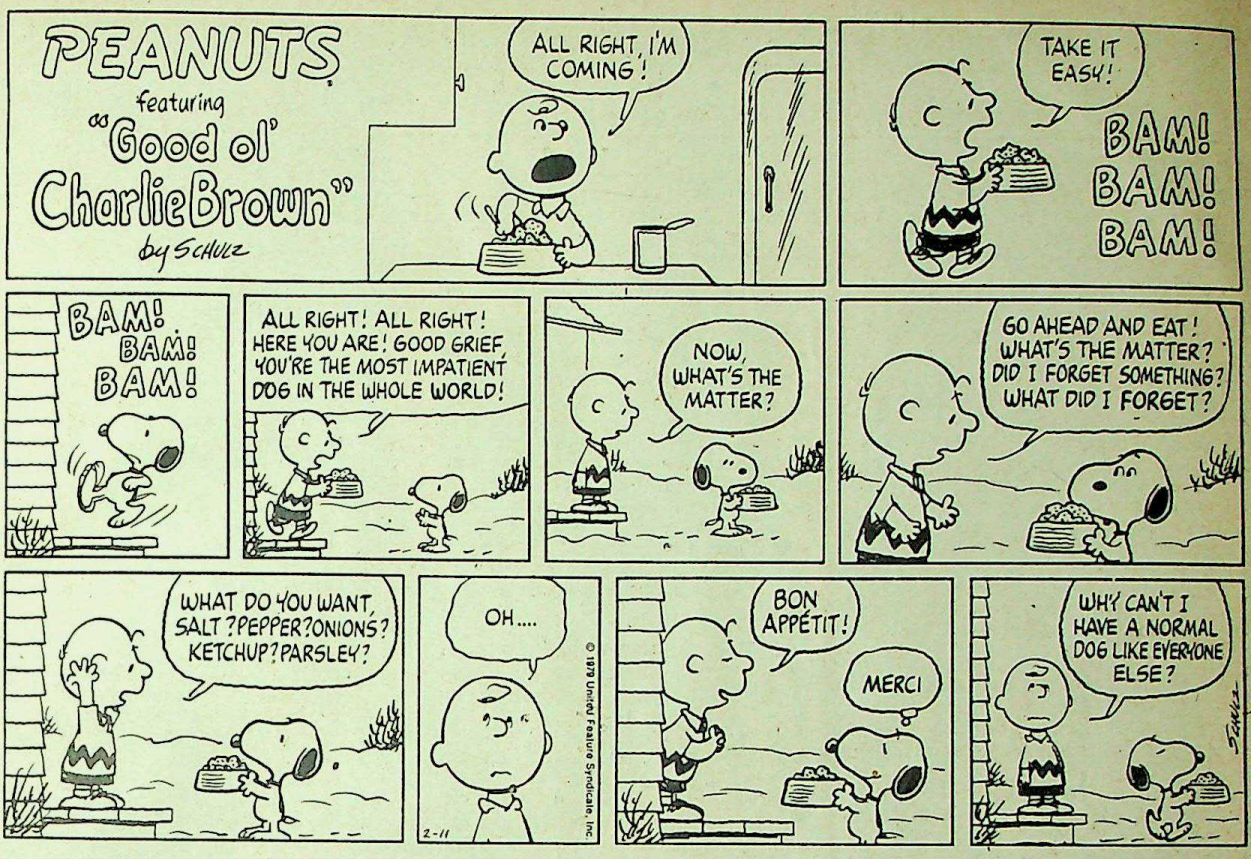

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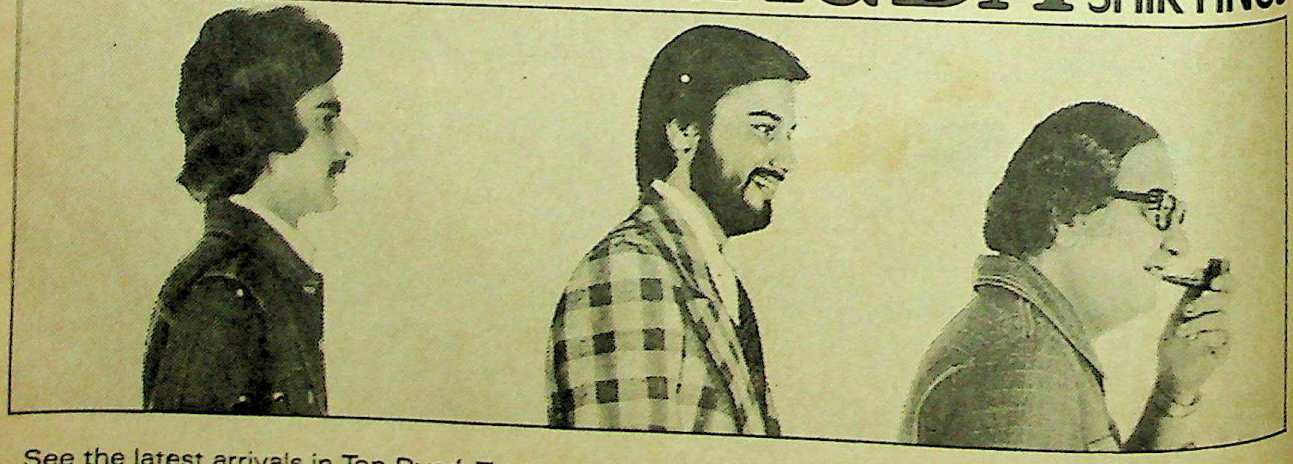

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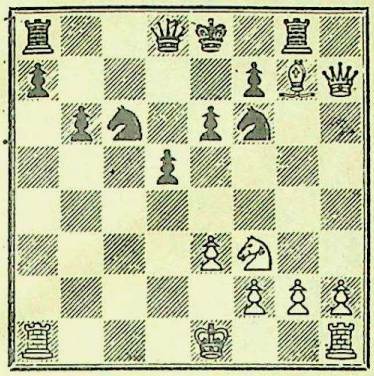
chess

Golombek (black)



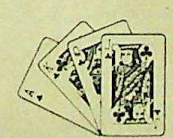
Geller (white) to move
Position after Black's 16 move

White: E. Geller. Black: H. Golombek. Budapest 1952. Nimzo-Indian Defence
1. P—Q4, N—KB3; 2. P—QB4, P—K3; 3. N—QB3, B—N5; 4. P—K3, P—B4; 5. P—QR3, P x P; 6. P x B, P x N; 7. N—B3!? Sacrificing a pawn for two bishops and open lines.
7. . . . P x P; 8. B x P, P—Q4; 9. P—B5, P—QN3; 10. B—N5+, B—Q2; 11. B x B+, KN x B! If 11 . . . QN x B, 12. P—B6 or 11 . . . Q x B; 12 P x P.
12. Q—B2, N—B3! A very enterprising idea. Play now becomes very sharp.
13. B x P, N x NP; 14. Q—N1, R—KN1. With the idea 15. Q x P, R x B; 16. Q x R, N—B7+.
15. P—B6, N x P; 16. Q x P, N—B3! (Diagram). A classic double rook sacrifice but with a neat point-counterpoint theme at the end.
17. B x N, Q x B; 18. Q x R+, K—Q2; 19. N—K5+. The point. White blocks the vital diagonal before taking the second rook. (If 19 . . . Q x N then 20. Q x P+ and 21. O—O.)
19. . . . N x N; 20. Q x R, N—B6+! The counterpoint, unblocking the diagonal.
21. P x N. Or 21 K—K2, Q—N7+; 22 K x N, Q—B3+ with perpetual check.
21. . . . Q x R+; 22. K—K2, Q—N7+. Drawn. Black still has perpetual check.

Continuation of Position No. 8
This position occured in a game Bjorkquist-Kivihao, played in Finland, 1977: r2qkb1r; 1b4pp; p3Pn2; 1pp1p3; 4P3; 2NB4; PPP3PP; R2Q1RK1.
White won by **1. R x N, P x R;** if 1. ., Q x R; 2. B x P ch!
2. Q—R5 ch, K—K2; 3. Q—B7 ch, K—Q4; 4. B x P, resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



SOMETIMES a player drops a card by accident, or because he had misheard or misread the card played by an opponent, and the result is a small triumph. Eric Kokish, a Canadian who was runner-up in the Pairs Olympiad, gives an amusing and possibly instructive example from a mixed pairs event. These were the North-South cards: Dealer, North Game all

♠ 3
♥ K 9 5 3
♦ K 10 9 7 3 2
♣ 3 2

♥ 2 led — N / W E / S

♠ A J 9 6
♥ Q 10 4
♦ A 8 6
♣ A Q 8

South opened 1NT after two passes, North bid Two Clubs and, over Two Spades, Three Diamonds. This was non-forcing but Kokish ventured 3NT. West led ♥ 2, East won with the Ace and declarer unblocked ♥ 10. East switched to ♣ J.

As he was in a contract that would produce a good result if he made it, Kokish went up with ♣ A, not giving the defence a chance to establish club tricks before the diamonds had been cleared. Hoping to develop the diamonds without letting East into the lead, South led a low diamond to the King. East played the Jack and showed signs of leading to the next trick, but her partner intervened to point out that declarer had called for the King from dummy, not the 10. When ♦ 10 was led to the next trick, East played low.

Now, what do you make of that? No doubt East had made a genuine mistake, but meanwhile South was faced with a dilemma that had three prongs:

(1) If the diamonds are Q x and J x, declarer will look pretty silly if he finesses and loses to the Queen. He will never be allowed to forget this 'idiot's finesse'.

(2) To play for the drop will appear bad play if East had ♦ Q J x. 'You had a heaven-sent chance to make an impossible contract and you blew it', etc, etc.

(3) To run ♦ 10, while certainly correct in a technical sense, contains a risk of a different sort. If the play enables him to make the contract when East held ♦ Q J x, the opponents, already upset and annoyed, will (quite unreasonably) complain afterwards that they were 'hotted' by a pro who took mean advantage, etc, etc.

In the end Kokish did run ♦ 10 and lost to the Queen, but 3NT made with an overtrick was still a good score.

One can see that this play of the honour from J x or Q x, if made without any indication that you have misunderstood the card played from dummy, is a perfectly legitimate deceptive play, capable of yielding an impossible trick.

TERENCE REESE

stamps

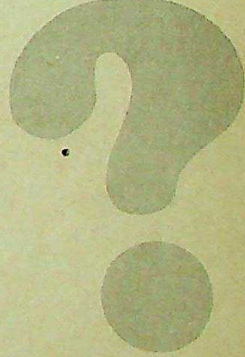
M. PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, one of the founding fathers of the European Economic Community, is portrayed on a new 14-francs stamp from his native country, Belgium. The style of the portrait recalls that M. Spaak once said, alluding to his inability to speak fluently any language but French: 'I am often told that I look like Winston Churchill and speak English like Charles Boyer. But I wish it were the other way round.' The new stamp is one of four, all illustrating the theme of European unity. Other designs show part of the European Parliament building at Strasburg and the Campidoglio Palace, where the treaties of Rome were signed in 1957

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Who is the first Negro woman to be appointed as a General in the US Army?
2. When, according to experts, is the Skylab due to fall on earth?
3. What do the words eV, an unit of energy used in nuclear physics, stand for?
4. Who is the present general director of the Bolshoi Theatre?
5. What would you be doing if you were leather hunting?
6. Which neutral country has joined the United Nations?
7. What is Aqua fortis?
8. Who invented basketball?
9. A battle in 1757 changed the history of a country. What was it?
10. Who owns the Thames swans?
11. What was the Conspiracy of July 20, 1944?



ANSWERS

1. Brigadier-General Hazel Johnson.
2. It will fall between June 26 and July 4, 1979.
3. Electron volt.
4. Stanislav Ilushin.
5. Fielding in cricket.
6. Switzerland.
7. Nitric acid.
8. Dr James A. Naismith.
9. The Battle of Plassey in India.
10. Out of 600 swans, one-third is owned by the Vintners' and Dyers' Companies, the rest belong to the Queen.
11. The climax of attempts by anti-Nazi groups in Germany to overthrow the regime and secure a negotiated peace.

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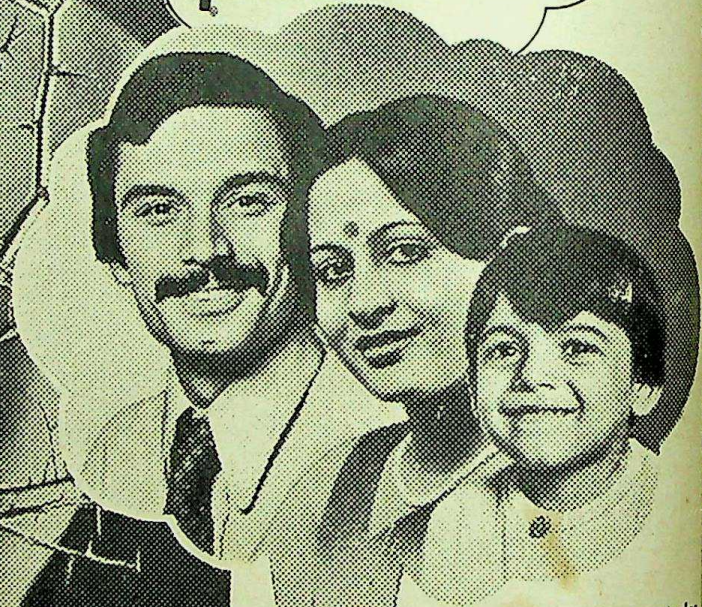

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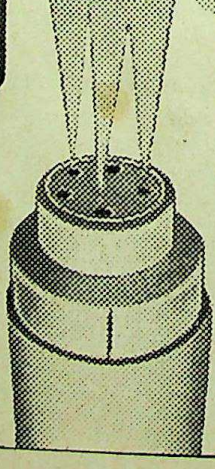

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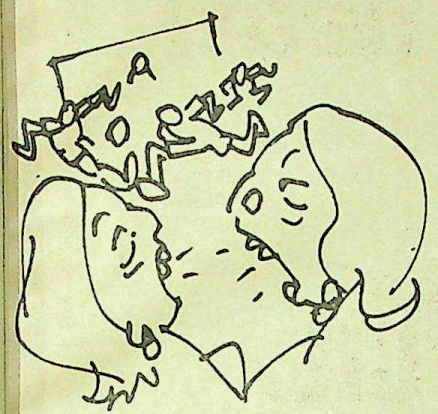

SHILLONG : Two Khasi female fans in a football match developed heated arguments over the outcome of the game and finally settled their quarrel in an unusual manner when one stabbed the other fatally.

The incident occurred at Lapalang village near Dawki about 45 kilometres from here when the two football teams belonging to Lapalang and Nonothymmai played a friendly match at Lapalang village. At a time both became terribly angry and suddenly one fatally stabbed the other. The lady died on the spot. —*Assam Tribune* (Thungpuia Nagamlai, Gauhati).

KANPUR : A bundle, containing written answer books of the B. A. (part one) sociology examination of Kanpur University, has been found from a garbage dump at Varanasi. The bundle reportedly contains 43 answer books, between roll numbers, 29,872 and 29,973.

Inquiries revealed the University had no knowledge of this though the bundle had been deposited with the police by the civic employee who removed the garbage from the dump—*Times of India* (O. P. Bajaj, Jabalpur).

NEW DELHI : A man, who posed himself as an MP and collected Rs. 1,500 for securing a telephone connection and Rs 500 for a gas connection in the capital ended up in police custody.

His "tenure" as secretary of the MPs club, North Avenue, ended when the crime branch nabbed him on a tip-off by a West Delhi shop-owner whom he had promised to get a telephone. Identified as Prem Shankar Shukla (50) of Meerut a professional thief, he has been arrested on charges of impersonation, forgery, cheating and using forged documents. —*Hindu* (N Chandrasekharan, Madras).

HYDERABAD : A six-year-old racket in selling forged degrees and many other certificates, came to an end as city police nabbed the two-man gang. The City Police Commissioner, Mr. P. V. Pavithran, told a Press conference that the cost of the fake certificates ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 500 or more.

The degrees included B.A., B.Com, B.Sc, B.O.L, M.B.B.S, B.E, diplomas in polytechnic courses, secondary education, State Board of Technical Education and Training, Industrial Training Institutes, National Trade Certificates, Matriculation, besides marks, memoranda of various courses, transfer and age certificates. — *Deccan Chronicle* (D. Khan, Hyderabad).

HAZARIBAGH : A panther voluntarily placed himself under house arrest in the heart of Chatra town, headquarters of Chatra subdivision of Hazaribagh district.

It so happened that a panther from nearby dense forest came to take shelter in an outer room of a house in the heart of Chatra town in the night without the knowledge of anyone. When the house-owner, on the next morning, entered the room he found the panther fast asleep there. He immediately bolted the door and raised a hue and cry — *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (L. Lakshmana Rao Bhubaneswar).

MADURAI : The Customs inspectors at the Rameswaram Port outwitted three gold smugglers and recovered from them Rs. 37,000 worth of gold concealed in one of the most unimaginable part of their body.

Alerted by the higher officials of Customs, two inspectors made a thorough search of the baggage of the passengers from Sri Lanka at the Rameswaram port. There was nothing in the baggage of the passengers but a man with a hungry look interested the inspectors. When exposed to the metal detector, it was found that the man had concealed gold in his rump—*Hindu* (N. Ramesh, Madras).

without comment

HE (JP) has proved that he is the master of the Janata Government. The Government announced his death; but he overruled it... Cho Ramaswamy.

WE HAVE been in power for two years and four months. There is very little that has happened .. George Fernandes.

I WISH Morarji had a mistress... M. O. Mathai.

IT DOES not look good when you have a stream of young girls coming out of school with ten pregnant women among them... Iran's Ministry of Education announcement barring married women from attending regular schools.

THE MEDIA cannot remain like an island free from all control... The Prasar Bharati Bill would give the media more autonomy than the BBC ... Morarji Desai.

BHUTAN HAS managed without aid for hundreds of years, it can continue doing so ... Bhutanese spokesman at UNCTAD conference in Manila.

I AM going to miss Wimbledon. I don't know if Wimbledon will miss me ... Nastase

I HAVE nothing to do with Mrs Gandhi's son ... C. M. Stephen.

india abroad

WASHINGTON: India may be on the verge of giving rich America a comeupance. A consortium of overseas Indian residents is negotiating to buy for $35 million Washington's Hotel Shoreham, one of this capital's most fashionable and prestigious hostelries —and use Bombay's Taj Mahal management to run it.

The huge Shoreham property covers access abutting Rock Creek Park in the centre of Washington. The hotel itself has no less than a million square feet of floor space and its landscaped gardens contain annex buildings as well as a swimming pool and tennis courts. But the hotel has been allowed to run down in recent times and its present owner wants to opt out.—*Statesman*

humour in real life

GOING AROUND an exhibition of paintings, a portrait caught my attention. It was entitled "My wife" and below it was written: "Not for sale"—B. R. Srinath Bangalore

A TAXI plying in our town ha this inscription: "Hypothecated t my father in law. Father-in-law' bank balance is my bank balance —Lila K. Barkakati, Nowgong

Illustrations/Ahi Bhusan Malik

prize rs. 30 for the entry given first and rs. 10 for the other items

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SNOOPING IN PUBLIC

FOLLOWING the virtual expulsion of two Soviet diplomats from the country, the Russian mission here, which is the most heavily staffed among all foreign missions, has been taking it out against some of its old Indian employees. It sacked a few soon after the story was broken by the *Indian Express*. Now after the report in SUNDAY (March 25) it has threatened a few others. The reason: It suspects that these employees have leaked the story to the Press. Meanwhile, Indian intelligence authorities have been cut up about the way the Russians are behaving, violating the unwritten code of friendly snooping. The incident that has upset them the most is the open defiance of the code when a heavy-duty truck with Aeroflot markings went up and down the route of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation rally in support of their demand for bonus. Hefty Russians armed with movie cameras quite openly photographed the marchers and the response of the audience at Fernandes' rally, presumably to make their own assessments. Now some pretensions are never shed even though everyone knows that Aeroflot the world over provides good cover to KGB agents. The Russians didn't even care to remain within the truck and snoop out of the little windows.

FOREWARNED AGAIN

THE raid on the house of Mrs Amteshwar Anand, mother-in-law of Mr Sanjay Gandhi, was a total flop for there are still men in the enforcement directorates who continue to be loyal to the old Emergency caucus. Sanjay of course, has his own favourites in the Press. The only people he summoned to "cover the Janata express" were from the *Times of India* and the PTI. The Intelligence Bureau dittoes the impression that the information about the raid was leaked out by a couple of senior officers who were arraigned for their role during the Emergency by the Shah Commission. Meanwhile, the export house in which Mrs Anand had a share did yield information The owner managed to get a stay order from the court and next day when he was boarding a plane to leave the country, he was nabbed by the authorities and forced to stay put in the country.

WATCH ON WATCHERS

ARE the country's intelligence services supposed to keep a tab on the goings-on in, of all places, Jaslok Hospital, Goenka's Express Towers and Rajni Patel's house in Bombay? Those days when JP's life was hanging by a thread, Party president Chandrashekhar, Express tycoon R. N. Goenka, Chief Minister Sharad Pawar and Nanaji Deshmukh were perched in the well-appointed penthouse in Express Towers. The reports received at the Prime Minister's office of what these honourable gentlemen were up to make quite saucy reading, especially about Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Patel at the latter's house.

NO FEAR OF FLYING

LABOUR Secretary Raghupati (mentioned previously in these columns as the flying Secretary) is once again in the news. He left Delhi on May 26. He will be in Geneva for a month. But the most interesting feature of his foreign jaunt is that he was accompanied by an under secretary who had just joined the Labour Ministry. She had come to the Labour Ministry from the Ministry of Civil Aviation. It is alleged that she does not know the subject and only ten or 15 days' work in the Ministry cannot give a proper training. The reasons for her selection seems to be that Mr Raghupati was a chum of her father who also believes in foreign trips. It seems that nobody is interested in the work of the Ministry. Most of the officers are interested only in foreign jaunts. Will the Expenditure Committee look into the affairs of this Ministry?

NO TAKERS

THE DAY 43 dissident MLAs from the Haryana Legislative Party called on Desai, they pleaded with him to order a vote of confidence against the Chief Minister. The Prime Minister not only promised the vote, but encouraged them in their resolve to throw out the last of the BLD Chief Ministers in the Northern States (one may also call Nilamoni Routray, a BLD CM).

Mr Desai inquired from the gathering about the abortive move last time to vote out Devi Lal. He asked, "Who are the four among you who are going to replace the four Ministers who have tendered their resignations today? I know very soon your move will fizzle out and some will accept the ministerial baits." The dissidents whimpered and mumbled an apology for the last time and assured Mr Desai that they were now not willing to fall a prey to Devi Lal's allurements and would throw him out. Mr Desai promised them that he would extend his moral support. Wasn't it Devi Lal who had repeatedly asserted that there were only three leaders in the country who had a mass following—Indira Gandhi, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram? Desai naturally felt hurt at this public snub.

On the same day a senior correspondent of a national daily met Mr Bhajan Lal, the CFD leader. Mr Bhajan Lal was one of the four who had resigned from Devi Lal's Cabinet

The brief conversation between them went thus: "*Bhajanlalji, apkay isteefay ka matlab hai ki ap logon* (CFD) *ka chaudhary say mamla toot gaya?*" (Bhajanlalji, does your resignation mean that you (CFD) have broken all contacts with the Chaudhury?) B. L.: "*Toot gaya? Juda hi kab tha jo toot gaya? UP main Bahuguna nay apni marzi say kiya tha. Uski vo hi janay. Babuji ka ussay koi malab nahi tha. Babu Jagjivan Ram say pooch kar UP main kuch nahi hua Is liye hamse un baton ka koyi wastu nahi.*" (Broken?, We were never together in the first place Mr Bahuguna in UP had done it on his own. Babu Jagjivan Ram had nothing to do with it. For that reason, I have nothing to do with it."

D E. NIZAMUDDIN

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Not the kind Noah would have felt at home in.... A cascade of 1600 lakh litres of Milk. Downpour of 4000 tonnes of Baby Food, 5000 tonnes of ghee, 4000 tonnes of Skim Milk Powder, 500 tonnes each of Butter and Whole Milk Powder, and 100 tonnes of cheese. Yes, a virtual milking over.... The kind of deluge that Andhra Pradesh has been subjected to. All this, the doings of one organisation-The Andhra Pradesh Dairy Development Corporation Ltd.

This has been the pattern of APDDC activity, almost since its inception in 1974. Expanding the frontiers of Dairy Farming in the the State, APDDC has brought about dramatic results in the very short spell of 5 years.

Today, APDDC has spread the concept of organised Dairy Farming to the remotest corners of the State. Its network of Mother Dairies, Chilling Centres, Mini-Chilling Centres, Cooling Centres and Mini-Cooling Centres, numbering 84 in all, along with its 6 Milk Products factories form the nucleus of this vast movement that has set in motion far-reaching changes.

For the first time, scientific Dairy Farming has come to be practised in the State. APDDC's rigorous procurement drive - 1600 lakh litres will be procured this year as against 686 lakh litres in 1974-75.- has resulted in new dairy units being set up as also small and medium farmers taking to dairying as a means of livelihood.

With the enhanced procurement, APDDC has been able to bring pasteurised milk to millions of people in the State. Milk sales will be up to 1100 lakh litres. The APDDC Dairy Parlours, with theibstocks of milk based products like Icecreams, Flavoured Milk, Butter Milk etc. have proved enormously successful.

Not only that, its milk products-the Vijaya range-Ghee, Baby Food, Butter and Cheese have won instant acceptance all over the country. The Vijaya range of milk products is today recognised as being as good as imported ones.

It's been a staggering rate of progress for APDDC. Yet, it has set itself even more daunting tasks-to raise per capita availability level of milk in the State to 100 gm. from the present 75 gm. and to cover 50% of the Milk Market of towns and cities with more than 1 lakh population.

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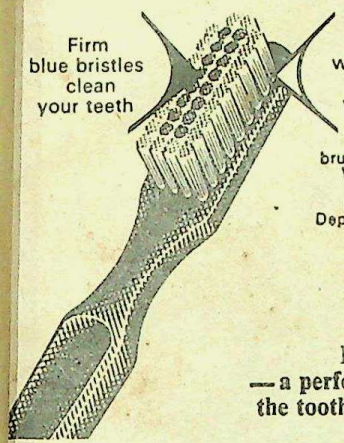

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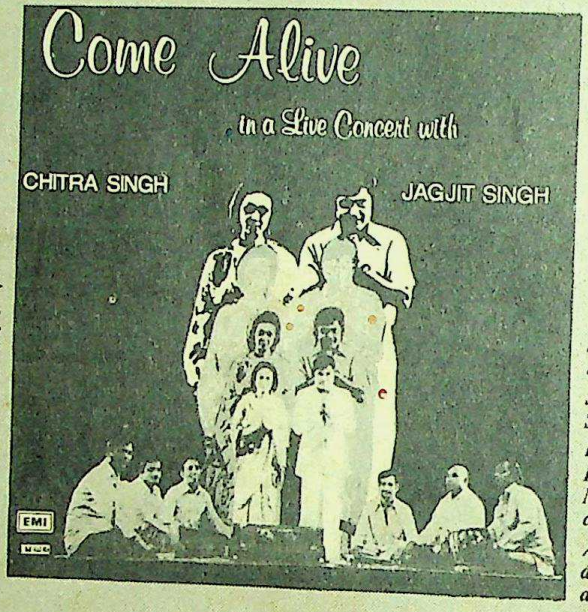

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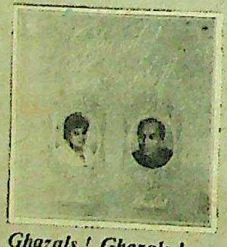

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SUNDAY VOLUME 7 ISSUE 4 RUPEE ONE AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

June 17, 1979

NATIONAL HERALD

IT IS INDIRA

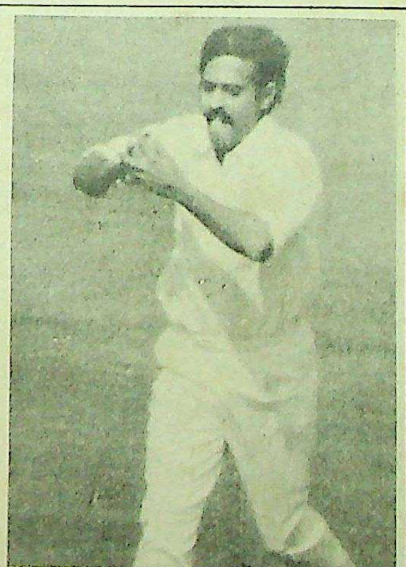
Chikmagalur spells People's victory, Janata's doom

Financial mismanagement, labour unrest and questionable transactions have finally sounded the death knell for Nehru's paper, the **National Herald.** The **Herald** management, however, claim that it is the Janata's vindictiveness against the former PM that is to blame. AJOY BOSE traces the rise and fall of this once-great institution, while S. C. ANANTHARAMAN analyses the implications of recent amendments to the Industries Development and Regulation Act.

Krishna Murari Kishan

Who was the mysterious fortune-teller Mrs Gandhi met in the lounge of Patna airport on May 18? ARUN RANJAN, who took a week to locate the man, PANDIT DINESH MISHRA, provides a thrilling account of the search as well as an exclusive interview with the PANDIT.

All roads, this summer, lead to the Second Prudential Cup tournament in England. HARESH MUNWANI speaks to Test veterans to find out how they would have led the team. P. N. SUNDARESAN profiles India's new captain and examines the task ahead. RAJ CHENGAPPA describes the 10-day conditioning camp for our players. ASHIS RAY from London says the Windies are favourites for the title.


Nikhil Bhattacharya

COMMENT

Opinion 6

COVER STORY

Nehru's paper dead|Ajoy Bose 8
Has the management been turning black money into white?|Ajoy Bose
Kapoor wants a free Press|S.C. Anantharaman
"Yunus is a 'thief' "|Ajoy Bose

SUNDAY SPECIAL

The Indian Express : getting derailed?|Olga Tellis 40

SPECIAL REPORT

Janata breaks another promise|A. G. Noorani 36

INVESTIGATION

Mrs Gandhi's mysterious Bihari astrologer|Arun Ranjan 16

NEWS

Tripura is no refuge|Shyamal Chakraborty 43
Polluted progress|Mario Cabral e Sa
Is the Kerala Ministry safe?|P. R. Nair

SPORTS

The captains' captain|P. N. Sundaresan 27
Prudential predictions|Ashis Ray
The experts' opinions|Haresh Munwani
Cricket's poor relations

CINEMA

Khaas Baat 50

VARIETY

Sundayweek 54
Chess|Bridge|Quiz|Stamps 55
This India 57
Without comment 57
Humour in real life 57
India abroad 57

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

Book review : Mathai's garbage|Khushwant Singh 24
Comics : Asterix 38
The world : The siege of Arabia|A Special Correspondent 46
Delhi Diary|D. E. Nizamuddin 47
Deadpan : The case of the Oriya boy|O. V. Vijayan 53
Interview : Sourin Bose|Pathik Guha 58

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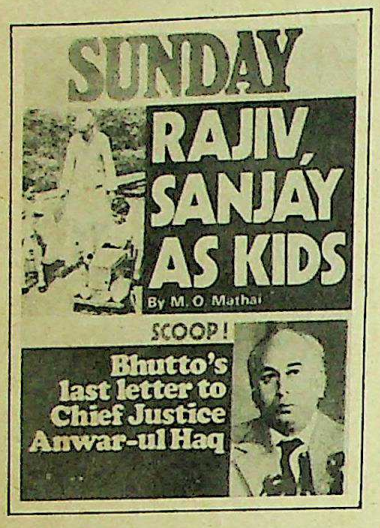

No kidding

"RAJIV, Sanjay as kids" (May 6), the extract from M. O. Mathai's book, reveals many anecdotes about life in the Nehru family when Rajiv and Sanjay were children, and the role of their mother. The article might be taken as a guide by modern mothers for rearing their children.
Mrinmoy Kr Paul, Darbhagna

PLEASE convey my warmest thanks to M. O. Mathai for his titillating anecdotes about Rajiv and Sanjay. Sanjay Gandhi appears to be the only man in India who has established the veracity of the proverb: "The child shows the man as morning shows the day." The germs of his conduct during the Emergency were borne in his childhood.
Dipankar Pattanayak, Calcutta.

MR MATHAI's penchant for detail makes his account all the more exciting. I had read his earlier book *Reminiscenses of the Nehru Age* and find his narration thoroughly amusing. I do not think any other person has written such a frank and candid story of the Nehru household. The bits about the huge Hungarian lady physically attacking Indira, the boys stealing apples from Mr Mathai's desk, and the book *My Life and Work* by Henry Ford being found with Sanjay were particularly enjoyable. It seems Mr Mathai was very close to the family, and had Nehru been alive today he (Mr Mathai) would still have remained attached to the household.
P. G. Deb, Bombay

IT IS unfortunate that Mrs Gandhi's children were brought up in an environment of aristocratic hauteur. They were not taught to understand reality, but given every opportunity to show off their status. This has eventually produced harmful effects, especially in the case of Sanjay Gandhi. Unless their mother realises this point, the situation might get out of hand. After all, democracy cannot survive in these circumstances.
Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is known to have asked: "Do democratic leaders choose their crown prince and princess?" But he himself sowed the seeds of dynastic rule by allowing his daughter to become president of the monolithic Indian National Congress, superseding senior Party leaders. The history of Indian politics bristles with names of famous leaders' children. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Shankar Giri, Hari Kishen Shastri, Mrityunjay Prasad, Kantibhai Desai, Padmaja Naidu, all came into prominence by virtue of their blood. Worse than this, in India, whenever a politician dies in harness, attempts are made to induct members of his family into politics. Chicanery in politics is bad; heredity in politics is diabolic. No one can deny that Sanjay's arrogant and high-handed manner was a major cause of Indira's unpopularity, and downfall.
Jahar Das and Kartick Chandra Das, Calcutta

IN THE last paragraph, Mr Mathai narrates a mythological tale. The author says that the mythical Parvati was wearing a necklace when her children, Ganesh and Kartikeya, were quarrelling over it. It was not the necklace that attracted their attention but a fruit she was holding. The rest of the story would appear to be in order.
N. Srinivasan, Madras

IN HIS earlier book, Mr Mathai related how Nehru was a mere figurehead who acted on his (Mr Mathai's) advice on all national matters, and how he was involved in clandestine affairs with women. Now we are told, Mr Mathai was companion, friend, philosopher and guide to Rajiv and Sanjay Gandhi during their childhood. That would seem to explain, in part, Sanjay Gandhi's alleged Emergency 'excesses' !
M. N. Nair, Pondicherry

THE contents of the cover story are the outpourings of a disgruntled, selfish and unscrupulous private servant of a great family. Like any discarded servant's tale, the article is replete with malicious and filthy halftruths to make the book sell well.
Sufiur Rahman. Murshidabad

I CALL Mr Mathai a rabid opportunist. His writings about the Nehrus are a disgrace to this country.
Rangadeep. S. S. Bangalore

I READ M. O. Mathai's second volume of his memories of his years with Nehru. When I finished reading it, I was reminded of a story I read as a child: An elephant and a flea crossed a bridge together, the flea resting on the tail-end of the elephant. When they reached the other side of the bridge, the flea boasted, "When I and the elephant crossed the bridge, we made it swing".
Anuradha Duda, New Delhi

Full Marx

I REFER to the article "Bose: Born fighter, born loser" (May 6). A born loser Bose was certainly not. In fact, he sowed the seeds while others reaped the harvest. Mr Mathai is wrong in saying that Bose aroused not socialism but nationalism. It is well known that he had great regard for the Soviet system and organised his planning commission on socialistic lines, when he was president of the Congress. If Mr Mathai were familiar with Bose's economic ideals, he would have found that they tallied closely with those of Marx. Bose, for his bravery, secularism, patriotism, and extraordinary personality, can be compared with revolutionaries like Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara. The only difference is Bose was a failure, unlike leaders of other countries, because we Indians are an ungrateful tribe.
Prateep Sen, Digboi

BOSE never reduced himself to a symbol of Bengal. He defeated Gandhiji's candidate and became president of the Indian National Congress at the Haripura Congress meeting. But he was not allowed to function as president and made to resign. It is a mischievous lie that he exiled himself from the country. His vision of fighting the British with arms and ammunition was fulfilled only when he left India with the conviction that freedom could not be won by begging. It was Bose who dealt the final blow to the tottering pillar of the British Empire; historians will admit that his military action had hastened India's freedom.
K. P. Banerji, Raipur

THE author has made one notable error. He writes: "She (Mrs Gandhi) did not realise that somebody would quote Carlyle and say of Sanjay 'politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel'." It was Dr Samuel Johnson and not Carlyle, who said "Politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel".
Mrinmoy Kumar Bhattacharya, Gauhati

Editor's note: You are partially right. The correct form of the quotation however, reads: "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel" (see Boswell's Life of Johnson).

MR MATHAI says that Subhas Chandra Bose was destined to fail. But did he really fail? It is, an accepted

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historical fact that without the INA, India would not have achieved independence in 1947. Even Michael Edwards has written in his book, *The Last Days of British India*, that "the ghost of Subhas Chandra Bose was to inhabit the conference rooms four years later as India moved through the last days of British rule and in death he was to have the success denied to him in life." Again, Mathai has questioned Subhas Bose's "understanding of international affairs." But, in 1942, sitting in Germany, he told Admiral Canaris : "You know as well as I do that Germany will not be able to win this war, but this time victorious Britain will lose her grip on India." This, as it happened, proved to be correct. Does this not prove how unsubstantiated Mr Mathai's statements are ?
Bidyut Kumar Mukherjee, Calcutta

THE tragedy of Bose was that he "loved his motherland not wisely", as others did, but "too well".
Santanu Banerjee, New Delhi

Who's guilty ?

WITH reference to Ajoy Bose's "Dharna by army wives" (May 6), I think it is a pity that Indian armymen are denied their fundamental rights. They cannot file a writ of habeas corpus for their personal liberty. The Government should give full details about the said espionage charge after proper investigation, so that the axe does not fall on innocent people.
Asit Kumar, Dhanbad.

PASSING secret military information to other countries is the most serious offence for an army officer and the highest punishment should be awarded to him in case the charge is proved. It is therefore most distressing that the wives of the army officers should go on a dharna in front of Mr Jagjivan Ram's house to protest against the detention of their husbands, who may be involved in an espionage case.
B. N. BOSE, Jamshedpur.

Unpious

IN Khaas Baat (May 13), Piousji says, with reference to Sarada's having won the National Best Actress Award for the third time, that "Jayalalitha, too, has been critical about it." I wonder where he got this piece of information from. At no time have I passed any remark about Sarada having won the award for the third time, nor has anyone asked for my opinion about it. I have the greatest regard for Sarada as an actress of undisputed excellence. Piousji would do well not to attribute such an immature and childish attitude to me, particularly when it is baseless.
Jayalalitha, Madras

PIOUSJI has created an impression among readers that the South Indian matinee idol, Sivaji Ganesan is yet to appear in a guest role in a Kannada film (Khaas Baat, May 6). This is not quite true. Sivaji Ganesan had acted in a Kannada film, *School Master*, fifteen years ago.
R. G. Seshachalam, Bangalore

Obsessed

HAVE SUNDAY and its editorial board gone off the rails that they must harp on the theme of Bhutto, issue after issue? Poor man, he is all but forgotten in Pakistan and India. The desire to keep his name alive and to imbue him with qualities is sadly sentimental and irrelevant. He is undoubtedly of considerable stature as a person and a leader, but of ephemeral importance and of absolutely no consequence to India or the world at large. If attention is to be focussed, it should be on the personality of Government, thrown up by the system of polity, thrown up by cultural ethos, which brings successive regimes so constantly to an unsavoury end in Pakistan and elsewhere. The nation is jolted every few years and its progress retarded. Democratic hopes and aspirations seem to wither in the absence of a spirit of tolerance, with incipient violence at home and classically at the frontier. An analysis of this would be food for thought in Pakistan and India, for Hindus and Muslims.
Suresh Chopra, New Delhi.

Anyday

SUNDAY is no more SUNDAY. It's now ANYDAY.
Asoke Kumar Ganguli, Bankura.

Editor's note : Sorry for the frequent delays. After the June 10 issue we hope to establish regularity. But do remember, we publish from Calcutta.

Tourists be blown

THE figures quoted by Mr Mahesh Sarin, Managing Director (on leave), Indian Airlines, were intriguing (Opinion, May 6). With regard to the "exaggerated reports" of discourtesy by IA staff, I suggest Mr Sarin get off his high horse and come down to earth. The following will illustrate my point. Place: Dum Dum Airport. Date: May 13, 1979. Scene: IC 261 (Calcutta / Bhubaneswar / Visakhapatnam) checking-in counter.

Passenger to IA booking clerk : "Could you please allow me two hand baggages? You see, I am an international passenger and I have these two small packages. Could you also give me a window seat, if available?"

IA booking clerk: "Who cares for what you are? You are asking for not one, but two favours. Why should I favour you? And don't keep saying that you are an international passenger."

I could go on with such anecdotes. But the basic point remains: The IA staff is very discourteous.
B. K. Yadava, Cuttack

Not so bad, after all

THE report, "Maharashtra's working women speak out" by Shubhasani Ali (May 6), was rather lopsided. Perhaps, it is true that women are not paid the same wages as men in the unorganised sector or in rural areas, but women working in the organised sector have little to complain about. Women working in banks, insurance companies and in established private sector organisations are paid the same wages as their male counterparts, and sometimes, treated even better than them.
S. Raj, Bombay.

Money grabbers

I AGREE with Gautam Kundu when he says in "Not so great after all" (May 6) that India is the only country which has such an "organised bunch of vicious, conscienceless, socially irresponsible money grabbing filmmakers." Our filmmakers are, perhaps, unaware of the fact that films have a tremendous impact on the masses. And even if they are, they don't seem to bother about it, considering the fact that they produce such trash.
Jaya Chohan, Secunderabad

I HAD the opportunity of reading Gautam Kundu's film review. In the review Mr Kundu has said that the film is "one of the worst-written and worst-directed big pictures of the year." I was under the impression that a critic, before making comments, at least knows the subject about which he is writing. But it seems that though the critic is a Bengali, he has not cared to read the Bengali book of the same title and compared it with the film version. However, I would like to point out that I do not want to be taught by anyone the art of writing a story, least of all by a film critic. Incidentally, I would like to bring to your notice that recently, in the Cannes Film Festival, the film *Ganadevata* was branded as "trash" by previewers, but merely because of this you cannot say that Tarashankar Bandopadhyay's book was trash.
Vikramaditya, Paris

MR KUNDU, while mentioning the sequence of Amitabh fighting Shetty, says: "...the kids around me were taking in all this with open mouthed awe." One wonders how kids managed to sneak into an "adults only" movie.
Renuka Prasad, Patna

Mis-kick !

P. K. BANERJEE, while reporting on the young footballers of this year ("Tomorrow's Superstars", May 6) has, inadvertently, made a few incorrect statements. Tarun Mukhia, after an abortive year with East Bengal, has joined Rajasthan Club and not his former club, Kidderpore. Again, Pradip Datta will be playing for Tollygunge Agragami and not for George Telegraph.
Indrajit Barori, Calcutta.

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COVER STORY

NEHRU'S PAPER DEAD

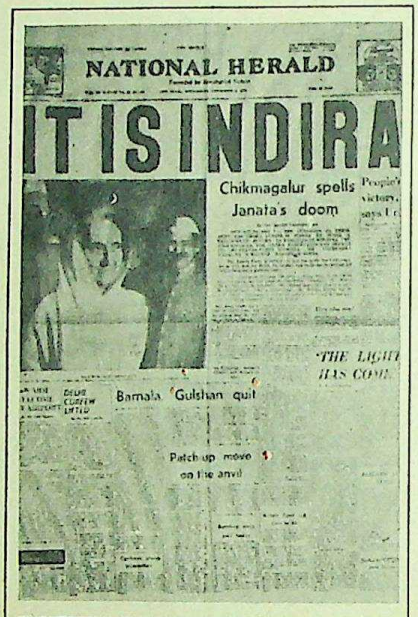
By AJOY BOSE

"THE *National Herald* is an institution. It has a directorate which has no personal or financial interest in it," wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* in 1942 condemning its forcible closure by the British Government. Today, 37 years later, as financial bungling and racketeering pushes the *Herald* swiftly towards total liquidation, the words of the Mahatma sound almost absurd.

The Associated Journals Ltd. which runs the *National Herald* from New Delhi and *National Herald, Navjivan* and *Qaumi Awaaz* from Lucknow, is perhaps the most mismanaged public limited company in the country. Beset by labour strikes over the past two years because of delayed payment of wages to its employees, management finally declared a lockout on 6 March this year. The company is also facing several inquiries into charges (made by the workers) of largescale financial corruption, questionable transactions, retrenchment of staff, delay in deposit of provident fund, ESI and LIC contributions and income tax deductions of the staff, thus creating the conditions for closure.

What is not being investigated, however, is how, without any concrete investment whatsoever, Mrs Indira Gandhi has turned the whole *Herald* organisation into a monopoly firm. The present *Herald* management has now left it to Mrs Gandhi to decide the fate of the company and its 1,500 employees although she is not even a minor shareholder in the company. It is being made out by the *Herald* management that the Janata Government's various enquiries into the affairs of the *Herald* are a part of the "personal victimisation campaign" against the former Prime Minister, while her only connection with the paper is her father's association with the name of *National Herald*.

In fact, despite the masthead, it was not really Jawaharlal Nehru who founded the *National Herald*. While it is true that Nehru's name was used extensively in the paper to boost its popularity, the man who gave the idea of the *Herald* is Mohan Lal Saxena, an Uttar Pradesh lawyer and Minister in the interim UP Government in 1937. A dynamic organiser, Mohan Lal Saxena got together with the legendary freedom fighter Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and between them laid the foundations of the *National Herald*. It was Mohan Lal Saxena who went from door to door for the funds needed to start the *Herald* and contributed a large sum himself. There is not much evidence to show whether the Nehru family at any stage of the 40-year-old history of the *Herald* made any financial contributions to the paper.


NATIONAL HERALD

IT IS INDIRA

Chikmagalur spells Janata's doom

Bansala Gulshan quit

Patch up move on the anvil

Early in 1938, the *National Herald* was started. Nehru was its chief editor, while the first managing editor was Rama Rao, known in his time as "the ablest sub-editor in the country". Within a few months M. Chalapathi Rau, known till then as more of a literary writer than a journalist, joined the *Herald*. Temperamental by nature, Chalapathi Rau started his career in the *Herald* on a controversial note. The problem rose over MC's designation. While Chalapathi Rau insisted that the management had promised him the post of an assistant editor, he was given the post of a senior sub-editor. Which caused him to write a very bitter letter to K. Iswara Dutt, editor of *People's Voice* where MC had worked for a brief spell as a leader writer. "First I was to be the second assistant editor, then the third, then a kind of fourth and finally an order (not, even an offer) was given to me that I was senior sub-editor on Rs 125," he wrote in his letter. It was the start of a 40-year-long spell of strained relations with the management for Chalapathi Rau. He was, however, soon made an assistant editor.

For the first three to four years, the *Herald* had a precarious existence. "We started disastrously because the paper was printed very badly", recollected T. N. Singh who joined in 1938 as assistant editor and later was general manager of the *Herald*. "It had a poor circulation despite the association of Jawaharlal Nehru's name and advertisement revenue was meagre. The paper incurred heavy recurring losses. So much so, by early 1940, our accumulated losses were more than the total subscribed share capital. The staff and workers did not get their salaries regularly," remembered T. N. Singh.

The financial crisis deepened, till early in May, 1940, it appeared that the paper would have to close down. A crucial meeting of the board of directors, presided over by Nehru, was held on the premises of the *National Herald* and the workers were told that the question before the directors was either to close the *Herald* forthwith or sell it to some industrial magnate. R. P. Dalmia had been approached to take the paper over.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

The staff, led by M. Chalapathi Rau, were, however, violently opposed to either the closure or the takeover by an industrialist. They proposed that they should be allowed to take the paper over for six months and Nehru, who was by then extremely close to Chalapathi Rau, agreed to the proposal. In a strange quirk of history, 39 years later, the same proposal is now being put up by the *Herald* workers with the backing of Chalapathi Rau, but Nehru's daughter obviously does not have the same faith in the staff.

The workers' management succeeded in 1940 and within six months, the *Herald* was back on its feet. Chalapathi Rau would later describe this as "the most glorious period of the *Herald* history."

Soon, the second world war started and the *Herald*, because of its pro-Congress policy and association with Nehru ran into trouble with the British authorities. Chalapathi Rau recounts an interesting anecdote about those days in a recent article in the *Working Journalist*. At the height of the anti-war campaign by the Congress, the British Government issued an advertisement to all newspapers calling the Congress programme "goonda activities". The *Herald* management was in a dilemma. Its need for advertisement revenue was great, but the contents of the advertisement would go against the grain of its policies. Finally, Nehru decided the issue. He said that although the *Herald* would continue its anti-British editorial policy, it would carry the advertisement. Thus, the *National Herald* carried an advertisement boldly proclaiming the Congress leaders as "goondas".

Nehru's magnanimity with British advertisements however did not help much, and the *Herald* had to close down in 1942 under pressure from the British Government. The forced closure brought a lot of support to the *Herald* and contributions from various private parties and, in fact, at a certain point Rama Rao had to issue an appeal to the donors not to give any more money.

After three long years, in November, 1945, the *Herald* reopened with almost the same staff. Rama Rao took over again as managing editor, and Chalapathi Rau resigned from the *Hindustan Times* where he was working during the closure period and rejoined as assistant editor.

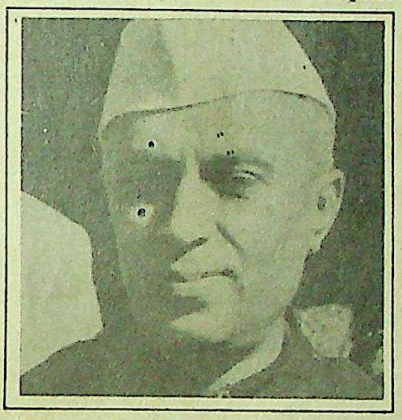
Within a few months, however; serious differences of opinion on how to run the paper started between Rama Rao and Chalapathi Rau. Old hands remember that the two were, on some days, not on speaking terms. Matters came to a head early in 1946, when Rama Rao went to Allahabad to cover a Congress conference and Chalapathi Rau was acting editor. Rama Rao found that the *Herald* was not carrying his despatches from Allahabad, and when he returned he is reported to have had quite a scene with Chalapathi Rau.

Soon, in July 1946, Rama Rao left the *Herald* and Chalapathi Rau became the new editor — an editorship which he would have to finally relinquish in great shame and humiliation a good 32 years later.

AFTER independence, with the British gone, the *Herald's* first major target became Govind Ballabh Pant. Although the *Herald* was not the official Congress paper, its vehement support of Nehru and Kidwai in their political battles with Pant very quickly linked it to the politics of the era.

By the early Fifties, the Pant lobby had made some inroads into the *Herald* management and one of Pant's chief lieutenants, C. B. Gupta, with the help of his friend Krishnaji who was manager of the *Herald*, made a determined bid to take over the paper. His attempts were thwarted by Kidwai, and Krishnaji had to leave.

The financial affairs, however, got from bad to worse since Nehru quite



clearly refused to divert any Government money towards the paper, nor use his influence to get the paper advertisements. In 1954, there was a strike over non-payment of wages and for a short while, the workers, for the second time, took over the management and ran it, but this time without much success.

Finally, a trust called the Janhit Nidhi Trust was formed and this trust till today controls nearly 70 per cent of the shares.

Among the first trustees were Jawaharlal Nehru, Padmaja Naidu, P. L. Sapru and Mrs Indira Gandhi. The trust however did not solve the main problem, which was the lack of a competent management. Financial difficulties continued to plague the institution till in 1957, the workers went on a strike on the issue which has continually plagued the *Herald* throughout its history—delayed payment of wages.

It was at this point that the *Herald* at last found a saviour. Uma Shankar Dixit, one of the most loyal soldiers of the Nehru family, was inducted to manage the *Herald* in late 1957. "The topic was first broached to me by Mridula Sarabhai who also told Nehruji to persuade me to manage the *Herald*," Uma Shankar Dixit recollects. "So, one night, I was called for dinner and after we had finished food, Nehruji and Indiraji sat on either side of me on the drawing room sofa and talked me into taking charge of the *Herald*, said Dixit.

For the Nehru family, Dixit was an ideal choice. He was loyalist to the point of fanaticism, absolutely honest, and also had an uncanny shrewdness in money matters. These qualities reflected in the dramatic improvement of the *Herald's* chronic ill health after Dixit took over. By 1959, the paper had become self-supporting and its circulation, which had never been over 10,000, climbed to 12,500. A proper wage structure, with yearly increments, was also given to the employees and for the first time the monthly salary was distributed on the first of every month. Soon, the *Navjivan* and the *Qaumi Awaz*, a Hindi and an Urdu daily, were started, and although both ran at a loss, they were not a strain on the company.

Encouraged, Nehru became keen on starting a daily from Delhi and since Chalapathi Rau was also eager to shift his base from Lucknow to Delhi, in 1961 an effort was made to launch a Delhi edition. A plot of land was purchased in Najafgarh and printing machinery was bought. However, the effort proved abortive because of a lack of organisation. Dixit at that time was busy campaigning for the Congress in the elections, and Chalapathi Rau suddenly fell ill. The *Herald* lost Rs 5 lakhs in this aborted venture. But in spite of this loss, the total deficit of the *Herald* came down from Rs 13 lakhs in 1957 to Rs 7 lakhs in 1965, and the circulation of the Lucknow *Herald* kept steadily increasing.

Meanwhile attempts to start a New Delhi *Herald* continued, and although Nehru himself died in May, 1964, Chalapathi Rau was insistent.

Dixit himself was against the idea. He pointed out to Chalapathi Rau, "It is one thing to maintain a paper in a city where there are few competitors over whom you have in any case a head start; it is quite another to compete with established newspapers who have big industry backing them."

His words, however, were not heeded either by Chalapathi Rau or Mrs Gandhi, who, after her father's death, had become 'the guiding spirit' of the *Herald* even though she resigned her trusteeship after she became Information and Broadcasting Minister in 1966.

So, Dixit, loyal soldier to the Nehru family that he was, started on the thankless task of running a newspaper in a capital city which had already five newspapers, four of whom were run by big industrialists.

ON 5 March, 1968, the Delhi *Herald* was launched and almost immediately trouble started. In the editorial wing, Chalapathi Rau clashed with Mr Baptista, who had become the first news editor of the Delhi edition. Rau wrote a letter to Dixit who was still managing director

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Central Newsphoto Service

Mrs Gandhi with Uma Shankar Dixit

accusing Baptista of coming to office drunk. Dixit, after failing to find a solution between the two, shunted Baptista back to Lucknow where he had been previously news editor.

Dixit himself, meanwhile, was having trouble with the general manager, Sitaram Guntare. Relations between the two deteriorated to the extent that at one point Dixit would not enter the *Herald* office but gave instructions from outside. Moreover, now the paper started losing money heavily and matters became worse when Dixit became a Minister and resigned from the *Herald* early in 1971. Col. Zaidi, who was chairman earlier, also took over as managing director. In September 1971, after workers started agitating because of delayed payment of wages, a 23-day lockout was declared. Guntare left quite soon after this and a new manager, P. L. Sondhi, was brought in.

Sondhi could not get along well with Col. Zaidi, whom the former accused of corruption. Amongst the various charges which Sondhi brought against the chairman and managing director was that Zaidi used to get the maintenance and repair of office vehicles done at the workshop managed by a relative of Col. Zaidi. It was obvious that a replacement was needed for Dixit, and it was at this point that Yashpal Kapoor made his entry. Kapoor, who had been private secretary to the Prime Minister in 1967, was an "officer on special duty" (sic) for the Prime Minister in 1971, and was regarded as one of the rising stars in Mrs Gandhi's orbit after the Congress split.

Kapoor was seen quite regularly in 1971 at the Lucknow offices and word went around that he was becoming managing director. He also took an initiative in some financial transactions relating to the *Herald* although legally and formally he still had nothing to do with the organisation. Meanwhile, in 1972, Sondhi left, and in his place came S. D. Pillai, reportedly at the insistence of the Narang family of Narang Breweries, who were financially backing the *Herald*.

Watching, with alarm, these new developments was Chalapathi Rau who found that his powers as an editor were slowly being whittled away by the new masters of the *Herald*. Angered at this, Chalapthi Rau wrote a seven page letter in late 1972 to Mrs Gandhi complaining of being left out in major decisions regarding the *Herald* and named Yashpal Kapoor as the main person working out the new equations. The angry editor threatened that if Yashpal Kapoor was made a director, he would immediately resign. This, for the moment, stopped Kapoor, but instead of him another member of the rising caucus which would later promote Sanjay Gandhi, Mohammed Yunus, became the managing director shortly before the Emergency.

The Emergency, of course brought a dramatic change in the fortunes of the *Herald*, and suddenly from being a financially bankrupt organisation it became a paper which had all the business organisations at its beck and call. Advertisements became no problem. Yunus used to tell the advertisement department, "Just go and meet the Chief Minister of so and so Government and show him my card, and he will give you the advertisement". According to employees of the advertisement department, this always worked. Bahuguna, for instance, when he was the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, was told to order all educational institutions of the State to subscribe to the *Herald*. The subscription money was cut from the grants given to the educational institutions. At first, Bahuguna resisted this quite arbitrary order slightly, but he was firmly told to comply and he had no way out. Later, when he was ousted, the totally captive Narain Das Tiwari gave no trouble whatsoever. In Haryana, Bansi Lal gave orders to every office and institution in the State to subscribe and there were not many who dared to disobey his orders in those days. In addition to the daily paper, fat supplements full of advertisements were issued by the *Herald* costing over a rupee, and they too were forced on the already reluctant subscribers.

Donations also started flowing in, and sitting in Delhi, Yunus sent letters all over the country to rich industrialists and wealthy persons to contribute. Once, Yunus asked the Nizam of Hyderabad to send Rs 15 lakhs but the Nizam sent only Rs. 5 lakhs. The cheque was angrily returned by Yunus, such was the level of his arrogance. There is no exact estimate of the enormous amount of money made in the form of subscriptions and donations by the *Herald* in the Emergency period, but some estimates take the figure into crores. The management also tried ambitious projects. A new building was put up in Lucknow and the old building was sought to be demolished and a shopping complex was planned in that area. The Delhi office was renovated completely and a plush board room and conference room were constructed. A stereo system was installed in the office ostensibly to broadcast Nehru's speeches. *Herald* workers however allege that bugging devices were planted along with the stereo system !

WHILE everything changed during the Emergency, the only thing which still held out against the changing times was the editorial policy. The ageing Chalapathi Rau hung on determinedly to his old editorial style and while there was the usual pro-Congress tilt, there were no signs of the sickening paeans to Sanjay Gandhi which most other newspapers were indulding in.

Not that there were no efforts to give publicity to Sanjay through the *Herald*, but the old man held on grimly and though this ultimately would lead to his downfall, Rau became even more obstinate under pressure. In Lucknow, the resident editor C. N. Chittaranjan in his own way was also resisting the powers that be, but with great difficulty. When he wrote in the editorial log book not to carry any photographs of Sanjay, Chittaranjan found, the next day, that the page on which he had written these instructions had been torn off.

The editorial staff, and particularly

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Chalapathi Rau, were proving quite inconvenient to the management and the caucus, and this was ironically reflected in the 30th anniversary of Rau in the *Herald* in July, 1976, when a large function at the Delhi office was addressed by various Congress luminaries including Mrs Gandhi. While speakers paid lip-service to his work, some however hinted that it was perhaps time that Rau took a rest after what they described as "such a glorious innings".

It is a matter of speculation whether Rau would have remained editor if the Emergency had continued, but in March, 1977, things again changed dramatically: From euphoria to total panic. The fortunes of the paper followed closely those of Mrs Gandhi and suddenly Yunus and the rest of the board of directors was desperate to get out of the *Herald*. Soon after the Janata Government took over, Rau resigned from the post of chief editor and became instead the chairman of the editorial board. He would be allowed to keep this position for only one year.

In October, Mrs Gandhi's arrest put even more fright into the *Herald* management and in November, the board of directors, including Yunus and Col. Zaidi, approached Mrs Gandhi and asked her for permission to sell off the *Herald*. They said that it would not be possible to run the *Herald* in the changed situation and the sale of the building and property could perhaps help them save something. On 9 December the board of directors met formally and decided to sell all the land and assets, and on 26 December, met again to call an extraordinary shareholders meeting on 3 January to ratify the proposals of the sale. An alternative proposal came from Uma Shankar Dixit, who said that he needed Rs 25 lakhs to run the paper but Mrs Gandhi refused him, saying,"Where shall I get that amount of money?"

Has the management been turning black money into white?

HAS the *Herald* management over the last several years been concentrating on turning black money into white rather than managing the organisation? The 1978 enquiry by the Company Affairs Department has revealed some very interesting facts. Some of the major finds of the enquiry are: I) miscellaneous receipts to the tune of Rs 35.15 lakhs between 1974-'75 and 1976-'77, in respect of which the sources of such receipts were clearly available. In certain cases, the company itself was shown as the source of such receipts; II) receipt of substantial advances against subscription to the extent of Rs 23.39 lakhs during the period 1974-'75 and 1976-'77; III) receipt of advances against advertisements between 1974-'75 and 1976-'77 in several cases and in some cases such advance exceeded Rs 50,000; IV) receipt of share application money to the extent of Rs 4.4 lakhs from certain parties without receiving the share applications in respect thereof. These include Rs 50,000 received from one individual which was credited to the unclaimed balance account in the accounts for the year ending 31.3.75; V) Advance of interest-free loans amounting to Rs 1.45 lakhs. However, as a result of adverse remarks made by the auditors, the company decided to charge interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum with effect from 1.1.78. Interestingly, the Rs 1.45 lakhs was given out in loans to one Sudhir Sarin who happens to be the elder brother of Yashpal Kapoor's son-in-law.

The *Herald* workers' union in its report to the Srinivasan enquiry committee has alleged large-scale rackets in converting black money into white. For example, the workmen were paid bonus for the year 1977-78 on October 25 after a strike at the rate of 8.33 per cent but there was no indication as to the source of this amount in the books of account. Funnily enough, however, in the next month, November, the circulation receipts suddenly soared and amounted to Rs 1.58 lakhs, compared to only Rs 93,000 in October. With what money were the workers paid?

The union has given an example of how black money is being converted into white by giving the total receipts for one day, namely 16 February, 1979. Of the total amount of Rs 35,250 collected on that day, only Rs 250 was through cheques. This is strange, since all the parties who paid on the day were outstation people coming from as far away places as Varanasi and Patna, and it would be more convenient for them to pay through cheques. Curiouser still is the case of one Jai Kumar Singh of Ranchi who paid in February 1979 a total of Rs 11,500 in three instalments of Rs 3,500 on the 1st, Rs 5,500 on the 16th and Rs 2,500 on the 17th. Why Mr Jai Kumar Singh could not pay the full amount on one day instead of troubling himself thrice remains a mystery.

The union has also charged that bogus receipts were being issued to benami parties, or parties who have not made payment in fact, and shown as receipts against sale of newspapers to agents and subscribers. Bogus receipts for such subscriptions or even share application money were being issued in large numbers every day and then being destroyed immediately since the parties who were supposed to receive them are non-existent. A number of such torn receipts, which the union presumes were issued in this manner and destroyed, were found in the wastepaper basket. They have been handed over to the Srinivasan committee. Black money is also converted into white by clearing off old outstanding payments against advertisers and circulation agents without any actual payment being received from the parties concerned. As a result, advertisement collections for November suddenly jumped to Rs 1.05 lakhs from Rs 50,000 in October. Why did the advertisers decide to pay up loans which they have not paid for years suddenly in November?

Basing their investigations on torn receipts discovered in the wastepaper basket, the union approached a number of parties who were supposed to have paid. Many of them were either untraceable or had not paid. D.G.L. Pvt Ltd of Connaught Place, for instance, denied paying Rs 589.05 on 18 November, 1978, as recorded in the company ledger folio No. M. 1402. The receipt No 1609 was found torn in the wastepaper basket.

Other charges included the sale by the management of the newsprint quota alloted to it, in the blackmarket. In the Delhi establishment alone, newsprint worth Rs 80,000 obtained at controlled rates on the basis of inflated circulation figures is believed to have been sold in the blackmarket every month. Incidentally, the circulation rose sharply in 1978, although there is very little reason why it should have, given the misfortunes of the *Herald*.

A.B.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Meanwhile, Yashpal Kapoor had entered the scene again. There are two versions of how Kapoor returned —one his, and the other of *Herald* workers. According to Kapoor, he was approached by the workers to save the situation and he said that although "he was not willing, he was a loyal soldier of Mrs Gandhi and if she ordered him, he would comply". The workers say that Kapoor had been angling for the *Herald* for a long time and used this opportunity to fool the workers and used their cause to take over the organisation.

ON 31 December Yashpal Kapoor walked into the Delhi *Herald* office along with Vimal Mehrotra, a trade unionist-cum-industrialist close to Yashpal Kapoor, and told the workers that *Herald* would not be closed and that he would run it. On 4 January, 1978, a new board of directors took over. Yashpal Kapoor became managing director, Vimal Mehrotra, director, and Charanjit Singh, the Coca Cola magnate, the chairman. The old board of directors resigned. Incidentally, no meeting of the shareholders was called before the change. In fact, Yashpal Kapoor's appointment was confirmed by the meeting of the shareholders only on September 30, 1978 with retrospective effect from 4 January that year.

The new management appointed its own men. A former clerk of the Congress campaign committee—the fund collection machinery of Mrs Gandhi—who had never worked in a newspaper before or had any managerial experience was appointed general manager. Another new appointee was R. P. Gupta who was only a semi-skilled worker in the *Herald* press before he left the establishment taking retrenchment compensation, gratuity and benefits. Gupta was now appointed as general foreman of the press with a salary three times what he had drawn before. Significantly, the wage bill of the Delhi establishment went up to Rs 1.92 lakhs in 1978 from Rs 1.55 lakhs in the previous year.

Editorially, there were also some drastic changes. Chittaranjan, who had for a long time clashed with Yashpal Kapoor and his group, was forced to leave. Ironically, management used differences between Chittaranjan and Chalapathi Rau to get the former out. Chalapathi's turn came soon. The new management started humiliating him in every little way. They did not inform him of Khushwant Singh's coming in as the new editor. Rau was refused the office car and one day, instructions were given to all typists in the office not to type his editorials. For Chalapathi Rau this was the final insult. In a resignation letter to the *Herald* chairman Charanjit Singh, Rau wrote, "I am not writing it in bitterness. This is a short epitaph which can later be extended of 40 years of dedicated and frustrated journalism... I promise to forget *National Herald*". This was the 13th time that Chalapathi Rau had tendered his resignation in his 40 stormy years. And this unlucky time the management accepted his resignation without a murmur of apology.

Khushwant Singh came in August as the new editor of *Herald*, fresh from his own humiliation by the *Times of India*, but soon found it impossible to function. "It was absolutely chaotic. Nobody seemed to have any clue of how to run the organisation," he recollects of his brief five-month stay in the organisation. Khushwant Singh worked for these five months without any salary because he had promised the workers at his welcome reception that if the workers did not get their salary on time, he would not draw his own salary. As Yashpal Kapoor told him later, "Khushwantji, how could you make such a rash promise? Workers will never get paid on time". But Khushwant Singh never did draw his salary.

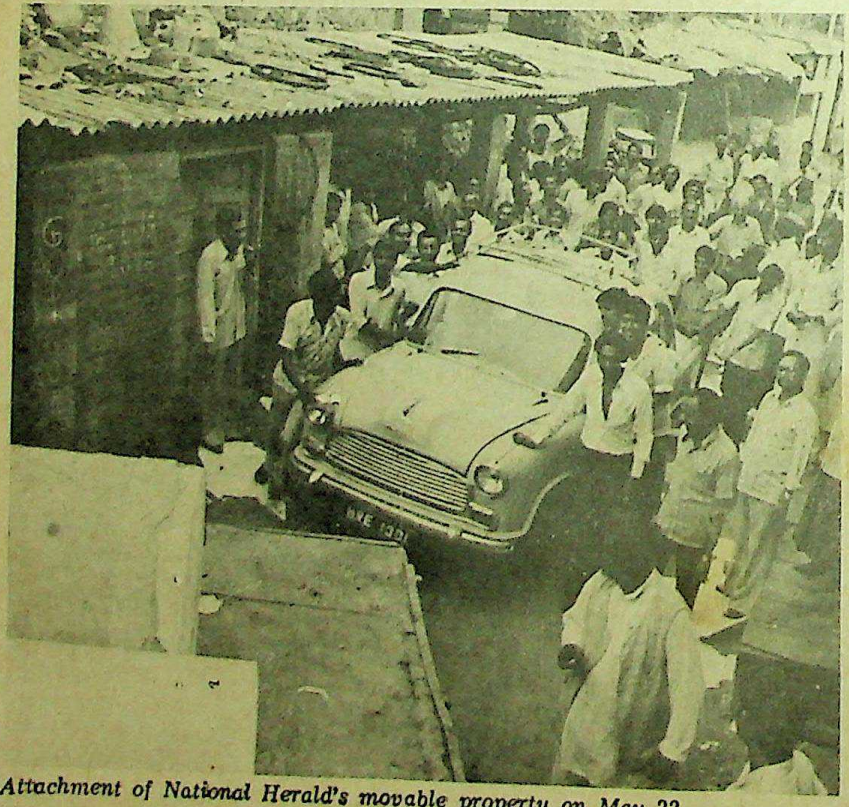
Finally in December Khushwant Singh decided to leave, and repeated requests to Mrs Gandhi, who had asked him to take charge of the *Herald*, finally forced her to relieve him. The little hope that the *Herald* workers had that under an editor like Singh the paper would survive, slumped. Resentment with the new management reached a peak. Salaries were due for months together. Their provident fund, ESI and LTC and income-tax deductions had not been deposited and there were reports of questionable transactions. On 3 March, the Lucknow *Herald* union struck work, and the company declared a lockout on 6 March. In Delhi, the union followed suit and struck work on 10 March, and a lockout was declared five days later.

Workers, however, occupied the premises of both the Delhi and Lucknow offices fearing that records and important documents pertaining to the paper would be destroyed by the management. The workers also made a number of representations to the Central and State administrations in Lucknow and Delhi. On 15 April, the registrar of companies, Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur, issued a show cause notice resultant of an enquiry by the company affairs department in the beginning of 1978, which had shown serious discrepancies in the *Herald* management's accounts, and asked the company to send its reply within 15 days. The very next day, the Government of India issued a gazette notification appointing an investigation committee under IDR Act directing the committee to submit its report within 15 days.

On 19 April, the company law department issued an order appointing another investigation committee for an in-depth inquiry into the affairs of the company. The CBI is also making an inquiry into certain irregularities of the *Herald*.

In Delhi, the labour commissioner, Delhi administration, ordered the recovery of Rs 1,50,278 towards the wages of workers for the month of February. The management did not pay and on 22 May, two cars, one matador van, six newsprint reels and cheques worth Rs 41,000 and all the bank accounts and the rents of the *Herald* building were attached.

Thus, the *Herald* is on the verge of total liquidation, and its 1,500 workers are facing unemployment.



Attachment of National Herald's movable property on May 22

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While the management says that it has just no money to immediately pay the workers dues and pay the deposits, workers point out that the *Herald* is not actually running at a loss but that the management has created an artificial financial crisis through its acts of omission and commission. According to a statement given by the workers to the Srinivasan investigation committee on Associated Journals Ltd., the fixed assets of the company have increased enormously. As per the balance sheets of the company, the fixed assets of the company rose from Rs 45 lakhs in 1968-'69 to over Rs 1 crore in 1977-78. In a Press statement, Col. Zaidi on 21 November 1977, said, "The market value of the assets of the company at present are worth over Rs. 3 crores". Another question the workers are raising is where the enormous money collected during the Emergency by the *Herald* management has gone.

The various enquiry committees who are investigating into the affairs of the *Herald* might lead to some very interesting findings which would not only involve the present and past masters of *Herald* but also some bigger fish, perhaps also including the former Prime Minister who has so far very shrewdly kept out of the *Herald* drama.

Kapoor wants a free Press

LIFE is full of ironies. Sometimes it brings together strange bedfellows. No one could have imagined that Mr Yashpal Kapoor, trouble-shooter and strong man in Mrs Gandhi's camp, would make common cause with Mr C. R. Irani, managing director of the Statesman Limited, and that too, to protect the freedom of the Press!

Life is like that. But did Mr Vasant Sathe ever think he would be the cause of such unity? Vasant Sathe is an irrepressible Congress (I) MP, who moved an amendment to the industries (Development and Regulation) Act in the Lok Sabha last March. Mr Sathe, when he did this, could not have even dreamt of the repercussions.

Mr George Fernandes, Industry Minister, had moved some amendments to the IDR Act, and Mr Sathe wanted to have his own amendment too. He wanted inclusion of "litho-printing industry" also to be augmented in the first schedule of the Act, along with other industries like zip fasteners, pressure cookers, oil stoves, etc. suggested by Mr Fernandes. Mr Sathe said he was "pleading this because of a particular case with which I am connected.... it is called Shivraj Fine Arts Litho Works".

The further irony is that the amendment which Mr Sathe moved (which was later changed, with his consent, to "printing including litho printing industry" thus bringing the entire printing industry under the ambit of the IDR Act) was, hardly two months later, to affect an institution which was very closely linked with Mrs Gandhi's family—the *National Herald*. The company which publishes *National Herald* is associated Journals and its managing director is Mr Yashpal Kapoor. If he had clairvoyance, would Mr Sathe have moved the amendment and accepted the change suggested? This will remain a hypothetical question, unanswered.

The late Feroze Gandhi fought a battle royal to enable the Press to report what was said in Parliament. The privilege was taken away during Emergency, and is now restored. It has fallen again to the fate of one of the minions in Mrs Gandhi's camp to move an amendment which gives the Government the powers to bully the Press, if it choses to. Once "printing including litho-printing industry" got included in the first schedule of IDR Act, the Government had the power to order an investigation. In view of the trouble that has been going on in *National Herald* —the newspaper has remained closed since March— the Government appointed a two-man commission to look into the affairs of Associated Journals. Mr Kapoor, who did not display any soft corner for the freedom of the Press during the Emergency, promptly challenged this, but the Delhi High Court, on May 25, dismissed the Associated Journals' petition against the appointment of the commission.

One thing must be said about Mr Kapoor. He is a clever and alert man. He knew the implications, that is where he scores over Mr Sathe, who was worried only about mere litho-printing. Kapoor sensed that the Press could be in peril as a result of the amendment, and brought this to the attention of IENS, and also the ever-alert champion of the freedom of the Press, Mr Irani, were unaware of the problem. This is an issue the IENS cannot ignore and a committee under Mr Irani is reportedly considering what steps to take. In considering these steps, who else to consult except the man who first thought about the threat to the freedom of the Press? This is how Mr Kapoor and Mr Irani met at IENS building in Delhi to pursue a common cause.

IENS has put the fundamental issues in a nutshell in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister on May 18 by its president—a full six weeks after the amendment became the law of the land. The memorandum described the inclusion of printing industry in the first schedule of IDR Act as most "inappropriate". It added: "The reference to 'printing including litho printing industry' was not originally a part of the Bill. It was an amendment moved by a member of the Opposition and accepted by tht Government. But we are faced with the effect that newspapers are included. It is imperative that Government make their intentions plain. Further, amendment is necessary to make it clear that newspapers and newspaper establishments are not intended to be included in this act".

The amendment does raise certain key issues. Newspapers have obviously to be printed in a printing press. So newspaper establishments do come under the ambit of the amended IDR Act. Are newspapers to be treated as another industry like "zip fasteners (metallic and non-metallic)", "oil stoves" and "pressure cookers"? Should the Government be vested with this sweeping power? Even in a democratic set-up, this power can be misused. True, the amended act could be challenged in a court of law. But a relevant point is that when the Government appoints a Press Commission and a Press Council, obviously to protect some basic freedoms of organised society like the freedom of the Press, does not the inclusion of the amendment, though sponsored by an Opposition member, albeit without any forethought, go contrary to these steps?

On the other side is the question: What to do with cases like *National Herald*? Here is where those who want the freedom of the Press to continue in this country must give some thought, including the IENS. Is the IENS at all bothered about the employees of *National Herald*? The memorandum of IENS to the Prime Minister states that "we make no comment at all on the question of whether the particular newspaper establishment (the Associated Journals Limited) has acted or is acting in violation of specific provisions of law...." Yes, but what about the employees who are starving.?

S. C. ANANTHARAMAN.

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"Yunus is a `thief'"

Yashpal Kapoor, the present 'Herald' managing director, talks about his paper's past to AJOY BOSE.

Q: The *Herald* workers' union has charged you with serious breach of promise, converting black money into white, editorial interference and creating conditions for the closure of the *Herald*. Can you answer these charges?

A: These workers are terrible people. They are absolutely heartless people. It was they who requested me to take over the *Herald* in 1977 and look what they are saying about me. I tried to save the *Herald*.

Q: But is it not true that you were angling for the managing directorship of the *Herald* for a long time?

A: I myself was not interested in the *Herald* at all. When Yunus and all those people had given up on the *Herald* and were trying to sell it off, the workers approached me to save them. Nobody wanted the *Herald*, I tell you. Yunus wanted to sell it off, Dixit wanted large sums of money from Indiraji to run it; it was only I who listened to the workers. I told Indiraji, "I am your loyal soldier, if you tell me to jump into fire, I will jump into fire."

Q: But didn't Chalapathi Rau write in 1973 to Mrs Gandhi that you were trying to become managing director and he would resign if you did so?

A: Yes, I remember Indiraji asking me at that time. "Yashpal, do you want to be director?" I told her that I was her loyal soldier and only wanted to serve her. I don't know why Chalapathi Rau should write like this. I have always shown him great respect.

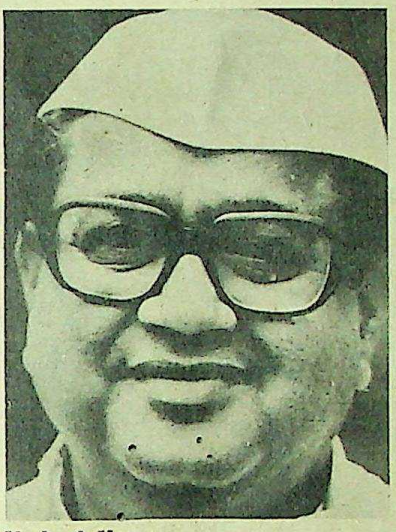
Q: When you did take over, both Chalapathi Rau and Chittaranjan complained about editorial interference by you.

A: Lies, all lies. I have never interfered at all. I never called these editors to my room, I went to their room. When I took over in 1978 I once went to Lucknow and called a meeting of editors. Chittaranjan was openly rude to me and called me names, but I did not say a single word. I felt that editors should be absolutely free. It is now that I am reconsidering this.

Q: How about all the dues of the workers including the non-payment of their ESI, provident fund, LIC contributions and income-tax deductions?

A: What was I supposed to do? I had to pay the previous year's dues. They had not been paid by Yunus. I don't want to criticise them ..... but you must realize my position. Where would I get the money?

Q: Where did all the money collected during the Emergency go?



Yashpal Kapoor

A: How do I know? When I took over there was no money, only liabilities.

Q: The company board enquiry in 1978 levels serious charges against the *Herald* management, including misappropriation of funds.

A: I will not comment on that. It was before I took over. Ask Yunus about that.

Q: Even after you took over there are charges against you of turning black money into white. Sudden rise in circulation figures, bogus receipts and sale of newsprint in the black market are some of the charges.

A: There are several investigation committees looking into this. I will not say anything about it.

Q: But answer me on the strange phenomenon of application money coming in without the applications being filed.

A: You don't understand. The *Herald* desperately needed money. I went all over the country after I took over as managing director to raise money. I contacted hundreds of people and persuaded them to buy shares. Many of them are Ministers. Devraj Urs for instance bought Rs. 12,500 worth of shares. Some ministers in the Andhra Pradesh Government have also done so. These people are busy people. They have just given the money and will send the applications later.

Q: How about the torn receipts for advertisements and circulation bills in the wastepaper basket?

A: Look, I was managing director. I am not expected to keep track of receipts. If the advertisement department has not sent receipts, it is their fault, not mine.

Q: But why should the receipts be torn?

A: How do I know? Maybe the union found some receipts which were not sent and then tore them up.

Q: But some of the receipts have been entered in the ledger.

A: I don't want to talk about it. There is an enquiry about it.

Q: Then there is the charge of selling newsprint in the black market.

A: I don't understand why workers should be so concerned about all this. It has got nothing to do with them. They have no right to level all these charges. I tell you they are being instigated by vested interests to level these charges.

Q: Who are these vested interests?

A: Well, I know for a fact that meetings of workers have taken place in Kanwar Lal Gupta's house. They have also gone to George Fernandes. It is a plot against me.

Q: A plot against you personally or the Congress Party?

A: A plot against me. This Janata Government has not been able to catch me out on anything. That is because I have always been absolutely honest. Now they are trying to pin charges on me. Look at the attempt to revive the L. N. Mishra case.

Q: Why should the Janata Government try to pin charges against you?

A: There are many in the Janata Party who hate me personally. Bahuguna is one. He is a sworn enemy. If he gives Rs. 10,000 to the workers in the Lucknow *Herald* to open a kitchen, can you imagine how much money he is giving secretly?

Q: You say there is not enough money to clear the workers' dues immediately. Why doesn't Mrs Gandhi organise the Congress Party to collect funds for the *Herald*? Why can't the *Herald* become the official Congress paper?

A: Nobody wants to give money for the *Herald*, not even, (people) in the Congress Party. I asked the Punjab Pradesh Congress to give me some of the lakhs of rupees they collected when M s Gandhi visited Jullundur, but they said no.

Q: What does Mrs Gandhi say about the situation?

A: Indiraji is behind me.

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Mrs Gandhi's Mysterious Bihari Astrologer

It took ARUN RANJAN a week to locate Pandit Dinesh Mishra whom the former PM met at Patna airport on May 18.

SEARCH

AT last we found him. It had taken us four days to find out the name of the mysterious 'astrologer' who met Mrs Indira Gandhi at the Patna airport on May 18. It took us another two days to find out his address. We were entering an obscure bylane of Sokhara, a locality in Barauni, the industrial town in north Bihar. Sokhara is in the Kalambagh area of the town. We saw a huge yellow mansion across a field. The big tin gate was closed. A marble plaque near the roof had the words "Saubhadra Nivas" inscribed boldly. We had to enter through a side door in the rear of the mansion. It was 11.05 a.m. on May 25. We entered a long, wide corridor. That mysterious man was sitting cross-legged in one end of the corridor. His hands gripped the legs of a cot, he sat straight-backed. He had shining eyes. There was a *saafa* (piece of cloth) around his neck. He wore a mysterious smile and his face exuded confidence. He had thick grey hair on his head. "We have come from Patna. We are carrying a letter from....." (We disclosed the name of the senior Congress (I) leader who had helped us in reaching him.) We handed over the letter to him. He read it and looked at us. The letter described us as "reliable" people and requested Pandit Dinesh Mishra, the man who now faced us, to talk to us. Photographer Krishna Murari Kishan (who accompanied the author on this mission) said, "So, this is Pandit Dinesh Mishra," and readied his camera. "Please stop it," Pandit Mishra roared and quickly got up. "Please come this way," he gestured towards a room across the corridor. It was a small room. There were almirahs full of thick volumes along the walls. In this room we settled down to talk to the man we had been searching for a week. He looked straight into my eyes and said. "I am Dinesh Mishra. How did you find my address? I had explicitly told doctor *sahab* (Bihar Congress (I) chief, Dr. Jagannath Mishra) that my identity should not be disclosed, otherwise I would be bothered by

many people. You Pressmen are publishing all sort of things about me. I am not a *tantrik*. Do you see these books? I am a scholar of Sanskrit and religious philosophy. Sometimes what I predict on the basis of my knowledge comes out true. Does that mean that I am a *tantrik*? Some selected people come to me with their problems. I advise them. If the predictions made by me (on the basis of the knowledge acquired from books) are correct, then it does not make me a special man. It is all due to the nature and God."

Pandit Mishra got up from the easychair, on which he had been reclining, and walked back to the cot in the other end of the corridor. "People are spreading rumours. You have been sent by .....(he named the Congress (I) leader who had helped us), so I will talk to you. Please do not misquote me. I will tell you what transpired in the airport lounge on May 18. But please make one thing clear to your readers—that Pandit Dinesh Mishra is neither a *tantrik* nor is he an astrologer." We were not prepared to let our weeks' labour go waste. The editor had instructed us that the interview *had* to be got. So, we agreed to his request and Krishna Murari Kishan put his camera away.

OUR quest for the mysterious man with whom Mrs Gandhi had a closed-door meeting in Patna airport lounge on May 18 was right out of the pages of a thriller. We had a glimpse of the man at the airport, but no one could tell us who he was, or from where he came. Till May 22 we went from pillar to post to find out his name. We met all the top men of the Congress(I) in Patna. No one could help us. At last we met our benefactor. On being assured that we would uphold the basic rule of journalism — secrecy of source — and protect his identity, he agreed to help. But it took us two days to convince him that we did not wish him ill. Armed with his letter we left Patna for Barauni by scooter. When we reached the outskirts of Barauni we saw a *Durgasthan* on the national highway.

We stopped our scooter and went to a pan shop to enquire about the whereabouts of Pandit Dinesh Mishra. We were told that he lived in the *Durgasthan*. We went to the building. There was a courtyard, with two lush green trees and a big well. There were many temples, of Durga, Kali, Shiva and Ganesh. There was also a Sitaram temple, flanked by two statues of Hanuman. The place appeared to be the right spot to find a *tantrik*. As we entered the courtyard, a young servant came forward. His head was shaven. "Please go out, whom do you want?" he said. We told him that we had come to meet the *swamiji* with a letter from a top politician. The servant told us that the *swamiji* had gone to a client, Madan Babu. Photographer Krishna Murari Kishan persuaded the boy to take him to his master. The author waited in the courtyard for half an hour; he was approached by six people during this short period for explanation regarding the purpose of his visit. Kishan came back crestfallen. It had been an excercise in futility. He had located a *sadhu* some 7-8 kms away, whose name was Pandit Dinesh Mishra, but said that he had never met Mrs Gandhi, nor

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did he know the Patna politician whose reference we had given. He also told Kishan that he had not been to Patna recently. The most disturbing piece of information brought back by Kishan was that the *sadhu* claimed to be the only Pandit Dinesh Mishra in Barauni who was a *tantrik*. So the search began all over again!

We mounted our scooter and went to the railway station. One *panwallah* pointed at a house and said that Pandit Dinesh Mishra lived there, but added that as far as he knew, Pandit Mishra was away in Bhagalpur, where he worked. When we mentioned the important letter we were carrying from a politician in Patna, he showed us a man who was cycling down and said that we could approach him, he was the younger brother of Pandit Mishra. The man in question was annoyed when we told him why we were looking for Pandit Mishra. "My brother has not met any Indira. The Pandit Dinesh Mishra you are searching lives in Kalambagh." He then pointed to a building which he said was a Sanskrit College. "You will never find Dinesh Mishra in the way you are going about," he said. He told us that Pandit Dinesh Mishra was the younger brother of the principal of the Sanskrit College and that he was not a well-known man in Barauni. "The people know him as the younger brother of Pandit Diwakar Mishra, the principal," he said. We went to the Sanskrit College and met the frail-looking Pandit Diwakar Mishra and explained to him our mission. He asked a servant to take us to the "real" Pandit Dinesh Mishra. And thus we reached the man.

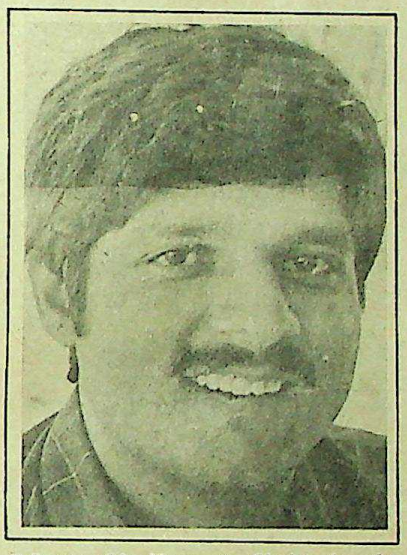
SOME refreshments were brought for us. Pandit Mishra's eldest son, Harinarayan Mishra, joined us. A freedom fighter, Ramchandra Mishra, who is a disciple of Pandit Mishra, was there too. Pandit Mishra was saying: "Indira loves the nation, therefore, I like Indira. I think I can give a correct assessment of situations. I wanted to meet Indira and advise her regarding the coming events. In this I saw the good of the nation. I do not know from whom Indira heard of me. I am known to Dr Jagannath Mishra and L. P. Shahi (a Congress (I) leader). On the morning of May 18 Shahi's son Hemant came to me with a car and told me that I had to go to Patna. I knew that Indira was coming to Patna airport that day. I immediately got ready and left for Patna. At first we went to Shahi's residence in Rajendra Nagar. From there Shahi took me to the airport. I had told Dr Jagannath Mishra that my meeting with Indira should not be publicised and we should be allowed to meet alone. Indira too wanted to meet me alone. I spent around 20 minutes with her. Please believe me, we never discussed astrology. I told her that dark days were ahead for the nation and unless something was done (by her) the nation would see a situation which would be worse than the days under the colonial rule. People would have to put the nation before self. I pleaded with her that she should immediately resolve the differences in her Party. She would have to do something similar to what was done by Emperor Ashok, who had evolved *Dharmavad* to resolve the differences between the warring religious groups in his empire.

"Indiraji told me that she too wanted this (to do something concrete for the nation), but was being obstructed from all sides. She said that she had done many things, some good and some bad, but now there was an attempt to not only run her down, but her father as well. She said that she had always worked for the good of the nation, and not her family. She sought my blessings for herself and the nation."

Pandit Mishra went on: "Most of our discussion was on politics. She did not discuss anything about her family. I blessed her by reciting a *shloka* from the *Upanishads*, the meaning of which is, 'Whatever you desire would be fulfilled: you have determination, it will bring results. May your enemies be doomed, may your wellwishers thrive.' then I told her to intervene in the infighting in the Congress (I) ranks in Bihar. I told her that if she spent two days in Bihar she should be able to stop the infighting. Unless she did so, Bihar was doomed."

During our meeting we learnt that

JOURNEY



26-year-old Hemant Shahi is the younger son of Mr Laliteshwar Prasad Shahi. He is talked about in Patna's youth circles. Hemant Shahi brought Pandit Dinesh Mishra from Barauni and accompanied him to Patna airport where Mrs Gandhi spoke to the fortune-teller. This is what Hemant Shahi said:

"On May 18, at 3.30 in the morning I was instructed by my father to go to Barauni by car and return with Pandit Dinesh Mishra. It was imperative that I returned to Patna by 9 a.m. Mrs Gandhi's plane was due to arrive at 9 in the morning. I set off and reached Barauni at about 5 a.m. Panditji was already awake. I told him that Mrs Gandhi was arriving in Patna and she wanted to meet him. I requested him to prepare himself for the journey. After his *puja*, Panditji and myself left Barauni at 6.10. At 8.15 we reached Patna. On the way I asked him about Mrs Gandhi. He replied that he had written to Mrs Gandhi telling her that she should meet him before contesting any election. From Rajendra Nagar, where we live, Panditji was accompanied to the airport by my father, my elder brother Sharad and myself. He was carrying some flowers. There was a big crowd at the airport. I began to wonder whether it would be possible for me to take Panditji to Mrs Gandhi. I knew that Mr Gandhi had come to Patna to meet Panditji. I took him inside and made him sit on the sofa opposite the ticket counter. Then I began to devise plans to reach Mrs Gandhi to inform her of Panditji's arrival. A little later I saw Mrs Gandhi with Panditji. We entered the V.I.P. lounge along with Jagannathji. Munna Shahi and another person who looked a *chamcha*. Here, Mrs Gandhi said that she wanted to be left alone with Panditji. Panditji also agreed with her. Jagannathji was not able to understand this fully and he said that some of us should go out. On hearing this I had to say that everyone should leave the lounge. Mrs Gandhi repeated that she wanted to be left alone with Panditji. Then, everyone, including Jagannathji, left the lounge. At that moment Raghunath Jha, M.L.C., tried to enter the lounge shouting "Press! Press!" Mrs Gandhi immediately said that she was here to meet Panditji and would meet others later. After this, with the doors and windows shut, their meeting continued.

"On the same day after his meeting with Mrs Gandhi, Panditji met the ex-Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, Harinath Mishra, Small Industries Development Corporation's chief B. N. Singh and B. Prasad of the Fisheries department. Next day, at nine in the morning, Jibu Jha came with Jagannathji's car. Panditji met Jagannathji's son-in-law and gave him his blessings. Panditji returned to our house at 12 noon. In the afternoon he was sent back by Patliputra Express so that he could get down at Mokamah and return to Barauni. After the meeting with Mrs Gandhi Panditji looked very happy."

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Pandit Mishra had been close to the late Lalit Narayan Mishra. But despite our best efforts we could not find out the reason for Mrs Gandhi's interest in this unknown man, living in an obscure part of Barauni. Before we left, Pandit Mishra allowed photographer Kishan to snap him in various poses.

But the question remained: Why did the meeting take place?

AFTER leaving Pandit Mishra, we went around the Sokhara locality trying to find someone who could help us in knowing Mrs Gandhi's mysterious caller better. We met an aged gentleman who spoke to us in detail. He desired anonymity, therefore his name is not being mentioned here. He said: "Dinesh Mishra had predicted the defeat of the Congress and Mrs Gandhi in 1977. At that time people like L. P. Shahi had taken him lightly. Mrs Gandhi came to know of this much later. She evinced interest in him since then. He had predicted the defeat of Tarakeshwari Sinha in the recent byelections at Samastipur. He had told Dr Jagannath Mishra that Mrs Sinha's stars were such that even if she stood for a panchayat election, she would lose. But Dr Mishra was adamant. After Mrs Sinha was defeated, the anti-Jagannath Mishra lobby passed on the word to Mrs Gandhi. This increased her interest in Pandit Dinesh Mishra. She expressed a desire to meet him. Because he had not gone to Delhi in the recent years, he could not meet her. In the past two years Dr Mishra had made many attempts to take him to Delhi. On May 17, around midnight word came from Delhi to L. P. Shahi that Mrs Gandhi was coming to Patna the next day to meet Dinesh Mishra. In fact her belated visit to riot-affected Jamshedpur was only a ploy to pass through Patna and meet him."

Back in Patna, a senior Congress (I) leader told us in confidence that the meeting between Pandit Mishra and Mrs Gandhi was held in connection with the Thanjavur byelection. He said that Pandit Mishra had told Mrs Gandhi that she should contest the poll and if she could overcome the initial hurdles then she was sure to win. He asserted that Pandit Mishra had not advised Mrs Gandhi against contesting. "Had that been so, we would have known her decision on the Thanjavur byelection on May 18 itself," he said. The senior Congress (I) leader said that the Special Courts also figured in discussions between Mrs Gandhi and Pandit Mishra. Mrs Gandhi reportedly told Pandit Mishra that she feared that there would be an attempt to remove her from the political scene in the Bhutto way. The *shloka* recited by Pandit Mishra while blessing Mrs Gandhi represents the nature of the talks, he said. He also said that Pandit Mishra had promised Mrs Gandhi that he would do some *puja* to ensure that the threats to her were removed.

That evening we overheard a conversation in a restaurant in Patna's Fraser Road. Someone was saying, "Money, women, muscle power, etc., are being used by the politicians today. Even worse, *tantriks* and astrologers too are being used. And Indira is not the only one to use them..."

ENCOUNTER

ARUN RANJAN interviewed Pandit Dinesh Mishra, but did not find him very communicative.

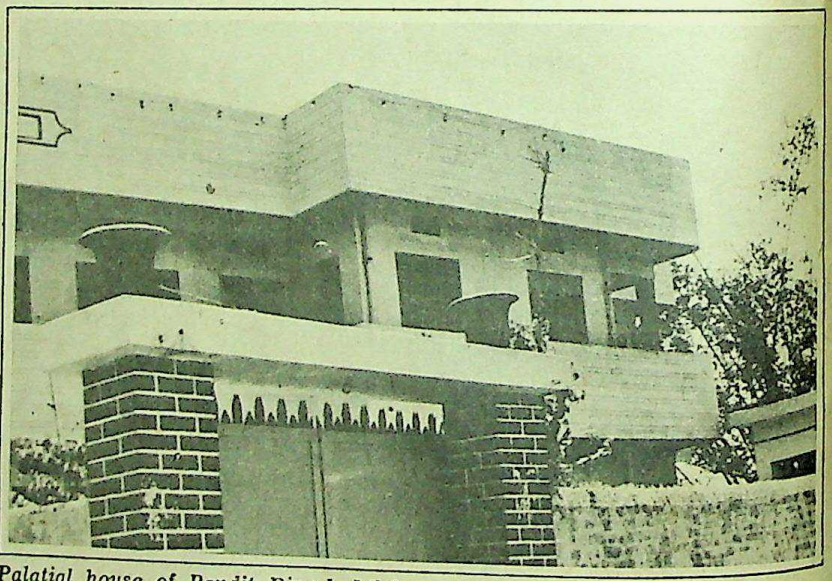
Q: Who are the politicians you know in Patna? How was your meeting with Mrs Gandhi arranged? How did you reach the airport?

A: I know Mr Laliteshwar Prasad Shahi, Dr Jagannath Mishra, Mr Harinath Mishra (ex-Speaker of the Bihar Assembly) intimately. I have been giving my blessings to all good men. I would meet Mr Shahi and Mr Mishra whenever I came to Patna. It was through them that the meeting with Indira was arranged. Mr Shahi knew that I wanted to meet Indira and Indira wanted to meet me. This time, he was the first to know that Mrs Gandhi was coming to Patna. Immediately, he sent his younger son Hemant to Barauni. I came to Patna with Hemant. Jagannathji knew about my visit. As soon as he reached Patna he learnt of my arrival. I came to the airport with Mr Shahi.

Q: What did you tell Mrs Gandhi about the Thanjavur byelection? Was Thanjavur the main reason behind the meeting?

A: I asked her whether she was contesting the election. She replied that the matter was yet to be decided. That's about all.

Q: Panditji, I only hope you are not joking. Is Mrs Gandhi the type of person who decides at the eleventh hour? Or perhaps you do not want to answer my question. Some people say that she had come all the way from Delhi to speak to you about the forthcoming elections and her trip to Jamshedpur was only a cover-up.



Palatial house of Pandit Dinesh Mishra

A: I have told you the truth. You are free to make your own interpretations.

Q: In Patna's political circle you are known as a tantric and soothsayer. One hears many true stories about you. Tell me, who are you?

A: I have nothing to do with *tantras* or palmistry. I pray and meditate. If I am able to gain a solution through *Gunakshra Nyaya Kidhi*, I communicate the same to my devotee. By god's will, many of my predictions proved true and obtained the respect of people.

Q: How did you come to know Mr Jagannath Mishra? Is it true that you were also a favourite of Mr L. N. Mishra? How did you meet Mr L. P. Shahi?

A: On February 6, 1969, Mr L. N. Mishra called me to Delhi. Dr Tajmath Mishra was then Bihar's Minister for Agriculture and he

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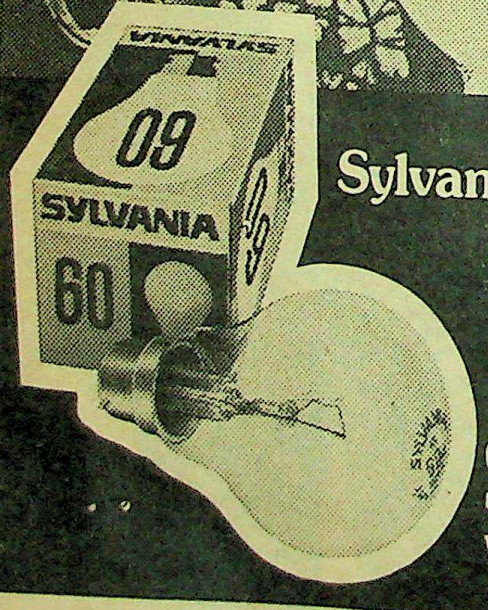

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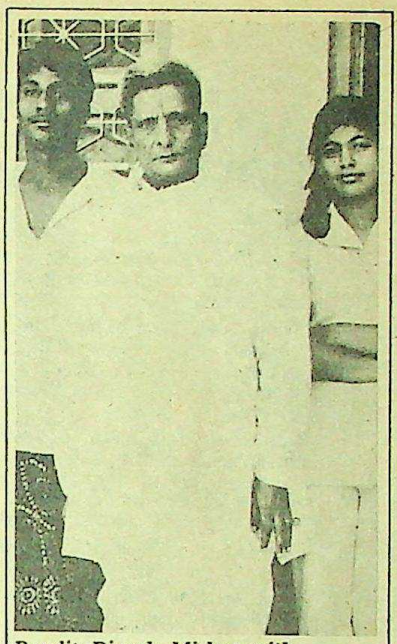
wanted to see me too. I met him on December 18, 1974. I had met Mr Shahi, an ex-Minister in September 1973. In the same year I was introduced to Mr Harinath Mishra. I do not normally go to meet anyone. If anyone comes to me, I do meet him. I try to help anyone who comes to me to seek solutions for his problems, be it Dr Jagannath Mishra or a common worker.

Q: When do you stay in Bihar? Otherwise where can one find you? Do you have any business interests in Calcutta?

A: I devote my time to studying. During holiday I come to Bihar. In Calcutta, my address is 147, Cotton Street. I am connected to a few Jain and Buddhist Sadhu organisations. I have no other profession besides studying. In Calcutta, I teach students of religion at my house; I don't run any school or institute. I stay in Calcutta with the Rampuria family which is quite affluent. There I met Maharaja of Bikaner, Ganga Singh.

Q: Do you charge any fee for your services?

A: I charge nothing. I am self sufficient: I earn enough money by teaching alone.



Pandit Dinesh Mishra with grandchildren

Q: Who are the other people you know and what kind of people are they?

A: A few rich intellectuals are known to me intimately. I know many professors of Calcutta University, Dr Pattabhiran Shashtri, Dr Gaurinath Shashtri, Dr Lakshmi Singhvi, Delhi's Lt. Governor, Aditya Nath Jha, Patna's Brahmadutt Diwedi and a deputy director, Adhyasharam. Among politicians, I know Hariji, Jagannathji, Shahiji, and within the Janata Party, the ex-Minister Thakur Prasadji, etc. Daroga Rai also meets me now and then.

Q: Are you a political sadhu? Why are you interested so much in the Congress Party?

A: I prefer staying for away from politicians, otherwise I would have stayed in Patna and not Barauni. The Congress Party would have made me an MLC whenever I wished. I can gain some place or position for myself even today but I have no such ambition. Can you show me that I have a special interest in the Congress Party? Perhaps, you have come to this conclusion because I have a large following among Congress leaders.

OPINION

L. P. SHAHI, former Congress Minister, is close to Pandit Mishra. ARUN RANJAN spoke to him.

Q: Shahiji, how were you introduced to Pandit Dinesh Mishra? What do you think of him?

A: He was introduced to me in 1963 as a pundit. He is not a professional palmist. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He is attached to some organization in Calcutta where he teaches Sanskrit. He is also interested in *devi puja*.

Q: Did Punditji ever perform any spiritual rites for your benefit? Did it prove successful?

A: He did not conduct any spiritual rites for me. However, he once told my younger brother that he would meet an accident on the road. He also gave my brother a kind of *jantra* for protection against such eventuality. My brother did have a very serious car accident. But luckily no one was seriously injured. In between prayers he meditates and while meditating, if someone asks him a question he is sure to get the correct answer. Otherwise, there is possibility that the reply would not be correct. I have never put any questions to him about myself. He visits my family often. He generally tells us a few things whenever he comes.

Q: Panditji knows the tantric art. He can predict the future. Is he an astrologer too?

A: He knows a little about everything but he is neither a professional *tantric* nor an astrologer. He believes more in *mantra* and *puja*. Yes, he predicts the future, and that makes him a fortune-teller.

L. P. Shahi

Harinarain Mishra, Punditji's son

Q: It he a political sadhu? Does he know a lot of people in politics?

A: It is not that he knows many people in politics. After Lalit Narain Mishra, he came to know a few politicians. If in Patna he meets other politicians beside Jagannathji, Harinathji and myself, I am not aware of it. He is not in any way a political *sadhu*. He is not interested in politics. He knows politicians as individuals.

Q: Will you kindly tell me about any of Panditji's miracles related to politics?

A: In October 1974, Dineshji had written to me saying that *"Lalit Narain Mishra chauda aane khatm ho gaye"* (Lalit Narain Mishra is almost finished). His prediction proved true that very year when Lalit Narain died. Before October too, Dineshji had been informing me in such terms, *"Woh char aane khatm ho gaye"*, *"Woh aath aane khatm ho gaye"* etc. At that time I did not treat his letters seriously. A few people had seen those letters. Now they are lost.

Q: How did you come to know that Mrs Gandhi wanted to meet Panditji?

A: Someone from Delhi informed me that Mrs Gandhi could meet Panditji at Patna airport. So I sent a car to Barauni and called him over. I took him to the airport. Then I moved away in order to avoid journalists. What transpired between Mrs Gandhi and Panditji is not known to me. ■

Photographs by Krishna Murari Kishan

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To lead is to know what it means to be last

Autumn. Bimini Coast, the Bahamas.
Fifty-four lobsters had received the signal from their group leader to move from shallow reef to deeper off-shore breeding grounds.

They lined up in a single file. Each individual hooked one pair of front legs around the tail of the comrade in front. The marchers would now move faster than a single lobster ever could...

The group's enemies generally attack the weak hind quarters. They remember their leader's clever manoeuvring to elude a hungry octopus not very long ago... The leader, usually a veteran, therefore, literally leads from the rear.

To lead is to know what it means to be last!

Nature abounds in those qualities we seek in ourselves

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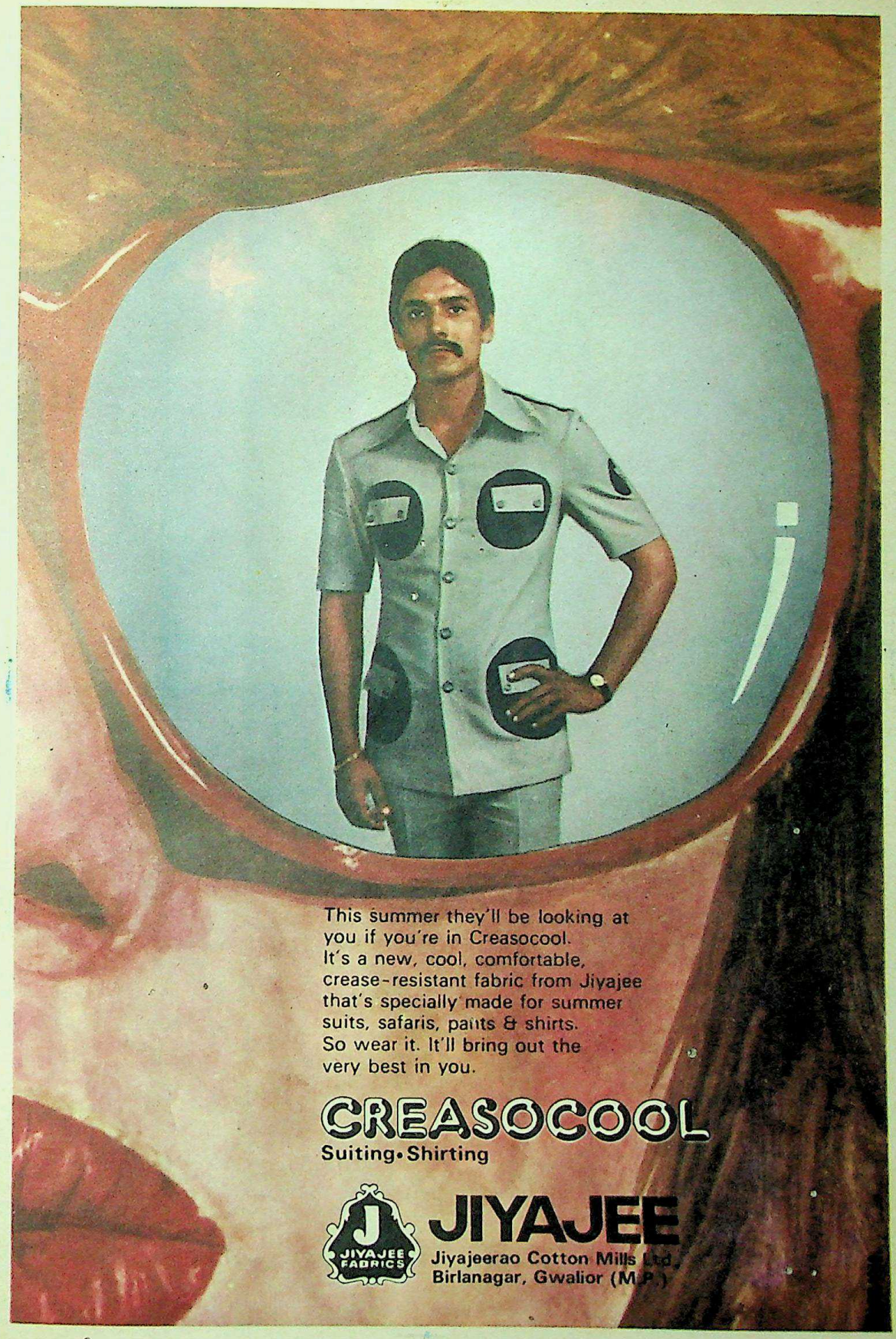
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that's specially made for summer
suits, safaris, pants & shirts.
So wear it. It'll bring out the
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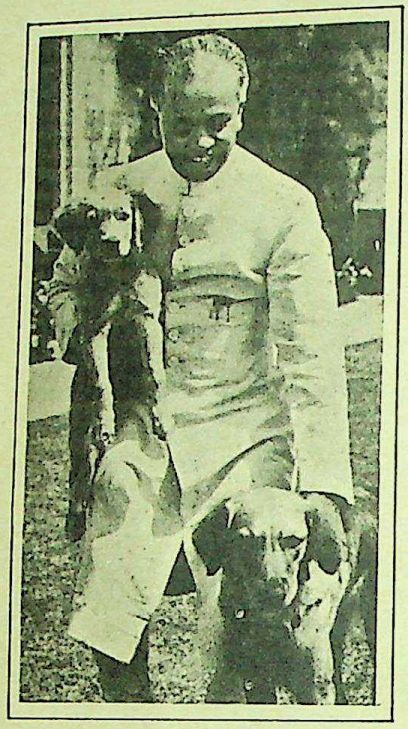

Mathai's Garbage

By KHUSHWANT SINGH

"I WARNED Nehru that this man was the kind of viper who bit people after they were dead," said Shradha Mata to me a few days ago. The man she referred to was M. O. Mathai. Shradha Mata, now a somewhat corpulent but attractive woman in her mid-sixties was engaged in performing Tantric rites in Delhi's Nigambodh cremation ground. The air was heavy with fetid odours of burning corpses and wailing of mourners. She reclined on a wooden plank telling the beads of her rosary. I sat on the hard cement floor, beside her sandals. I confessed that I had come for her *darshan* largely out of curiosity to see the person whose name Mathai had linked with that of our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. She knew what Mathai had written about her in his first book; she was eager to know what he had said in the second. It was not I but she who brought up the subject: "What has he said now?" she asked.

I told her that the very first chapter was devoted to her; the association which was said to have begun in 1948 and ended sometime in the summer of 1949 when she had been delivered of a male child in a Catholic convent in Bangalore. I also told her that Mathai had refuted the version published by the *Deccan Herald* and what had appeared in *India Today*. Mathai had once again affirmed that what he had written was authentic, and that the account published in the *Deccan Herald* and her own assertions were false. On my own I added that a couple of years ago I had received several letters from a gentleman who claimed to be her husband and promising to give me the true facts if I came to visit him in his village. I had not done so. Shradha Mata heard me in silence till I had finished and then made her comment in one sentence in the form of a query: "And are you going to write the same kind of *bakwas* (rubbish) about me?"

I gave her my word of honour that if I wrote anything about her, it would be published only after she had approved of it and that my chief purpose in calling on her was to find out why a young, educated and attractive woman (which she undoubtedly was by accounts given by most men who had met her at the time) should have renounced the world and become a *sannyasin;* what had she got out of it and the Tantric rites she was said to have performed? Had she found God? Could a *naslik* (agnostic) like me hope to get a glimpse of the Reality that she spoke about? Shradha Mata smiled and retorted: "Get rid of this pant and coat, take on a loincloth, join my ashram in Jaipur and maybe after some time I may be able to remove the tiny twig you hold before your eye which deprives you of the sight of the Sun."

Despite the Socratic dialogue on matters spiritual that we carried on in the macabre surroundings into the late hours of dusk, the name of M. O. Mathai cropped up again and again. And every time it did I was confirmed in my early view that Mathai had been a time server who had proved to be a *namak haram*—untrue to his master's salt.

I find it hard to find anything kind to say about Mathai. When he was serving under Nehru he was a servile factotum to the Nehru family compensating his sycophancy towards his master's household by arrogance towards the rest of the world. He used Nehru's broad shoulders to rest his gun to shoot down people he did not like. After he was kicked out of the Teen Murti mansion he went into a sulk chewing the cud of bitterness, biding the propitious moment to spit it out. He waited till Nehru died. Then he had to wait another eleven years till Indira Gandhi was out and her persecutors were in power. When he saw that the Janata Government was more than eager to demolish the memory of Nehru and malign Indira Gandhi, Mathai spat out the bile he had stored within him. Protesting loyalty to Nehru, he painted him as a debauch; and having more than hinted that he enjoyed the confidence of Indira Gandhi, he now describes her as vain, flighty and unreliable.

WHEN Mathai made his entry into Nehru's life, he was an unknown, ugly little man. For years he threw his weight about till Nehru was constrained to get rid of him. Now that he is in his dotage he reveals himself smaller and uglier than ever before. In his earlier reminiscences he had been guilty of betrayal of trust. In the second he has gone further and added penchant for blackmail to betrayal. He tells us that he means to hold back a chapter entitled "She" (which is presumably about Indira Gandhi) and has in addition a film secretly taken of the goings on in the Dwarka Suite of Rashtrapati Bhavan in which she appears. These "startling revelations" he promises to reveal at a later date—and undoubtedly for greater profit to himself. He claims that his motive is not muckraking to make money but to record for posterity what he alone saw at close quarters. He asserts that the "philosophy" which guided him in his earlier publication continues to guide him in the second. The only comment I can make is that when his first book came out, I called him a *namak haram*. After having read the second I am constrained to say that *namak haram* is too mild a euphemism for anyone who indulges in the kind of character assassination that Mathai has made his *forte*. It is after reading his second book that I wished that as General Zia did in Pakistan, someone in India would introduce a code of punishment which provided for public flogging of people who indulge in murder by print.

Like the earlier volume, the present one is a disjointed and jumbled assortment of unconnected events of very little importance. Interspersed with these are Mathai's bilious asides on members of the Nehru family, Indian politicians and civil servants. To wit: Nehru loved animals and flowers; Rajiv and Sanjay loved apples. Nehru did not believe in astrology; Indira always believed in it. Nehru received a lot of letters. Syed Hassain was in love with Vijaylakshmi Pandit; Mrs Pandit spent a few days with him in Cairo. Rajiv always wanted to fly planes; Sanjay thought that a Mr Goel was the same as the cuckoo bird *Koil*. Mohammed Yunus was a "half-wit"; K. K. Sahni was the only one who knew oil business. Many of our Ambassadors (including Mrs Pandit's son-in-law, Ashok Mehta) were in deep trouble on charges of

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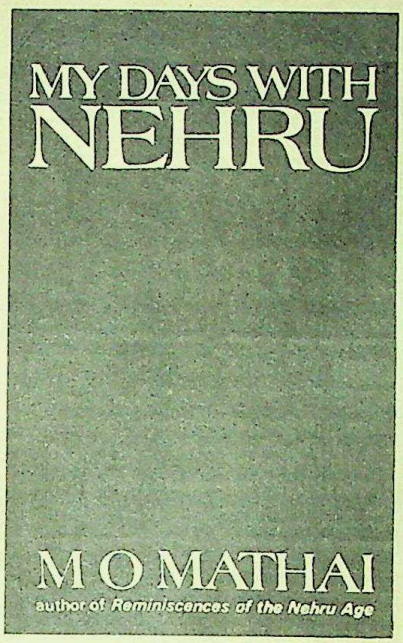
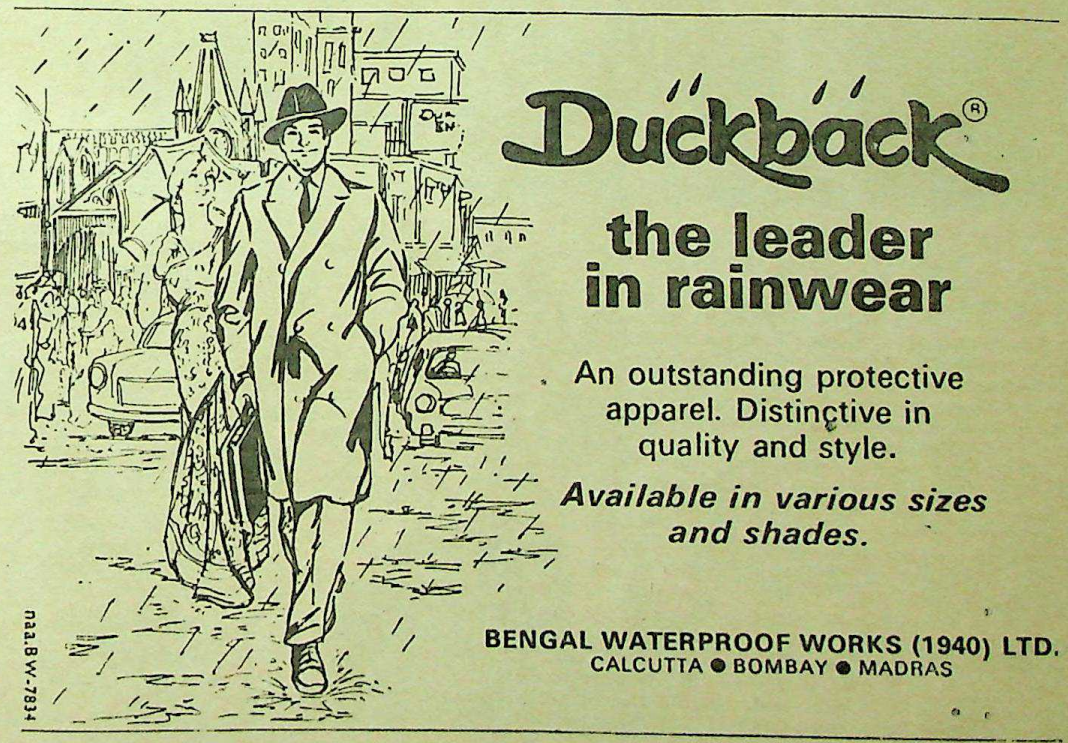


In this book Mathai has gone further and added penchant for blackmail to betrayal. He tells us that he means to hold back a chapter entitled "She" (which is presumably about Indira Gandhi) and has in addition a film secretly taken about goings-on in Dwarka suite of Rashtrapati Bhavan in which she appears. The only comment I can make is that "namak haram" is too mild a euphemism for anyone who indulges in the kind of character assassination Mathai has made his forte. I wish someone would introduce a code of punishment which provided for public flogging of people who indulge in murder by print.

corruption; Mathai played a decisive role in getting them out if it. As a matter of fact if Mathai had not been Nehru's aide, Nehru could hardly have functioned as Prime Minister. Mathai concedes very generously "If the truth were to be told, I was as much indebted to Nehru as he was to me". It is like a stenographer claiming equal credit for a literary masterpiece which he or she had taken down in dictation. And no sooner did Mathai leave the PM's house that Nehru became "a bewildered man, ill-advised by incompetent and unimaginative officials". Nehru's post-Mathai years were, according to Mathai, a succession of blunders: the abortive deal with Voice of America, the Kamraj plan (Mathai would have sacked only Kamraj) and the planting of the nuclear device on Nanda Devi. It is a miracle that India has survived another 20 years without Mathai's sage counsel to guide it.

Mathai's style of writing is little better than that of a bumptious high-school lad whose reading ends with the *Reader's Digest*. He throws in quotations and anecdotes wherever he can in the vain hope that this will pass for learning. He rates himself at par with E. M. Forster, Koestler, Aldous Huxley, V. S. Naipaul, Radhakrishnan and K. M. Panniker. He assures us that an organisation which prepares candidates for the Indian Foreign and Administrative Service examinations has included his book in the list for compulsory reading. If that is really true then not only Mathai but also members of the board of that organisation need to have their heads examined.

My Days with Nehru; By M. O. Mathai; Vikas: Price Rs 35



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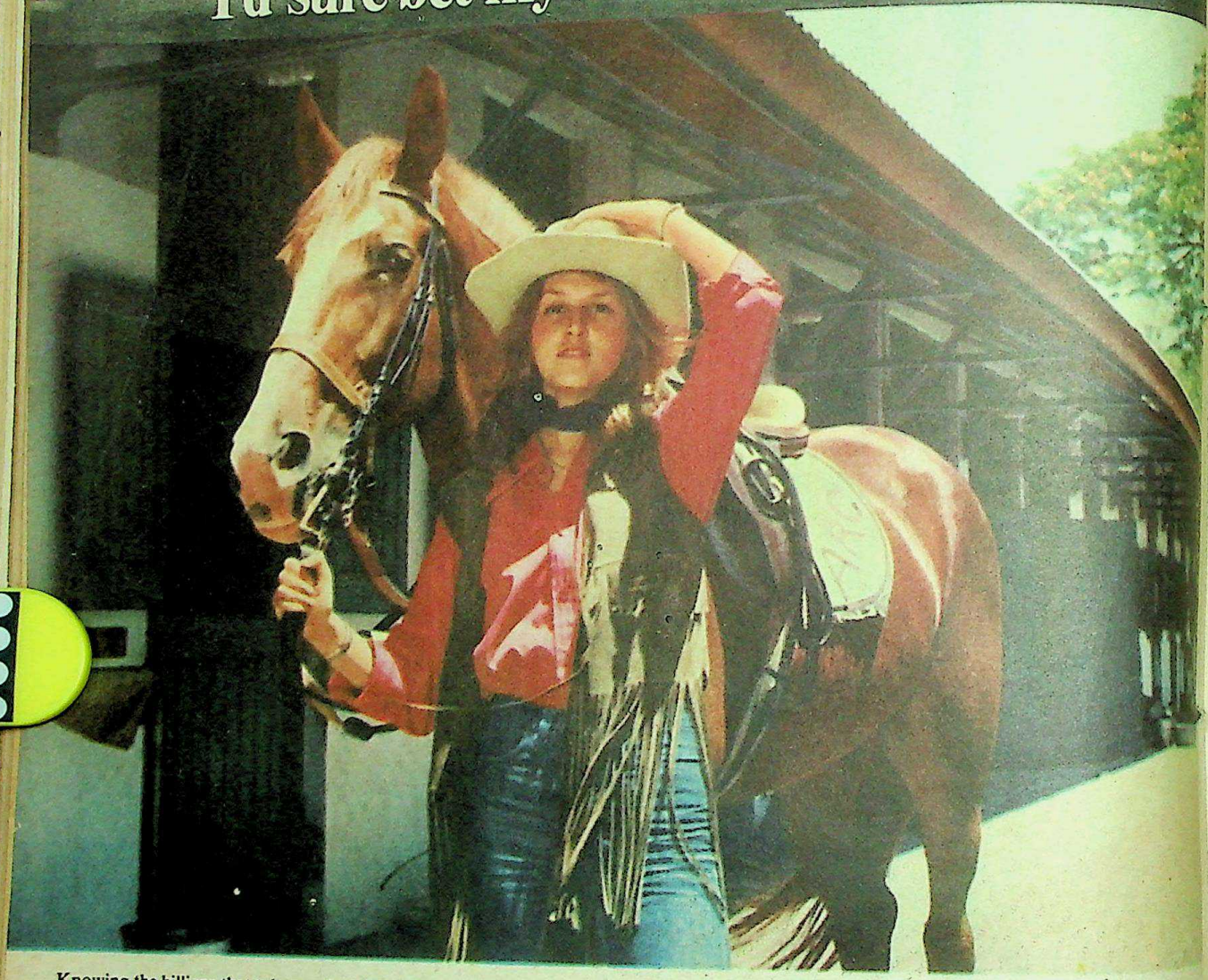
V.I.P. Interviews–6

"Gee! Your 'V.I.P.' is the kinda product I'd sure bet my bottom dollar on!"



Knowing the billions that takes when you're talking to a Texas tycoon's only daughter, it certainly was a reassuring beginning.

"Americans," confided Jo Ann Winchester*, "come to India to see the Taj Mahal in Ajanta... the tigers in the street... and the gurus in the ashram! Me? I come to see the real India. And I just dig it all. You know, there really aint nothing like a Sheraton or a Hilton to make you feel at home!"

"But I reckon you wanna ask some questions. Shoot!"

"We'd like to say," we started formally, "that we are delighted you chose a 'V.I.P.' Now how did you..."

"Oh well," kidded the young lady, "I got that old Texan horse sense!"

"The last time I visited out in India, I just walked into this shop, and bought up the store! So I tell them like a good Texan would. Pack it all in them 'V.I.P.'s just standin there doin nothin! And I'll tell you this, your 'V.I.P.'s, they sure pack in a helluva lot!"

"Now, every time I go on a trip I take some 'V.I.P.'s along. Those 'V.I.P.'s on wheels..."

"'V.I.P.' Gliders," we prompted helpfully.

"They're terrific! Don't know about you, but I find waitin for porters sure is a drag."

"Back where I come from," she said, "we make some great stuff. I won't say your 'V.I.P.' is better. It's better than better! It's tough stuff. And that, coming from me is some compliment!"

"You know, I am one of them real American products. Say luggage, and I see stars. And stripes. And Touristers! My old man ribs me that my favourite colours are red, white and blue."

Noting the colours of her outfit, we couldn't but agree.

"Talking of colours, your 'V.I.P.' shades are real snazzy! Like the Fourth of July!" she said.

"Well," we rejoined, "we have almost all your favourite colours..."

"Hold your horses now. Or you'll be on to ribbing me too," she cautioned good humouredly.

"I just got this swell idea. Any time you wanna do business in Texas, come on over and meet the family."

"But your father is in ranches not in suitcases," we said. And that sounded strange even as we said it. But she didn't notice.

"You know, you gotta point there. But don't you forget there's always dear old Uncle Sam!"

** To protect the privacy of our 'V.I.P.' customers, it has been necessary to conceal their actual identities.*

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P.N. SUNDARESAN examines the chances of an Indian victory in the forthcoming series against England

VENKAT: CAPTAIN OF CAPTAINS

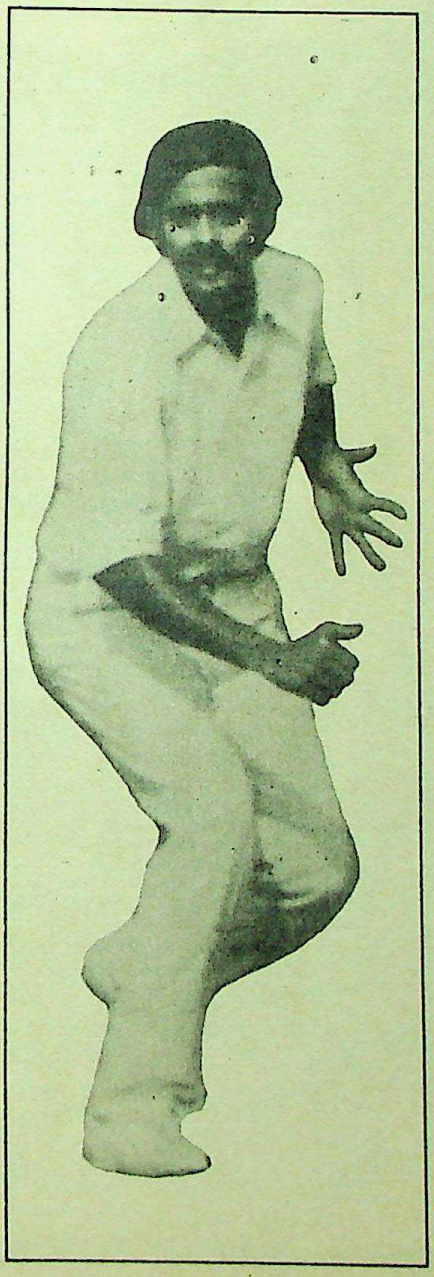
"IN my country they're very generous when you're winning, but when you're down it's the captain who stops most of the bullets." This candid opinion was expressed by India's former captain, Bishen Singh Bedi, to former England cricketer and BBC interviewer Peter Walker long before the "bullets" downed him, after his return from the Pakistan tour last season.

What will be the lot of India's new captain, Srinivasaraghavan Venkataraghavan, who has just flown into England with his team to play in the Prudential Cup limited overs tournament and then face England in a three-Test series? Doing well in cricket now means nothing less than winning matches. The days when a player or a team was applauded for participating in the game in the true spirit, irrespective of winning or losing, are over. Cricket has really become a battle of the matadors, where words have become sharp missiles, as lethal as a speedster's bouncer.

India made an impressive debut in international cricket in 1932 at Lord's and has so far undertaken eight tours of England, but has had only one dazzling triumph in 25 Tests. This great triumph was at the Oval in 1971, thanks to an inspired spell of bowling by leg-spinner B. S. Chandrashekar which earned him a place in the Wisden's five cricketers of the year. That Oval victory, in the last of the three-Test series, also enabled India to clinch the rubber. Coming on top of a similar success in the West Indies earlier in the year. India was then rated by critics as second only to Australia in the world ranking.

From that position India slipped badly on the next tour of England in 1974, when the latter won all three Tests in overwhelming fashion. The 1971 glory receded like a dream. and served only to pinpoint the very bleak record India had in Test matches played in England.

Though Venkat has really to rebuild the Indian team since some of its leading members are over the hill and some others are fresh to international cricket, if he is able to forge them into a fighting unit it will go a long way to make the tour a success. It is here that the captain's touch, drawing out each player to give of his best, proves a vital factor. "I refuse to be beaten by any adverse circumstances or a reversal of fortunes that may push me back in my career. I never take things lying down but try to utilise every small opportunity, even the ghost of a chance, to move forward" says the new skipper.



Nikhil Bhattacharya

APART from his skill as an off-spinner—which drew high praise from no less a player than Sir Garfield Sobers—and his brilliance as a fielder, Venkat has triumphed over obstacles throughout his career, and now faces the stiffest challenge. His future in the game now depends on how he acquits himself as India's captain.

A close companion of Venkat's remarked at a function held to felicitate the latter that he knew Venkat "in his early days on the field as an angry young man". This was only too true. Having been closely associated with his career ever since he made his debut in the Ranji Trophy championship I can vouch for the fact that Venkat is a man with a quick temper. This has been an asset to him, helping him to overcome situations which would have floored many other cricketers. But his reactions have also antagonised several people, some of them important personages in the game. Venkat has been accused of being intolerant with youngsters, at times pulling them up for their foibles, but he explained to me that it was only an honest attempt to improve the youngsters' performance and also that of the team. There are no other strings attached to this attitude, he emphasised.

Once again, India will have to depend mostly on the spinners to deliver the goods, with Chandrashekar the key man again. Bedi seems to have lost the capacity to lure the batsman into making errors by virtue of subtle changes in flight and line. Chandrashekar too seems to have lost his uncommon skill to extract bounce off the pitch and beat the batmsan with the lift and subtlety of his leg-break. One only hopes that his two-month rest has revitalised Chandrashekar. Of the spinners, only Venkat emerged from the last West Indies series with his reputation intact. But without proper support from the other end, his penetrative ability will be cramped.

Venkat told me that while his strategy for the Prudential Cup would be dictated according to whether India bat first and build up a quick score or bat second and chase a target. On the other hand, his strategy in the Test series and other first class matches will be dictated by situations as they develop. His task on this tour is no easy one, for every move he makes will be analysed microscopically by the selectors. The Damoclean sword hangs perilously over the tousled head of India's third captain in just three Test series. ■

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Prudential predictions

The West Indies, with ten WSC players in their ranks, are hot favourites for the World Cup, reports ASHIS RAY from London.

AT 8.40 in the evening on June 21 1975, with the West Indies having just emerged as the deserving winners of the inaugural Prudential "World" Cup, the bar talk at Lord's centred around not so much Clive Llyod's great knock of 102 or the five runouts in the Australian innings, but on: "When will the next one be?"

Well, the next one has duly arrived and cricketing interest throughout the world trains its attention on the fortnight of thrilling contests about to unfold in the Southern half of the British Isles. The reigning champions with as many as ten Packerites in their squad of 14 once again provide a virtually insurmountable hurdle to the hopes of other competitors and it is not unnatural, therefore, that bookmakers here have been hawking them at the rather unfavourable price of 11-8. With Lloyd himself, Richards, Kallicharran, Greenidge and a host of others eminently suited to cavalier batsmanship, no other side can hold a candle to them in this department. Indeed, who can even match their battery of fast bowlers although, admittedly, Malcolm Marshall is not in the same class as say, Roberts, Holding, Daniell or Garner. Finally, contrary to general expectations there is unlikely to be any confrontation between the WSC and non-WSC factions and this was made clear to me by Kallicharran when, in reply to a question on the subject in a BBC programme, he maintained that he considered it an honour to play for the West Indies, irrespective of the captain!

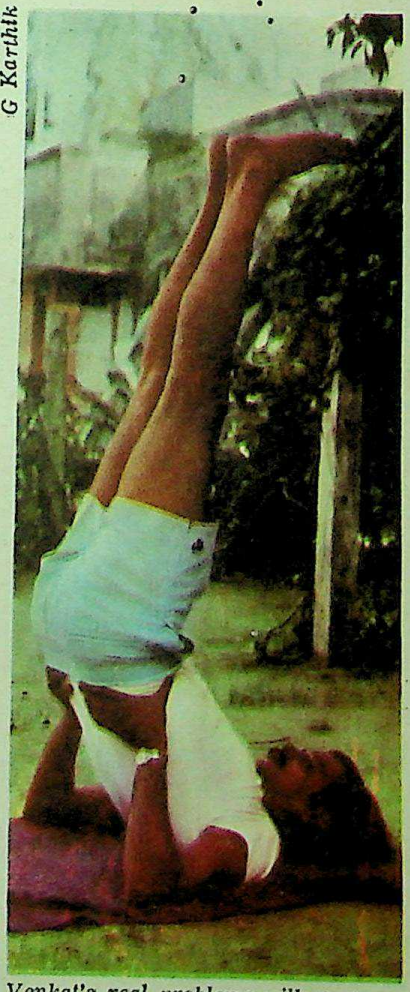
The home side is quoted at 9-4 and this is presumably because of their vast experience with regard to "instant" stuff and also possibly in anticipation of some brilliance that may accrue from Mike Brearley's captaincy. Of course their team is undoubtedly well-balanced and they have the added advantage of playing on known territory. But chinks can be found in their batting armoury and any flamboyance other than finding the gaps for the singles, could be a rarity. Actually, England's primary strength lies in catching and outfielding and they can inevitably rely on their "quickies" to bowl precisely to a field.

At 3-1 Pakistan are a very good bet. Batting-wise they are distinctly superior to England and their medium pacers are no amateurs. Over and above, their new skipper Asif Iqbal is a shrewd tactician as is evident from his leadership of Kent and if only his boys can put their heads together, they might be the biggest threat to the all-conquering West Indians. The Pakistanis are in the state the Caribbean giants were, in the Fifties and early Sixties, when despite a wealth of talent, their temperament was by and large a letdown.

Next in the Turf Accountants' rating come Australia and New Zealand jointly at 10-1, followed by India at 50-1. But to my mind all three should have figured in the same bracket. The Aussies, lacking as they do the services of the Packer stars, will not find their feet easily. True, the second stringers did beat England in the one-day series last winter, but that was no more than a flash in the pan. To an extent, the Kiwis are plagued by an identical problem. Turner, who had the highest individual aggregate in the tournament four years ago still attaches greater importance to turning out for Worcestershire and the indefatigable Collinge has, as everyone knows, hung up his flannels. In contrast, India exudes a degree of maturity in batting and can, at least, bank on a modicum of pace from young Kapil Dev, albeit not as yet in the most economical mould.

A major stumbling block for India is Gavaskar's inherent distaste for the limited overs concept, but if his performance in the Willis Trophy a couple of months ago is any indication, the maestro seems to have adjusted marvellously to its demands. Vishwanath is a "gambler" even in Tests, thus across-the-line pyrotechnics to him is no major compromise. Among the less distinguished wielders of the willow, I daresay that Amarnath, Vengsarkar and Patel will be seen in better light as a result of the flexibility and freedom that emanates from a spread-out field. As for Kapil, a sixty-over bash is veritably his cup of tea, but may I warn that Clark and company were not exactly the toughest test and the university lad must bolster his repertoire of off-side shots if he is to succeed at the highest level. Unfortunately, I have never encountered Surinder Khanna, but if his background is any guide, he is perhaps a Budhi Kunderan in the making.

THERE is reason to be somewhat pessimistic about the bowling. Ghavri was heavily punished in 1975 and although he is today a much-improved exponent and certainly a more intelligent one, his trade remains more in consonance with longer battles. Bedi is now a self-confessed run-giver on pitches other than turning tracks and I suspect this stems more from an awareness of his increasing weariness than the battering meted out by Imran Khan last autumn. But interestingly enough, the best figures of the entire championship four years ago are accredited to none other than the Sikh—12-8-6-1 against East Africa. Venkat may choose to be flatter and faster through the air in order to peg the batsmen to their crease. He may not be the most deserving choice for the captaincy, but then so was Richie Benaud's appointment extremely surprising when he was preferred to Neil Harvey in 1958 and has anyone subsequently questioned the then Australian selectors' wisdom? What is important to concede at the present moment, therefore, is that Venkat is definitely an astute cricketer and more than familiar with playing conditions in England, having spent three seasons with Derbyshire earlier in the decade. And in the ultimate analysis, India's success or failure hinges immeasurably on the Tamil Nadu man's handling of his apparently ill-equipped bowling attack. ■



G Karthik

Venkat's real problems will start with the Prudential Cup

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A valuable catch

YAJURVINDRA SINGH MAY or may not have been selected as a member of the Indian squad to England solely due to his fielding, but there is very little doubt that his safe hands must have tilted the scales in his favour.

Yajurvindra, 26, is perhaps at the moment our best close-in fielder. Sunny, as he is nicknamed, plays for Maharashtra and made his Test debut against Greig's Englishmen. After that he was not in the team to Australia and Pakistan. Against the West Indies, last year, he was recalled and was twelfth man for three Tests.

"I am confident that I'll do well on the tour. Besides I have the experience of English playing conditions, having played League Cricket there for a number of years. One of the things that you have to guard against in England, as a batsman, is the movement of the ball off the seam in any delivery". Yajurvindra adds, "You can overcome this by keeping your bat close to your body."

If Venkat, Chandra and Bedi are going to be effective a lot will depend on the close-in fielders, who will have to convert the half chances to catches. "That's a primary requisite," says Yajurvindra. "You have to have good anticipation and quick reflexes in that area. Of course you are expected to take the chances that come your way. There is very little sense taking the half chances and then dropping sitters.

"Standing close to the wicket can be hazardous. Sometimes the batsman hits the ball really hard and God help you if you get hit. To avoid this you must concentrate on every delivery. You must have confidence in the bowler. You should not feel that he will bowl a ball which could be hit in your direction."

A few captains place a fielder close-in knowing fully well that catches won't come his way. This is done primarily to put psychological pressure on the batsman, because most of them do not like a fielder close to them.

H M

NARI CONTRACTOR

"LET me at the very outset honestly say that if I were the captain for the Prudential Trophy my strategy would depend a lot on the opponents in the World Cup. Since I have not seen most of these players in action I can hardly spell out my strategy. I would be a very unhappy captain, considering the talent made available to me. Venkat needs an immense dosage of luck even to put up a reasonable show. There are too many deficiencies in the composition of the team and the ability of certain cricketers to cope with specific aspects of the game is suspect. Some of the members are unfit while a few are not even of international class. The best available talent should have made the trip.

"Going through the list, one finds the touring selection party will have no choice. There just aren't any alternatives at their disposal. A few cricketers are as good, or shall we say as bad, as the others. Among the sixteen a few would be selected automatically. It'll just be a question of which duplicates should be left out. That's why I cannot fathom how such talented cricketers like Sandeep Patil and Surinder Amarnath were left out. Both of them are tailor-made for one day cricket.

"We will never be a force to reckon with in a limited-overs game because we do not believe in breeding fast bowlers. If you have pacemen in your side there's a double advantage. First they can be utilised in the matches and secondly they could bowl to our batsmen in the nets and give them practice against fast bowling.

Unfortunately we have made very feeble efforts to encourage fast bowlers. We must tackle the problem at the grassroots. There is no follow-up action as boys grow up. Sometimes it gives the feeling that we organise camps for young fast bowlers just as a formality. A player who plays for the country at the under 19 and 22 levels, sometimes does not find a place in the State team. This is absurd—how is the youngster going to bloom if you don't give him the opportunity to develop his bowling?

"Matches are not the place to learn to play a natural game. You have to perfect your game in the nets. The ability of a batsman to cope with fast bowling comes from practice. A brilliant fielder, I agree, must have something natural in him ...but there is nothing to prevent a cricketer from practising and hence becoming a safe and an above-average fielder. Running which is an important contributory factor for a side's total in a limited-overs game depends on the physical condition of the players. If they are restraining themselves, the batsmen are merely taking precautions, to ensure that they don't get exhausted. Once you are exhausted concentration lapses.

"This certainly seems to be Brijesh Patel's last chance. He is such a good striker of the ball, a brilliant fielder

The veteran

HARESH MUNWANI spoke to ex-T
would do if they were captaining
quizzed them to find out whether w
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and yet there's a question mark against his batting talent. Now it's entirely up to him to prove to the people and himself that he can play the quick stuff competently. Again it's the same old story, Brijesh is reluctant to practise against the short rising ball—he must come to

Tarapada Banerjee

Kapil Dev: is he the only genu

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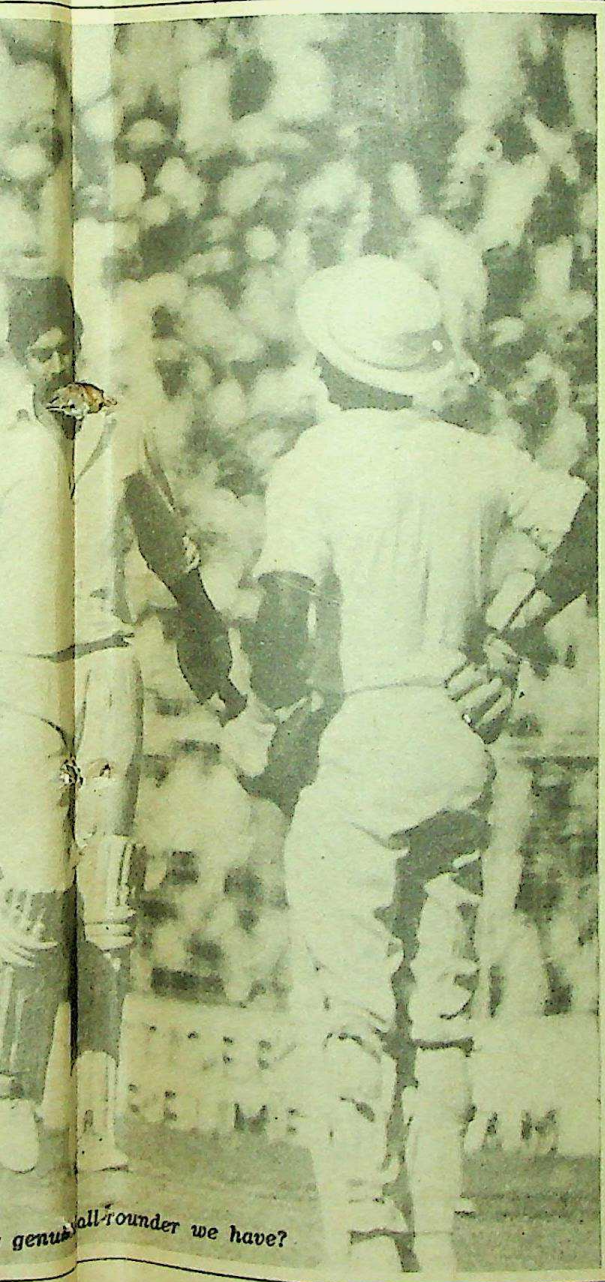
erans' opinions

ke to ex-Test stars to find out what they captaining the World Cup side. He also whether we can ever succeed at instant rijesh Patel's last chance, and whether we y genuine all-rounders.

terms with himself.

"We are going to the World Cup with just Kapil and Mohinder as all-rounders. Venkat is a seventy per cent all-rounder while Ghavri had developed as an all-rounder some time back but has of late slumped in his performance."



genuine all-rounder we have?

HANUMANT SINGH

"WE have a very good chance of reaching the semi-finals. And without being optimistic I think we can overcome New Zealand. In the past, apart from the Bombay cricketers, the other players were not conscious of the demands of a limited overs game. But now this type of cricket is being played all over the country and in addition we have the Deodhar and the Wills Trophy. Hence one would imagine our boys are better equipped today than they were for the 1975 Prudential Cup.

"By now even our spinners must have realized what kind of a line and length they must bowl and how the field should be placed. Against the West Indies we have very little hope. Their batsmen are mighty hitters.

"Against New Zealand we'll have to play according to a plan. I don't think Glen Turner would be much of a problem as he is very slow in accumulating runs. I think they'll try and play safe in the early part of the innings. Their strategy will be to preserve their wickets and have a go towards the end. If at this stage we can grab a few quick wickets they will be finished. For a reasonable chance of success I would think our main players should get more exposure : for example Vishwanath could open the innings. The longer Vishwanath is at the crease the easier it will be for him to get runs. If he comes in at No 4 position and 30 overs have been bowled he has no option but to go for his runs. But if he opens he has time to get into his stride and he is capable of improvising his game to suit the occasion. Of course if the ball is moving in a particular match he should bat at his customary position of No. 4.

"The very name instant cricket tells you that can't entirely have a pre-planned strategy. Anything can happen, at any time. It's instant, remember. You have got to be flexible in your thinking. You have got to be prepared to accept anything. If we want to succeed at instant cricket first of all we'll have to be very careful about our bowling resources. Having two or three spinners on your ranks is a luxury. After all I would think it's more difficult to hit a fast bowler than a spin bowler but it is a problem for us to produce fast bowlers because as a nation we have smaller frames and physiques.

"If Brijesh doesn't make it good on this tour it will be goodbye for him. He's quick in the field and a talented bat but he has problems when facing pacemen. He seems to freeze when playing them—he must learn to be calm and cool in temperament. Talking of all-rounders, besides Kapil, I would think Mohinder Amarnath and Karsan Ghavri will have a lot to do."

Continued on page 34

Weighty problems

Media Consultancy Services

"WHEN they came they were a surprisingly unfit lot. Most of them had put on weight and moved sluggishly. But now, although they are not totally fit, there is a marked improvement in their physical condition." This is how Mr. D. K. Tandon, chief gymnastic coach, National Institute of Sports, Patiala, described the condition of the 15 Indian Test players who underwent a rigorous, 10-day conditioning camp in Bangalore.

Tandon said he designed exercises that would make the players agile and flexible. He did not place any emphasis on exercises involving weight lifting or excessive running. After the first day's workout the players complained of stiff joints but everyone recovered within the next three days. The players were on the field by 7 am every day and exercised for an hour and a half. The second session, from 3 p m., consisted of fielding practice followed by practice at the nets. To avoid monotony the exercises were changed every day.

Cries of "mar gaya" and groans were heard while the players performed these exercises. Chandrashekar jokingly said they would be able to perform better if they had a beer and the other players smacked their lips at the thought. On one occasion Bedi was applauded for doing his exercises perfectly. Coach Tandon said most of the senior players set a good example to the youngsters by taking a keen interest in their exercises.

Young Roger Binny of Karnataka impressed Tandon most and emerged his "best student". Said Tandon: "Roger displayed outstanding sportsmanlike abilities and never said 'no' to any exercise he was asked to do." Shivlal Yadav was another bright boy. Bombay's Dilip Vengsarkar was shirker No.1. "I had to keep my eyes always on him. The moment I turned my attention away from him he would slacken."

RAJ CHENGAPPA

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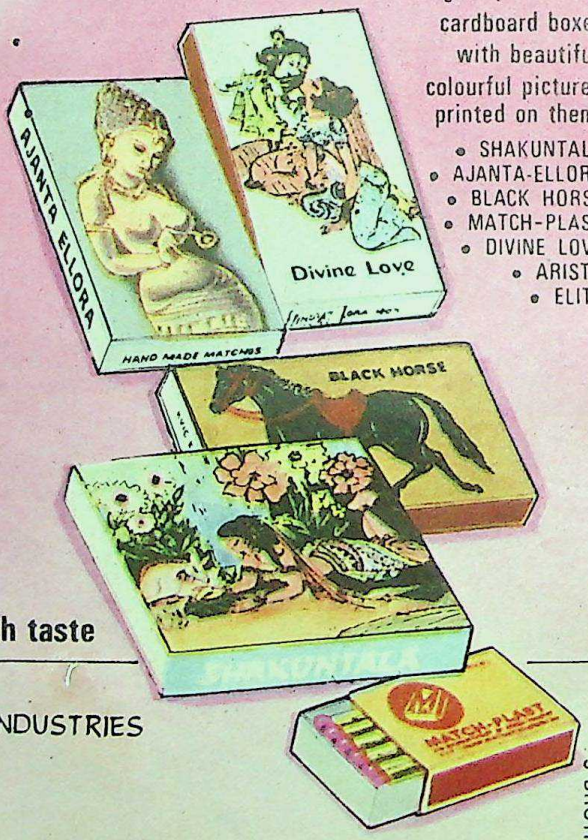

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MANSUR ALI KHAN PATAUDI

"As a captain one would imagine that strategy in the Prudential Cup would at all times be limited due to the inherent weakness of the side. To expect that we can beat a side like the West Indies is wishful thinking, as the West Indies are exceptionally strong in every department. As far as India is concerned, taking care of New Zealand seems paramount, for a win against the Kiwis would ensure a place for us in the semi-finals. Any further progress is not really expected, but if it does take place, I for one would consider it a very happy miracle.

"Other things being equal, in a limited overs game an important principle is to avoid losing early wickets even at the expense of the run-rate, so that eventually the pressure can be put on the bowling side in the middle and latter stages of the game. We must take the utmost precautions to ensure that our bowlers must at all times bowl to their field, especially considering the fact that most international batsmen will not be impressed by India's fast bowlers.

"I would prefer to drop Bedi from the squad for the World Cup because that would boil down to two spinners having to bowl nearly half the number of allocated overs. That is too much of a luxury and besides Bedi is neither a asset with the bat nor in the field. Further, since two players have to be dropped I would play Surinder Khanna as the keeper, because he'll be standing back and he is a more useful batsman. Yashpal Sharma, because he is the least experienced, will be the third discard.

"This kind of a limited overs game has yet to be taken seriously. For instance, the Deodhar Trophy, played as it is now, makes the competition a formality. Few take it seriously, but there is a likelihood, judging by the Wills Trophy, that this type of cricket may well catch on in future.

"In the last few years many of our cricketers have been in and out of the national team but Brijesh Patel is the only one who has not consolidated his position. With the expected compromise between the establishment and Packer, other international sides are going to be backed in full strength. The world is going to be full of fast bowlers the type of bowlers whom Brijesh finds it difficult to cope with and till he comes to face quicker stuff his position in the team will always be uncertain.

"As far as all-rounders for the Prudential Cup are concerned, the selection committee feels that half the members of the team are all-rounders. The only genuine all-rounder in the team at present is Kapil Dev, but players like Mohinder Amarnath and Karsan Ghavri will obviously be expected to do the job of an all-rounder. One hopes they do it well."

DILIP SARDESAI

"IF I WERE CAPTAIN I WOULD first tell my boys that it is suicidal to sacrifice runs for wickets—at least at the start of the innings. I would tell them to try and retain as many wickets as possible for the first 40 overs. For the last 20 overs it is important to get as many runs as possible. The batsmen must run every available single, because in this class of cricket you can't possibly hope to hit many boundaries. You have to rely on placing the ball, on converting singles into two's and three's and so on. The bowlers must bowl one line of attack.

"Fortunately we are placed in the weaker section of the draw for the Prudential Cup. Whether we qualify for the semi-finals will depend a lot on our match against New Zealand. Personally I feel New Zealand has a slight edge over us, because their players are professionals who have played a lot of one-day cricket. Some of them have considerable experience with regard to English conditions. They beat us in 1975, when the first Prudential Cup was held, remember? The way I look at it now, I would leave out Yashpal, Bedi and Reddy from the squad that plays in the Prudential Cup."

"I don't think we can ever succeed at instant cricket. India just doesn't seem to possess the essential ingredients. We do not have great stroke players who can score against tight, medium-pace bowling. Among our ranks we lack bowlers who can keep runs down. We have no pacers to bowl a steady line and length. Our fielding at best can be termed average. For instant cricket you need a top class fielding combination. Our batsmen don't believe on stealing singles. This act involves risks as a man could be run out, and God help him if he fails to score in the process—with the kind of selectors we have, the batsman may lose his place in the Test side. Hence you can hardly blame the batsmen for displaying a tendency to play safe.

"This certainly seems to be Brijesh Patel's last chance to resurrect himself. What a pity, because he is such a great striker of the ball, particularly against spinners. But he has to prove himself against faster bowlers. He must deploy the right mental technique. When pacemen are operating against him he just stands where he is, immobile, and plays from there as if he is glued to the ground. If the ball comes up he flinches. He must come in line with the delivery if he wishes to succeed. He has all the talent to raise the quality of his game, and he has the requisites of a great player. Moreover he's a plus factor because of his fielding."

"For the Prudential Cup, a lot is going to depend on the performances of our all-rounders Kapil and Mohinder. To a certain extent Ghavri could also be called an all-rounder."

Cricket's poor relations

THE people for whom the International Cricket Conference Trophy posed the largest problem were the umpires, who had to learn the equivalents in five languages of "Out", "Not out" and other assorted phrases.

There were teams from Bangladesh, Bermuda, Canada, East Africa, Israel, Malaysia, Papua-New Guinea, Argentina, Denmark, Fiji, Holland, Singapore, Sri Lanka and the United States. These 200-odd players drawn from various races and creeds stayed in two hotels in Birmingham, which were promptly turned into slightly refined versions of the Biblical Tower of Babel.

One particular cartoon in an English newspaper showed a dusky batsman from Bangladesh, behind whom there was a basket with three rearing cobras instead of wickets. But the Bangladeshis have not had much time for cricket in the last decade, what with a war in 1971, followed by floods and famine.

The players from Bermuda, despite spectator fears that they would turn out in shorts, played in immaculate flannels, to the disappointment of their opponents. Cricketers from Bermuda have the advantage of playing Test sides that tour the West Indies, but baseball and American football rate high on the popularity ranking in the colony, so matches often have a sprinkling of rules from all three games.

Israel, whose raid on Entebbe was not a tour of East Africa, seem to have a head start on all other cricket-playing countries. Israelis with a sense of humour point out, by way of proof, a reference in the Bible to Moses, who "came out with a full pitcher"

East Africa competed in the World Cup proper in 1975 but were steam-rollered in all three of their matches, once by 10 wickets and the other two occasions by nearly 200 runs. This year's team is dominated by Kenyans (nine out of 14) and almost all the players bowl medium pace. They have a score to settle with New Zealand captain Glen Turner, who belted their bowling for 171 not out in 60 overs four years ago.

Malaysia and Singapore, which separated from each other in 1965, have both fielded teams for the tournament although there is one strong line of thought that suggests both countries reunite for future World Cups.

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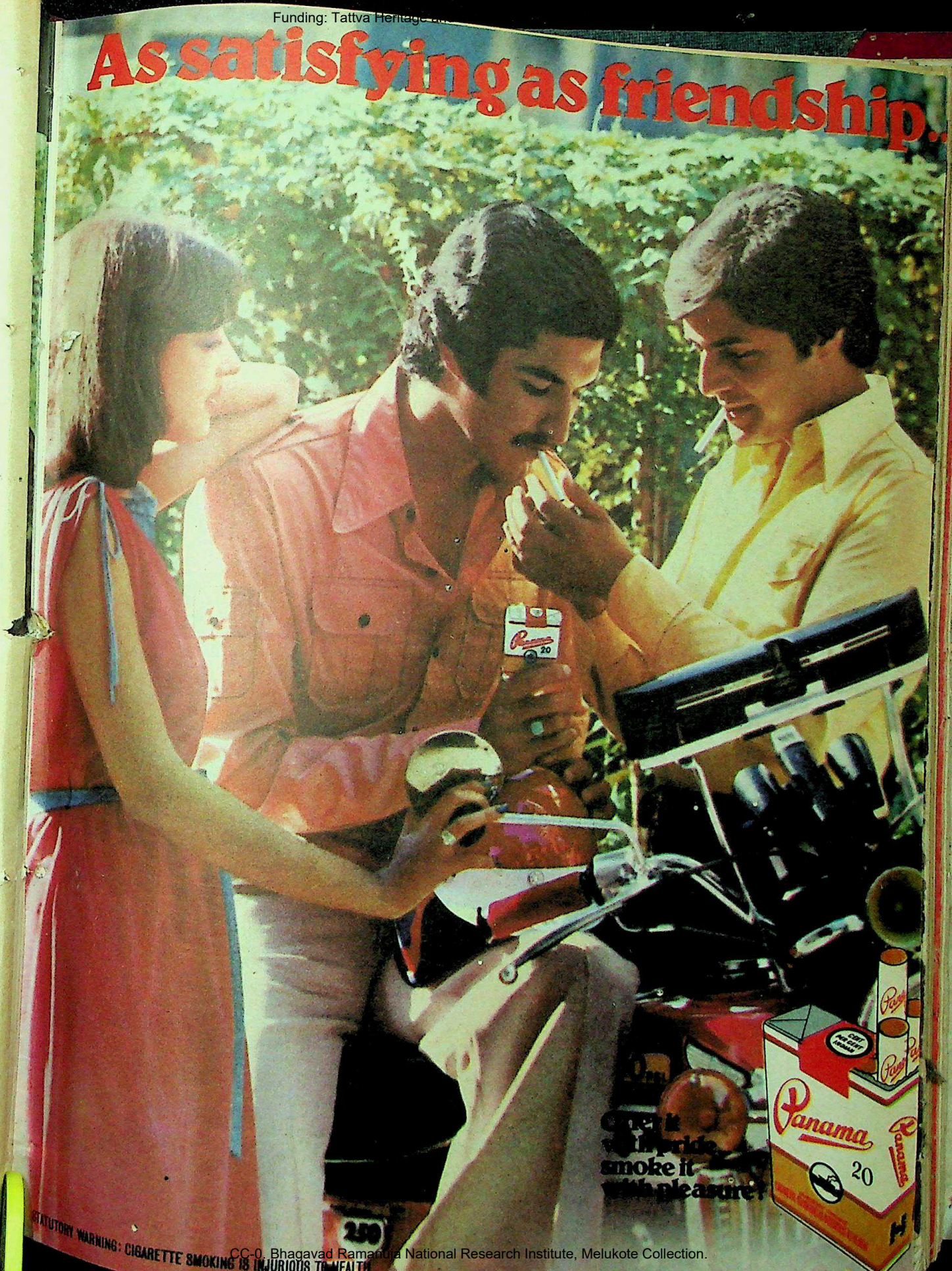

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Janata breaks another promise

The Prasar Bharati Bill on the "autonomy" of AIR and Doordarshan is a hoax. The major media of the country have not been released from the Government's clutches says A. G. NOORANI, who was a member of the Verghese Committee appointed by the Janata Government to examine the question of autonomy.

THE *Prasar Bharati* (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill, 1979 is a cynical breach of a solemn electoral pledge by the Janata Party Government. The Party's electoral manifesto contained this explicit commitment: "To generate fearlessness and to revive democracy, the Janata Party will...(16) Ensure that All India Radio, Doordarshan and the Films Division are converted into genuinely autonomous bodies that are politically objective and free from governmental interference."

Can a Corporation whose Chairman is appointed by the Government after consultation with two political functionaries (the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha), its other members without even this meaningless ritual, with two Secretaries of Union Ministries thrown in as members for good measure, whose Chief Executive, the Director-General, is also a Government appointee and who is bound to act on directions which the Government may issue "from time to time" be considered by any fair-minded person as a body "free from governmental interference" or "genuinely autonomous"? One would think not, especially when one recalls the wise warning administered by the Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai. Addressing the annual session of the AINEC, on December 26, 1977, he said, "The moment you depend on Government support either through advertisements or other things you are giving an instrument to Government to influence you which is worse than frightening you, in my mind."

In the last days of 1977 enough of the March euphoria survived for the Prime Minister to acknowledge in public that, given the opportunity to influence the media, Governments will grasp the "instrument" and use it. The *Prasar Bharati* Bill provides the Government a variety of such instruments of influence and control. It sanctions "governmental interference" instead of providing safeguards against it. The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mr L. K. Advani, told the Madras Reporters' Guild, on May 20, that autonomy was necessary because AIR touched an all-time low in performance during 1975-76. One wishes he had cared to explain how his Bill would prevent misuse of the media by a Government determined to do so. There is nothing in it which Mrs Indira Gandhi or Mr V. C. Shukla would have found insurmountable or even inconvenient for the execution of their designs.

After the Second World War, West Germany built a broadcasting system which is, as Lord Annan put it, "inspired by the determination that never again shall a Dr Goebbels control the broadcasting system of the country." Indeed, he added, "a West German might consider that the powers which the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary in Britain have over the broadcasting organisations are excessive. But, by political convention, many of these powers are never used." The Indian tradition is the direct opposite. It is not one of restraint but excess; hence, the need for safeguards. The Germans learnt from experience. We refuse to do so.

That the Bill represents a total departure and indeed, a perversion of the Verghese Report is patent. Not surprisingly, not a single spokesman of the Government has bothered to explain why the Report is not being followed. None of the spokesmen was even candid enough to declare that the Report was being rejected by the concerned ministry.

The Government of India has rejected the very conception of *Akash Bharati*, described in the Report, the very vision of an autonomous independent National Broadcast Trust as "the trustee of the national interest for radio and television" which is mandated by law to "uphold the collective right of the Indian people to freedom of speech, expression and communication through the broadcast media." If need be, this right was to be exercised by the Trust against the Government of the day. Hence, the Trust was to be a corporate citizen of India entitled to the fundamental right of freedom of speech which, under the Constitution, is available to citizens alone (Art. 19). The rest of the Report logically followed from this. All the members of the Corporation, (the Trustees) were "the guardians of the Charter" given to the Trust by law and were appointed by a special procedure, namely, by the President (i.e. by the Government) from out of a list of names prepared by a nominating panel consisting of the Chief Justice of India, the Lok Pal and the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission.

The Trustees had only the ultimate responsibility for supervision and control. Their task was to uphold the independence of the Trust. The executive functions were vested in a Central Executive Board headed by the Controller-General appointed by the Trustees—not by the Government. The rival claims of autonomy and of accountability to Parliament were reconciled by requiring the Trust to report to Parliament annually. Come to think of it, this is precisely what Mr Desai's Congress (O) pledged to the people in the 1971 election. AIR and TV "should cease to be a department of the Government and become an independent corporation answerable, for its broad policies, *only to Parliament*." The omission of any role for the Government was deliberate and significant.

Mr Advani's ideas are basically different. He told the Rajya Sabha on May 22 that under this Bill the *Government* was accountable to Parliament to ensure that the Charter was adhered to. Not the independent Trustees as recommended in the Verghese Report. Since the Charter is necessarily worded in fairly general and wide terms, the scope for Governmental interference, on the pretext of securing its observance, is immense. The draft Bill appended to the Verghese Report embodied the Charter (Cl. 5). Two of its clauses required the Trust to "uphold the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1) (a) of the Constitution" and to "uphold the impartiality, integrity and autonomy of broadcasting in the country." These clauses are deliberately omitted from the Charter emodied in the Bill (Cl. 12). This is fully in keeping with the outlook reflected in the Bill. The Chairman of the Corporation will be appointed by the President (read: Government) "after consultation" with the Lok Sabha Speaker and the Rajya Sabha Chairman, both political appointees. The other members of the Corporation will be appointed by the President straightaway. The Secretaries of the Finance and I & B Ministries will be *ex-officio* members. Curiously, the Director-General will also be a member of the Corporation.

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He will be appointed by the President after consultation with the Chairman.

The Government's grip on the organisation will surely be firm and unshakable. Even the chief executive, the Director-General, will be *its* nominee, not the Corporation's. The Director-General of the BBC is appointed by the Board of Governors, not by the Government. "This reflects the Board's independence of political control. It also emphasises the Board's final responsibility for the executive control over the day-to-day administration of the Corporation's affairs," remarked Lord Normanbrook, Chairman of the BBC's Board of Governors. Have a Government appointee as D-G and you achieve the directly opposite result—State control.

Nothing illustrates the departure from the Verghese Report more tellingly than the provision for Government directives. The Report said "There are very many forms of broadcasting corporations in the world. Some are seemingly independent but their organic statutes render them open to governmental interference in many ways. A certain broadcast statute has this provision: "In the exercise of its functions and powers under this Act, the Corporation shall comply with the general policy of the Government with respect to broadcasting and shall comply with any general or special directions given by the Minister pursuant to the policy of the Government in relation thereto." This was a reference to section 5 of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation Act, 1966. The Report proceeded to point out: "Thus, no matter how carefully contrived the administrative set-up of the Corporation may be, a single statutory amendment on the lines of this section whether passed by a simple majority vote of both Houses of Parliament or enacted by an Ordinance, can completely destroy its autonomy and independence. It is of the highest importance therefore that the autonomy of the corporation and its independence from Governmental control should be entrenched in the Constitution itself and the idea of a trust woven into it. The underlying concept should be distinguished completely from that of other public corporations in the country."

What the Verghese Report cited as a perversion of autonomy to be guarded against is emulated in the Bill as a fine example to be followed. Clause 23 of the Bill reads: "The Central Government may, from time to time, issue to the Corporation such directions as it may think necessary for the efficient administration of this Act, and a copy thereof shall be laid before each House of Parliament." Note that this clause, unlike the Sri Lanka law, is not restricted to "general policy", bad enough as even that is. It is a singularly retrograde measure. Modern opinion regards autonomy of broadcasting to be as essential as freedom of the Press. The Declaration on Mass Media adopted by the Council of Europe puts the two on a par.

The Verghese Report sounded "a caveat against copying blindly as a model any of the broadcasting organisations of the democratic countries. Autonomous broadcasting corporations have grown in those countries over a long period and in an environment in which autonomy has come increasingly to be respected. In India, in contrast, an autonomous institution is sought to be created against the background of the erosion of autonomous institutions and the credibility of radio and television. The Charter of the BBC and the broadcasting statutes of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Ireland confer considerable powers on the Ministers on the understanding that they will be very sparingly used as, indeed, they have been. Thus the Licence and Agreement of the BBC and Section 22(3) of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1973 (UK) or Section 77 of the Australian Act or Section 31 of the Irish statute enable the Minister, in effect, to require the Corporation to refrain at any specified time or at all times from sending any matter or any class of matter specified in the notice. The Corporation's sole remedy is to make public the receipt of such notice and thus to alert public opinion. Such power of veto is incompatible with autonomy and would be completely inappropriate in our situation. A restricted power, however, can legitimately be given to the Government to require the Trust to refrain from broadcasting any matter which has a clear relation to national security, the preservation of public order and other matters of grave public importance."

The Bill does not even provide the safeguard of broadcast of the direction by the Corporation. Nor is any time limit provided for laying a copy of the direction before Parliament though it is so provided in respect of rules to be laid before Parliament.

In the same illiberal spirit, the decisions of the Complaints Board will be known only to the Corporation and the complainant as if it was a private affair between the two. The Verghese Report required the Board to "make and publish its adjudication promptly." It is fatal for Government spokesmen to play with words to confuse public opinion. Hints that the Verghese Report recommended an "independent" structure, not merely an "autonomous" one, are disingenuous. Autonomy and external control are a contradiction in terms. The Verghese Report suggested certain reserve powers for the Government. The Bill gives it a controlling power. At any rate the terms of reference of the Verghese Committee are explicit: "(a) To examine the functional, financial and legal aspects of the proposal to give full autonomy to Akashvani and Doordarshan, consistent with accountability to Parliament, keeping in mind the different forms of autonomous organisations existing in other democratic countries in the matters of broadcasting; (b) To suggest the form and the structure of the autonomous organisation(s) and their relationship with Government." This implied a clear acceptance by the Government, in principle, of "full autonomy" for AIR and Doordarshan. The *Prasar Bharati* Bill violates this principle blatantly. ■

L. K. Advani inaugurating AIR's golden jubilee celebrations

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An Asterix Adventure

OBELIX AND CO.

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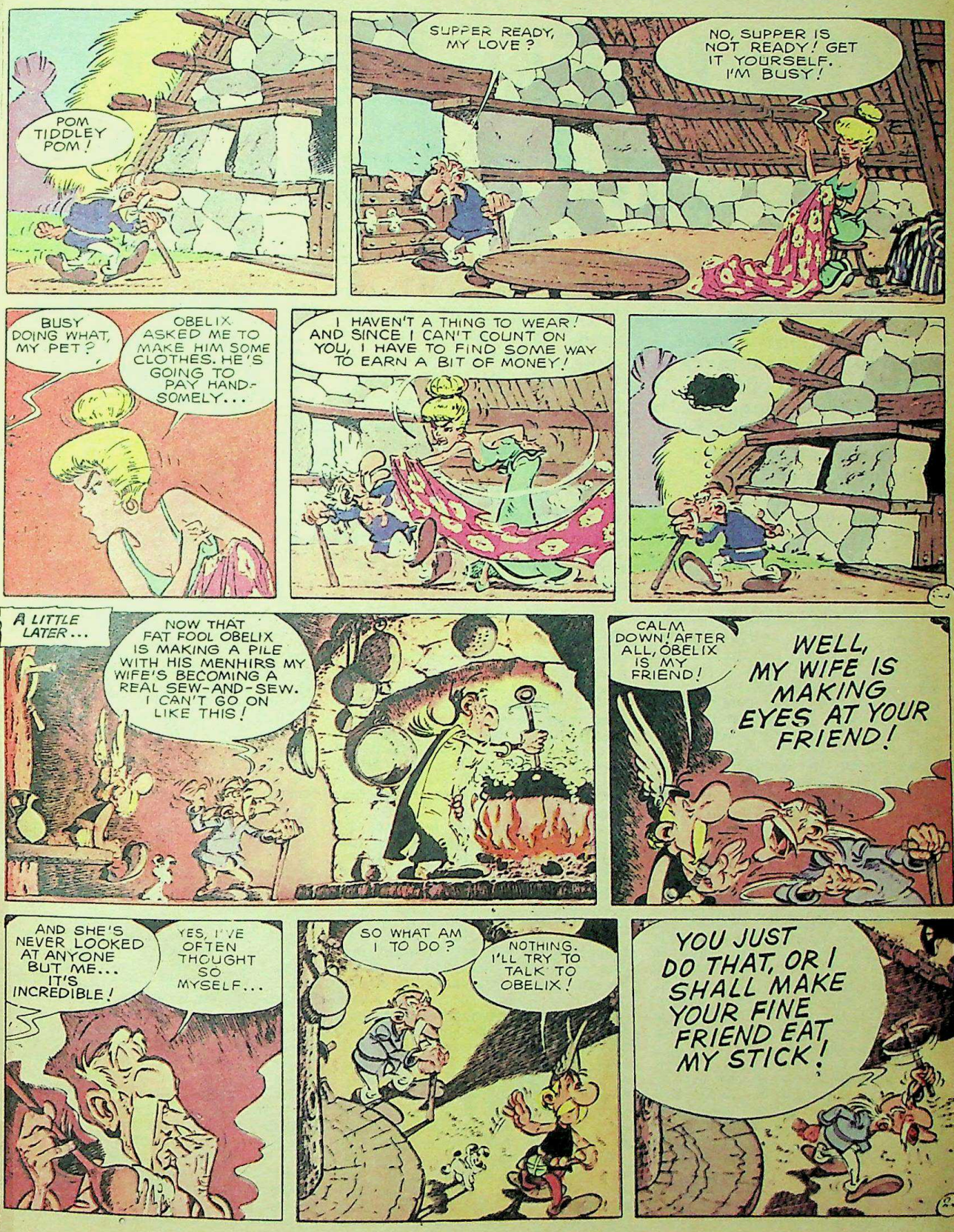

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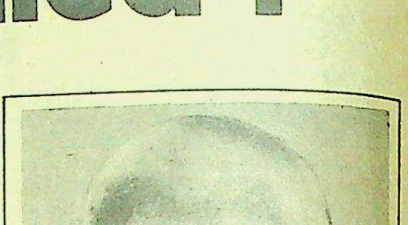
SPECIAL REPORT

The Indian Express : getting derailed ?

The *Express* train, driven by the mercurial and highly unpredictable Ramnath Goenka, seems to be changing guards constantly. Only a couple of weeks ago, the Press highlighted stories of a new team of geniuses led by Arun Shourie, R. V. Pandit and N. J. Nanporia who would change the face of Indian journalism by revolutionary innovations in the country's largest newspaper chain. Some of the bright new faces were without proper designations, but they seemed powerful enough, if throwing around borrowed weight was any indication. There was an RSS angle too—R. V. Pandit is an RSS and Nanaji Deshmukh devotee. Now, it seems, all is upset again : Pandit is out. Has the traditional guard defeated the upstarts?



R. N. Goenka

OLGA TELLIS reports

HE came in like the west wind, flaunting an invisible RSS banner, the inevitable tag for being closely associated with Nanaji Deshmukh, a fact he never ceases to proclaim. He had promised to make the Bombay *Indian Express* the number one paper in 100 days, displacing the 'Old Lady at Bori Bunder', but in less than 90 days the circulation reportedly dropped by 15,000 after an initial rise.

And so on May 24, the erratic patriarch at Express Towers, Mr R. N. Goenka, called a meeting of the top notchers of the editorial department and announced that Mr N. J. Nanporia would be in charge of the Bombay edition of the *Indian Express* and the *Sunday Standard*. A terse note to that effect was circulated to the staff for their information. Mr R. V. Pandit was told that he could discuss editorial matters with Mr Nanporia but the latter was free to accept or reject his suggestions.

Thus ended the controversial editorial relationship between two ambitiously dynamic men, R. N. Goenka and R. V. Pandit. The ruthless, go-getting newspaper tycoon, R. N. Goenka, 77, impatient of being the number two paper for 45 years in the city decided to give it a try at getting to the top. He had tried it before in the 'fifties when he brought in two very young Englishmen, Rushworth and Jones on fabulous salaries to give the paper a facelift. Their contract was said to be for five years but in less than a year they were out and the only changes made were in the furniture arrangements of the office which was then on the Sasson Dock waterfront. Then came Mr D. R. Mankekar and Mr Binod Rao with even less success as resident editors.

Pandit fired the imagination of Mr Goenka with his drive, his wealth and his background in the publishing business. As Pandit puts it: "It all happened when the *Indian Express* headlined the fact that seven Union Ministers had threatened to resign. I was in Delhi sitting with George Fernandes till 1.30 in the morning and there was no talk of his resigning. Yet his name was included among the seven. I told this to RNG. I said that Indian newspapers are preoccupied with politics and people are not interested in the dirty politics of either Raj Narain or the RSS. They are interested in what affects their day to day lives like prices, water, garbage etc. I told him that I could prove his circulation would go up if news related to people."

And so Pandit was in and the cherubic-faced S. Krishnamurthy, 57, news editor and for all practical purposes acting editor was not even told about it. When Pandit started ordering Krishnamurthy's "boys" around he resented it. SKM, as he is affectionately called, folded up and went off to Europe. Pandit also brought in Mr Nanporia and a reporter for investigative reporting on close to Rs 2,000 per month. This irked the reporting staff whose salaries barely cross Rs 1,000. "What can I do about this?" said Pandit. "Indian journalists are very poorly paid. I pay my private secretary Rs 2,000 per month. My domestic servants get Rs 500 per month. But then what does the Indian journalist produce besides saying Raj Narain said this and that? I came into the *Express* to change this. I came to give and not to take. I don't need money. In Hong Kong I had a personal income of US $125,000 and I pay a personal income tax today of Rs. 2 lakhs per annum."

Pandit flaunted his wealth, according to the staff, when he told them, "I am not accepting a pie from RNG. I am helping him because he's a friend of Nanaji and Jayaprakash. I have the highest regard and admiration for him. He showed guts during the Emergency. My emotional attachment to Goenka is as a newspaperman." Pandit claimed to have helped Goenka buy the Rs. 2.5 crores imported offset machine from France and this landed him in trouble with

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the Union Finance Ministry which was eventually sorted out with Pandit's high connections.

The staff insist that Pandit told them that RSS stories would be lead stories and Nanaji's speeches would be given in detail. And it turned out just so. Nanaji's photograph of JP was blown up for the front page story and a large-size advertisement carrying Nanaji Deshmukh's apeal for help in his projects was put free of cost in all *Express* editions. Each insertion costs more than Rs 10,000. Pandit suavely denies his RSS connections. "I am a Roman Catholic and a practising one at that. I never miss my Sunday mass, no matter in which part of the world I am. I do not belong to the RSS or any political Party. All politicians are charlatans. I admire the RSS for their patriotism and hard work. I help them in particular programmes like the Gondia project. I will work with the evil if there is work to be one. But I do not agree with their attitudes and I tell them that they have a frog-in-the-well mentality which will have to change."

"People are against change and that is why there is resentment against me," claims Pandit. "Indian journalists pick up the crumbs they are given. Journalists who worked under me in Hong Kong would never accept a free trip. I myself have never accepted a free ticket on Air India though I have flown between Japan and Hong Kong almost twice a week in pursuit of my publishing and restaurant interests. What standards can you expect if you accept things from people? Why should the Press Club of Bombay, for instance, take a donation of Rs 10,000 from the Chief Minister of Punjab? So my interest in *Indian Express* was to change the trend from politics to civic issues. A newspaper should be judged by the enemies it makes in Government. How can you accept crumbs from people whom you have to keep under surveillance? Why should journalists get special facilities like plots of land in Delhi?

"Civic action like the one I started makes people accountable and helps the circulation of the paper. I proved it. The circulation of the *Express* went up when we began our experiment on April 16. On April 19 we headlined the news of the coming water crisis and the circulation on April 19, 20 and 21 was 124,058, 124,061 and 124,056, respectively. As against this I was out of Bombay and there were no special stories on May 9,10 and 11 and the circulation was down to 121,566, 120,926 and 120,707 respectively. This is a clear indication of what the people want. The Government after this sent me their proposed water scheme and several people asked me to take up more such issues. The *Express* was up by about 7,000 copies in two weeks at a time when newspapers lost circulation by about 10,000 due to the summer exodus.

The staff, however, was not impressed. Said one member, "The April dates were the ones that coincided with the go-slow at *The Times of India* and a period when it was not sending its mofussil editions." In May they say from the 18th onwards, despite the so called investigative stories circulation was down to 119,829 and came as low as 119.324 which was lower than the January-February circulations of 123,000.

KRISHNAMURTHY is the least impressed of all. "We carried on several campaigns. We were the first to expose that jaundice was on the rampage, we took up immigration problems and ran a series on this. We did it with dignity. With Pandit it was because he didn't get water in his building that he did the water story. The garbage was piling around his "Samundra Mahal" so he ran a campaign against garbage. I never speak of high principles. I am a servile, obedient person who does my proprietor's bidding—my proprietor is my reader," says Krishnamurthy downing a cold beer on a hot afternoon. "What is the use of printing airline timetables when planes don't leave on time, or telephone numbers of airline offices when phones don't work half the time. You would be doing more service to the reader printing the going rates at Foras Road."

Krishnamurthy ruefully says, "Pandit claims Goenka didn't have money to pay the staff their salary and he brought the money. He talked as if Goenka was in a sorry mess. I feel hurt when someone talks of Goenka in this way. This same Goenka who with all the pressures on him during the Emergency kept the staff going, he begged and borrowed but somehow he kept it going. When someone says this about the man I worship I get angry." Krishnamurthy feels the paper is going the RSS way. "Perhaps," he says," Goenka is disillusioned with the Janata Party and Morarji Desai. In fact he has written them off when he talks appreciatively of the fact that only the Jana Sangh could enrol 42 per cent of members for the Janata Party as against less than 10-12 per cent of members by the erstwhile Congress (O) and BLD group. So Goenka is probably trying to throw in his lot with the Jana Sangh/RSS combine. The only ism I believe in is journalism and I am a communicator first and last." Krishnamurthy, who literally fathered the Bangalore, Hyderabad, Chandigargh and Cochin editions in his 30-year career with Indian Express is puzzled about the recent goings on at the office. "The *Indian Express* today is rudderless. It's a great organisation but RNG didn't believe in a second line of defence. I knew the whole thing would collapse so I left for Europe. Now Nanporia has been brought in. May be RNG who always wanted his newspaper to be number one did all this in a moment of weakness. I want the *Express* to be a great paper."

A bright young, successful publisher agrees that Pandit was not the best choice "to get *Indian Express* to the top." Pandit may have been the best known Indian in Hong Kong, but his publishing ventures are nothing to rave about. In fact *Asia Magazine* suffered perceptibly when Pandit took over after the founder, Adrian Zeker, quit following a quarrel with the magazine's major partner *The Straits Times*. His only genuine success was *Industrial Products Finder*. The primary role of a publisher is conceiving a new publication and in this he was a modest success, but none of his other publications like *Imprint* show any evidence of editorial vision or remarkable visions."

So RNG's problem remains as large as life. How to be number one? There seems little chance. To quote the young publisher, "The inherent weakness of *Indian Express* is that, in the four regions of India it is the *Times* that dominates the western region, *Hindustan Times* the northern region, *Statesman* and *Ananda Bazar* the eastern region and the *Hindu* the southern region. In the ultimate analysis the *Indian Express* is irrelevant to India. The other major defect is organisational. It remains the most remarkable training ground of Indian journalists. People in *Indian Express* are hard-working and disciplined. Consequently journalists who come out from the *Express* get easily absorbed in other newspaper organisations. In effect, it is the department of journalism for the country's newspaper industry. Its major organisational defect is its inability to retain the talent it so successfully creates."

Few politicians, and more so the ruling Party's bigwigs, would dismiss the *Indian Express* as an irrelevance. Printed from ten centres in different languages, it's the only paper that has a national readership. You cover *Indian Express* and you cover the country, as one politician said. And so *Indian Express* remains an attractive vehicle for ambitious politicians and ambitious political Parties. Mrs Gandhi, it is well known, wanted to take over *Indian Express* by any means. Today all the constituent Parties of the Janata are vying for Goenka's support. A lot of credit was given to him for the Janata's March 1977 victory. Each Party wants its own media, hence the importance of *Indian Express*.

For Pandit with his blase philosophy of "Yesterday is mine, today is mine and tomorrow is also mine. I don't care about day after tomorrow", the exit from *Indian Express* is just another job, but to Goenka this failure is another reminder of the number two position. Which begs the question, "Don't you think my paper should be number one? I started it all by myself with no godfathers or grandfathers to help me as in the case of others newspaper chains." So momentarily his political preoccupations will be overtaken by his gunning for the number one position and one might hear a post script from the Express Towers if the situation does not improve under Mr Nanporia. ■

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Tripura is no refuge

Tribals and Bengalis are on a collision path

Sunil Dutt

Nripen Chakrabarty: Slippery ground

THE small north-eastern State of Tripura is torn apart by political conflict. In the past year there have been eight political murders; two deaths from police firings; one Tripura bandh and three Agartala (the State capital) bandhs. For all these disturbances the CPI(M)-led Left Front Government has been blaming the Congress, Congress (I), Janata, the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS) and the Amra Bangali (a Bengali chauvinist organisation). These Parties, in turn, have levelled allegations at the Left Front Government of Mr Nripen Chakrabarty. The situation is indeed bad since no Ministers or Government officials can move without armed police escorts, especially in the rural areas. It is said that a bandh is called as soon as a Minister visits a place.

The present unsettling conditions stem from the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Bill passed by the Tripura Vidhan Sabha in March which, when it becomes law after receiving the assent of the President of India, will help the dwindling tribal population. To find out why this Bill became necessary, one has to go into the history of Tripura. The State had once been a princely State where the king and the population were tribals. After 1947 and partition hordes of Hindu Bengalis came from East Pakistan. The king gave most of them his own land to settle down, in, Ramnagar. In course of time the Bengali population outnumbered the tribals. At present out of a population of 1.8 million, there are only 500,000 tribals. Although the Bengalis have helped in improving the lot of the tribals they have also suffered exploitation, as a minority group, at the hands of Bengali moneylenders. The past Congress and oher Ministries tried to help the tribals but did not succeed. The CPI(M) and the TUJS have taken up the cause of the tribals. As a matter of fact, the CPI(M) formed an autonomous council of the tribal areas when it came to power 17 months ago. However, the present Bill does not fulfil all the promises made by the CPI(M) to the tribals. In the Bill passed by the Vidhan Sabha there were some modifications. The TUJS, who form the only Opposition in the 60-member House with only four seats, support the modified Bill. The tribals want what was promised to them originally and so consider the present Bill a farce. They feel that the lot of the tribals will remain the same. The Bengali population is of the opinion that the Bill will make them homeless refugees once again since they will not be able to do business or reside in the tribal compact areas (which will come about as a direct result of the Bill.)

This feeling of the Bengalis has increased the popularity of the parochial "Amra Bangali" who have been joined by the Ananda Marg. Almost 95 per cent of the businessmen in the State are Bengalis and they have not been tightfisted in their donations to these organisations. They have joined hands many a time in the past year in confrontation with the Tripura Police and the administration. The two groups organised a massive meeting in Agartala on March 27. Two members of the Amra Bangali—Nitai Sheel on January 17 at Bishramganj and Jogesh Saha on April 29 at Amarpur—died as a result of police firings.

I met the Tripura Chief Minister, Mr Nripen Chakrabarty, and asked him about the Bill. He said there was nothing in the Bill that would jeopardise the life of Bengalis. The Amra Bangali and the Ananda Marg were causing a lot of law and order problems by attacking the police and the Ministers. This was only being done to undermine the present Left Front Government. He regretted the fact that the Congress, Congress (I) and Janata among other Parties, were supporting an obscurantist organisation like the Amra Bangali. The CPI(M), Forward Bloc, and the RSP have decided to launch a movement against the Amra Bangali.

The Amra Bangali deny the charge of parochialism. Their leaders, Bhubanbijoy Majumdar, Anil Sarkar and Debabrata Dutta, said they were only trying to raise the economic standards, of the Bengalis. In fact, they had no quarrels with the tribals and considered them Bengalis. They were fighting against the District Council Bill which would definitely harm the interests of Bengalis.

The TUJS blamed the CPI(M) for the tribals' troubles. They alleged that the CPI(M) often beat up tribals in the hope of breaking their organisation. This has united them. It was true that the Left Front had brought about the Autonomous District Council Bill but they would prevent it from being made into law. Through all this there has been violence in the State. According to many people (tribals and others) the police have remained mere spectators. And, Tripura political leaders are speaking out against the present Government. A front against the Left Front Government is being proposed by Mr Sachindra Lal Sinha, a Lok Sabha member from the State (Congress for Democracy in the State but a Janata member in Delhi). The ex-Chief Minister, Mr Sukhomoy Sengupta of the Congress, believes there will be a change in Tripura soon. Mr Radhika Gupta, another ex-Chief Minister said that there had always been parochialism in the State and the CPI (M) led Government's wrong policies had made the Amra Bangali raise its head.

SHYAMAL KUMAR CHAKRABORTY, Agartala

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Is the Kerala Ministry safe?

Byelection results may be pointers

THE stock of the five-Party ruling coalition (United Front) in Kerala, led by Mr P. K. Vasudevan Nair of the CPI, is now lowest following its humiliating defeat at the hands of the CPI (M)-led Opposition front in the four Assembly byelections held in the third week of May. The constituent Parties of the ruling front, which has been in power for the past nine years, have started an agonising self-appraisal to find out the reasons for the debacle.

The verdict of the electorate in the four constituencies, Parassala and Kasargod in the extreme south and north of the State, respectively, Tellicherry in north Malabar and Tiruvalla in central Travancore area, is generally regarded as a reflection of the mood of the people. And, as such, the by-election results have proved beyond any doubt that the ruling front as it stands and functions now does not enjoy the confidence of the people. The poll results also gave substance to the CPI (M)'s argument that the political base of the ruling front, which was returned to power in March, 1977 with a massive majoirty, is now shattered because of the split in the Congress and the exit of the Congress (I) from the coalition. In fact this had been the argument of the CPI (M) ever since the Congress split and they had been demanding the resignation of the Ministry and dissolution of the Assembly so as to pave the way for forging a new front.

Needless to say, the impressive victory of the CPI (M)-led front and the rout of both the ruling coalition and the Congress (I) in the by-elections came as a shot in the arm for Mr Namboodiripad's call for the formation of a front of Left and democratic Parties opposed to the authoritarian tendencies in the Congress (I) and the communalist forces represented by the RSS-Jana Sangh group in the Janata Party.

Close on the heels of the announcement of results the Opposition Parties demanded the resignation of the United Front Ministry, "bowing to the verdict of the people," but there is no likelihood of the front obliging them.

In fact Mr Vasudevan Nair and another United Front leader, Mr M. N. Govindan Nair, MP (who is a member of the CPI's national secretariat), had, in an apparent pre-emptive move, declared well in advance of the poll that the by-election results would not in any way affect the continuance of the Ministry. Technically it would not as the front has a comfortable majority of 83 in a house of 141.

Despite what Mr Vasudevan Nair has said, a process of rethinking on the part of the United Front partners is not ruled out. Mr A. K. Antony, president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, has said that political changes in the State are "imminent."

Of the four seats the ruling front was seeking re-election in Parassala, Tiruvalla and Kasargod, reputed to be the strongholds of the Congress, the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League, respectively. The CPI (M) had won the Tellicherry seat in the last elections. The CPI (M) not only retained the Tellicherry seat with a substantially increased margin but also won at Parassala. The Janata Party and the All-India Muslim League won in Tiruvalla and Kasargod, respectively.

For the CPI (M) the increased margin in Tellicherry, from the 8,700 lead taken by the late Mr Patiam Gopalan in 1977 to over 20,600 this time, is all the more impressive in view of the special circumstances obtaining there. Tellicherry is said to be a stronghold of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and a scene of frequent clashes between RSS and CPI (M) workers which left a trail of blood and murder. With the proclaimed opposition of the CPI (M) towards the RSS, the CPI (M) maintained that no Janata Party worker having RSS connections would be allowed to campaign for the CPI (M) candidate. This had naturally irked the State Janata Party secretary, Mr O. Rajagopal, who made no secret of his RSS connection.

Tiruvalla, traditionally a Kerala Congress seat, had elected the late Mr E. John Jacob in the last election with a margin of about 7,900 votes over the Opposition nominee, Mr John Jacob Vallakkalil, the candidate of the Kerala Congress (Pillai group). This group later joined the Janata Party but Mr Vallakkalil chose to keep out. He recently joined the Kerala Congress and was fielded as its candidate this time.

A frequent charge levelled against the United Front is that it has been following a politics of convenience. Many of its policy decisions have resulted in diluting the progressive image of the front and a feeling is widespread that it is mainly interested in continuing in power somehow or other. Corruption is rampant in the administration, which is admitted even by the Chief Minister, while more blatant is the method of political corruption employed by the United Front Government to ensure the support of the constituent Party ranks.

The Government is also accused of giving the go-by to the controversial Nettoor commission report on job reservation to backward communities despite its repeated assurances both inside and ouside the Assembly that the recommendations would be implemented. This was a major victory for the NDP which stood for reservation on economic basis.

The Vasudevan Nair Government's police and labour policies are also under heavy fire from the Opposition. The Government is accused of adopting a policy of breaking up even legitimate working class agitations. Mr Vasudevan Nair's government is the first in the country which introduced the *dies non* (no *work*, no pay) policy.

Atrocities against Harijans, especially the incidents in Avalookkunnu colony, in the home constituency of the Chief Minister, where Harijan girls were raped and houses set on fire, also figured prominently in the Opposition campaign.

While the cumulative effect of all these would have helped a great deal in bringing about a change of heart in the voter, the most important factor which led to the setback for the United Front was the split in the Congress votes and the stiff opposition from the NDP.

P. R. NAIR, Trivandrum

Polluted progress

Zuari fertiliser plant spells doom for flora and fauna

PITTSBURG in the USA has been cleaned up. Once it was the 'smoke city' because of the soot belched out by the steel mills. It is now 'renaissance city'! The city got the steelmakers to understand that clear air was as important as—if not more than—good money. United Steels, the giant steel makers, who like other money cartels have made and broken Presidents of the USA, meekly accepted the municipal fiat—for Pittsburg was where they lived. Environment was a personal asset, pollution a personal liability to the decision-making managers who lived in the city—and might have died with it.

Zuarinagar is no Pittsburg. It is a poor Indian village. US Steels and Birlas joined together to put up a Rs. 56-crore fertilizer project in the village. It will soon be expanded fourfold, with an additional investment of Rs. 180 crores. Every now and then there is an ecological crisis caused by Zuari Agro Chemicals Ltd (ZAC). Mr Rothkar, the secretary

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of the Central Water Pollution Board has firm views on the project's pollutant potential. He rebuked the villagers who approached him with their tale of woes saying that it is "only natural" that such a "huge project should cause problems". In other words, it was for them to leave the village if they are not prepared to live with their nightmare.

ZAC has, no doubt, many genuine difficulties. It has its own importance as a core industry—and, what is more, as a direct contributor to better harvests and more food. But this does not justify its management's attitude of institutionalising its many-splendoured vices as virtue itself.

ZAC operates two main plants — Urea and NPK. Until 1973, it used arsenic as a catalyst. Following mounting fish mortality in the nearby Velsao bay, it changed, under threat of permanent closure by the local Government, to the Benfield process, which is supposedly innocuous. In March this year there was again an increase in fish mortality. So was the case, around the same time, in 1977. Mr K. A. Varugis, the recently retired managing director, has reportedly admitted to a Goan politician off the record—naturally—that ZAC uses a "modified" Benfield process, which, perhaps, is not innocuous at all.

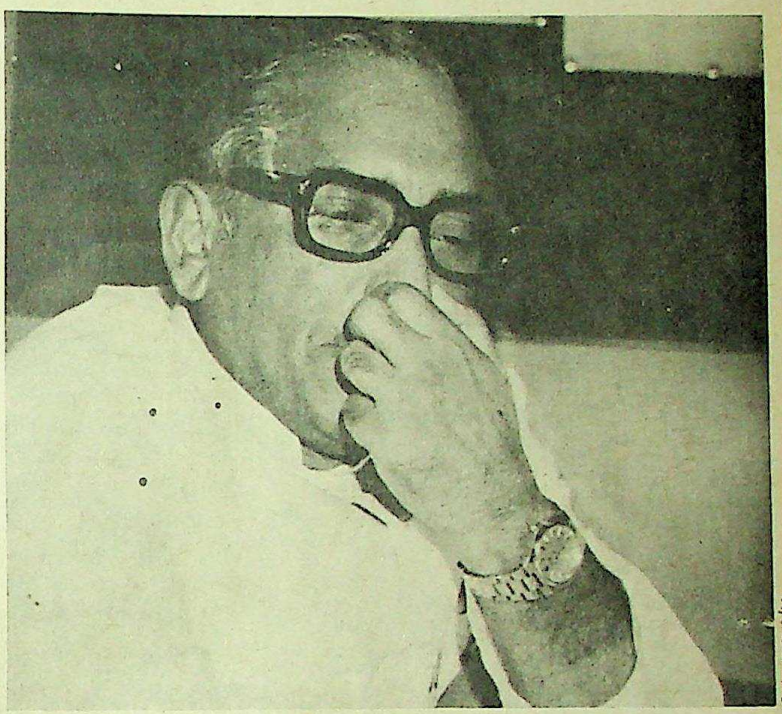
Government laboratories attribute the repetitive cases of fish mortality to high ammonical contents in the effluents. In order to avoid it, ZAC had undertaken in 1975 to install ammonia strippers. Some kind of strippers have been installed at a high cost to the shareholders. ZAC had also undertaken to install a 2 km long high density polythene (HDP) pipeline to throw the effluents at a point of maximum dispersal in the sea. Which again cost many lakhs — to the shareholders. ZAC executives privately admit that there are frequent stripper failures. Also, admittedly, the HDP pipeline cannot withstand the heat of the effluents and has become "pulpy" at places. More: the pipeline cannot cope with the quantum of the effluents and so an old and corroded iron pipeline is used "supplementally". The NPK plant has no effluent system worth the name. The slurry is shovelled into pitches from where it overflows through the hillside, into the beach, particularly during the monsoons. The tower-deposits blasted in the air are transported by air-currents and the "settled dust" all around the periphery is there for any one to see.

The ZAC Union had been protesting that the non-executive quarters, where they live, were subject to the "settled dust" nuisance. The management, which has residential quarters on the "clean side" of the plateau, has agreed to transfer the non-executive staff to where the grass is greener. And thus the final—and internal—resistance to pollution will be overcome.

MARIO CABRAL e SA, Goa

CONVERSATION

"Bahuguna has let us down"



H. N. Bahuguna : Why the silence ?

A former President of the Aligarh Muslim University Students' Union, JAVED HABIB, was a victim of the brutality let loose by the PAC (the UP Government claims that it was the CRP) in Aligarh on May 10. He tells UDAYAN SHARMA that the non-communal forces in the university have received a severe setback due to the helpless attitude of Mr H. N. Bahuguna and the stand taken by the UP Chief Minister, Mr Banarsi Das.

Q: Who gained the most out of the recent violence in Aligarh?

A: The Congress(I) and the Jana Sangh (in that order) have reaped the political harvest of the violent incidents which took place in Aligarh on May 9 and 10. It is unfortunate that Mrs Gandhi's Party should emerge as the champion of the minorities' cause today. It was under the Congress rule between 1965 and 1972 that the character of the Aligarh Muslim University was changed and the autonomy of the university eroded. The Janata Party does not know the art of statecraft. It does not know the proper way of conveying to the people what it stands for. The present Bill (on the Aligarh Muslim University) is better than the 1972 Bill. The Janata Party President ought to have explained this to the students. The Jana Sangh's predominant position in the Janata Party has helped in Mrs Gandhi's propaganda that only her Party can protect the interests of the minorities. The Dadri and Aligarh incidents have helped the Congress(I) in fanning communal sentiments.

The Jana Sangh feels that the Janata Party is slowly disintegrating. They want communal tensions in order to consolidate their hold on the communalist Hindu votes. Both the Jana Sangh and the Congress(I) want communal clashes to take place for their sectarian interests. And in the process the students of the Aligarh Muslim University are suffering.

Q: Are you suggesting that the RSS and the Congress(I) had vested interests in the incidents of May 9 and 10?

A: (Yes.) The students of AMU

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had acted in an exemplary way during the communal tension in October last year. This had been noticed by the communalists who were alarmed by the growth of non-communal forces in the university. Therefore the tensions of May 9 and 10 were engineered (to discredit the AMU students).

Q: What is your assessment of the district administration's role during the trouble on May 10?

A: The district authorities are to be blamed for the escalation of the tension. I would even say that the Jana Sangh and the district authorities are to be jointly blamed for the happenings of May 10. The trouble started on the 9th when the AMU students travelling to Delhi were attacked by RSS hooligans at the Dadri station. Is it possible that the passengers of the train attacked 700-800 students? Where are those passengers who are said to have been attacked by the students? To which hospital were those "injured" passengers taken for treatment? The AMU students had returned to Aligarh after having been beaten up by the hooligans at Dadri. The PAC and the CRP made the situation take an ugly turn. When I learnt that Suleman had been injured and was lying in a pool of blood in front of the Aftab Manzil, I, accompanied by Irfanullah, Mohammad Ahmad and five others proceeded towards the trouble spot in order to ensure that the trouble did not spread. We were fired upon by the armed police contingent. I was saved because I lay down on the ground. But Ahmad was hit thrice (he later died). I only remember being trampled by police boots and hit by bayonets.....after that it was darkness all over. We were not treated properly in the hospital. Had it not been for the hospital employees, who brought us food from their homes, we would have starved.

Q: What is your reaction to the Chief Minister, Mr Banarsi Das's stand?

A: What he did was not desirable. Perhaps because Dadri is in his home district, there were local pressures. Perhaps he wanted to appease the traditional (Hindu communalist) voters of the Jana Sangh, having defeated the Jana Sangh in the JLP poll. The district authorities allowed a 400-strong procession to go to the Circuit House despite the curfew and tell the Chief Minister: "Today the Muslims want Aligarh, tomorrow they would lay exclusive claim to the Taj Mahal". We were not allowed to meet the Chief Minister, Mr Banarsi Das addressed a Press conference without meeting us. When he was in the Opposition, Mr Banarsi Das used to support each demand of the AMU students, whether right, or wrong. Should he have based his statement on the Dadri incident merely on the report given to him by the CID?

For Muslims like me, who have been fighting against both the Congress and the Muslim League, the situation created by the Chief Minister's statement is gloomy. We feel isolated. Our fight has been two-pronged—against the Muslim communalism as well as against the Hindu communalism. We feel let down. Mr Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna has received ample support from us. Whenever he has given a call, AMU boys have rushed to his support. Why is he silent today? Does he think he can mobilise Muslim votes merely by appeasing the Shahi Imam of Delhi? ■

THE WORLD

The siege of Arabia

THE recent arrival in the Indian Ocean of the Russian naval fleet, including the aircraft carrier Minsk, highlights the latest phase of Soviet activity in the arc of crisis from the Indian subcontinent to the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa.

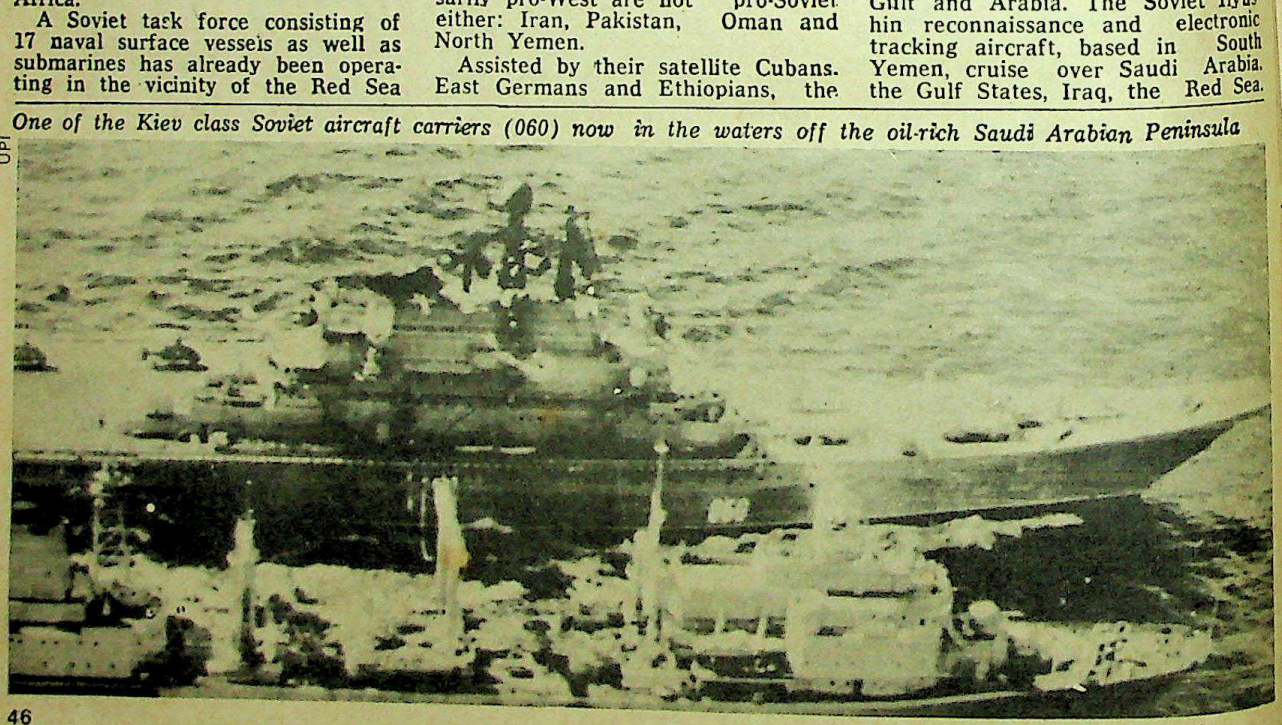
A Soviet task force consisting of 17 naval surface vessels as well as submarines has already been operating in the vicinity of the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf. Violent coups have installed Soviet-sponsored regimes in power in Afghanistan and South Yemen, giving Moscow a firm foothold in these regions. A threat is now posed to the stability of governments, which, though not necessarily pro-West are not pro-Soviet either: Iran, Pakistan, Oman and North Yemen.

Assisted by their satellite Cubans, East Germans and Ethiopians, the Russians are building up a formidable garrison in South Yemen. The foreign military advisers from these countries are training not *only* troops and recruits from *South* Yemen, but also preparing dissidents from Iran, Kuwait and Oman for subversive purposes.

From bases in South Yemen, Russian amphibious reconnaissance aircraft patrol the shores of the Gulf and Arabia. The Soviet Ilyushin reconnaissance and electronic tracking aircraft, based in South Yemen, cruise over Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Iraq, the Red Sea.

One of the Kiev class Soviet aircraft carriers (060) now in the waters off the oil-rich Saudi Arabian Peninsula

UPI



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Egypt and Israel.

In spite of the recently concluded truce agreement with Aden, the North Yemenis have openly given vent to their fear of new Soviet-backed attacks by the Marxist regime of South Yemen. They are also afraid of South Yemen-supported coup attempts in the capital Sanaa, forcing North Yemen to merge its identity with the South.

Saudi Arabia is seriously contemplating some kind of a rapproachment with Moscow. But it is also fully alive to the implications of the recent moves in the region and is equally concerned with making arrangements to bolster the defence capabilities of North Yemen. Saudi Arabia regards North Yemen as a buffer against the Aden-based designs on the Saudi oil fields.

The Persian Gulf lifeline narrows at the Strait of Hornuz bordering Oman. Yet, the withdrawal of Iranian troops has left Oman virtually defenceless. Oman's Foreign Minister recently warned friendly Governments that the Soviet bloc forces in Aden were interested in the invasion and conquest of the Sultanate.

New frictions in the Iranian society after the Islamic revolution make Iran a good target for foreign manipulation. Iran's Tudeh (communist) Party has been linked to Moscow for a long time. There are reports that Soviet intelligence agents have infiltrated Iran in large numbers and are working with the radical groups and young Islamic zealots. According to the Egyptian publication *Akhar Sa's*, the aim of the Soviets is to turn the whole region into a battlefield, "plunder" the Arabian resources, encircle the oil fields, control communication lines and even cut off the international transport lanes.

According to commentators in the West Asian newspapers, if events precipitate the replacement of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime by a pro-Soviet Government in Iran, Soviet threats to lay siege to Arabia will come close to materialising. In the same way, according to commentators, the exploitation of Pakistan's weaknesses could open the way to Soviet acquisition of Arabian sea port facilities.

Under Russian control, Afghanistan is setting the stage for a campaign of subversion against Iran and Pakistan. Moscow and Kabul have been accusing these countries of permitting their territories to be used for "armed provocations and conspiracies" against Afghanistan, thus preparing the ground for possible "retaliation".

But Afghanistan's Marxist Government, which is troubled with revolts in the country's mountains and valleys, is shaky. The 5,000 Russian advisers in Afghanistan have to work hard to restore stability before they can hope to use their Afghan base effectively for purposes of destabilising the Governments in the neighbouring countries.

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

DELHI DIARY

UNDIPLOMATIC

ON HIS RECENT West Asian shuttle diplomacy the External Affairs Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, called on the Syrian President, Mr Assad. The opening conversation went something like this:

Assad: How do you do, Mr Foreign Minister?

Vajpayee: How do you do, Mr President?

Assad: How is your Prime Minister Desai?

Vajpayee: He is quite well, thank you.

Assad: Is he still infuriating you while keeping his cool?

Vajpayee (a little taken aback at the undiplomatic remark but recovering his wit in time to make a polite protest): Your Excellency, your sources in India are not doing that excellent a job!

Assad joined the laughter that ensued, but got the message and steered the conversation to more mundane subjects, like international politics.

FOUNTAINHEAD

DELHI'S LT. GOVERNOR, Mr D R Kohli, seems to be friendless as far as the ruling party politicians in the capital are concerned. Mr Kishori Lal, MP wants him removed from his post, and so does his former mentor, Chowdhury Brahm Parkash, the MP from Outer Delhi. Mr Kohli apparently has already lost and is reportedly going on leave preparatory to quitting the post. Mr Kishori Lal wants the New Delhi Municipal Committee President, Mr Sri Chand Chhabra, popularly known in Delhi as "Fountain Chhabra" (because he has put up too many fountains in the city), as the next Lt. Governor.

CHAMELEON

IN THE RECENT elections to the Cantonment Board, in which the Congress(I) trounced the Janata Party, a Delhi Police detail led by an Additional Superintendent of Police played a very partisan and pro-Congress(I) role. The said police officer holds a key post in south Delhi district police and came to the IPS through the reserved quota. Days before the polling two local Janata MPs brought the partisan role of this officer to the notice of both the Lt. Governor, Mr Kohli, and the Police Commissioner, Mr J. N. Chaturvedi. One of the MPs wanted the officer transferred. But Mr Chaturvedi, a past master in cultivating political friends depending on how useful they can be to him at a given time, not only did not do anything but brought Mr Kohli and the two MPs into ridicule in front of his officers. He patted himself on the back for not "touching" the accused officer and told an attentive audience of senior Delhi Police officers that the Lt. Governor told him that the officer be transferred because the local MPs had complained against him. "I told Mr Kohli that I would not do this. In any case that MP (he named a prominent local member of the Lok Sabha) is a *badmash* (rogue). Earlier also he had wanted some action against another police officer," Mr Chaturvedi said.

Mr Chaturvedi, incidentally, was holding a key post in UP during the Emergency and during the Lok Sabha campaign had pitched his tents in the Amethi-Rai Bareilly region. Then he was on the losing side, but for smart officers like Mr Chaturvedi, switching sides is a fine art which they have mastered more than many politicians.

OMISSIONS OF COMMISSIONS

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY on communal riots are becoming a farce. The commission of inquiry on the Sambhal riots has not submitted its report, fifteen months after the bloody riots. The Aligarh riots took place in October last year and the inquiry into the riots is yet to begin. The commission to probe the Jamshedpur riots has been declared irregular by the new Bihar Chief Minister. And to top it all, the Adoni riots six months ago in Andhra Pradesh was never inquired into! And God knows how much money has been spent from the public exchequer on these unfinished inquiries.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

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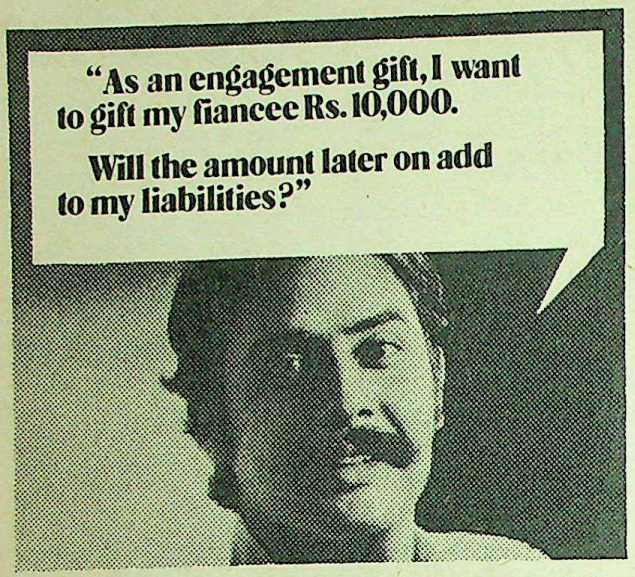

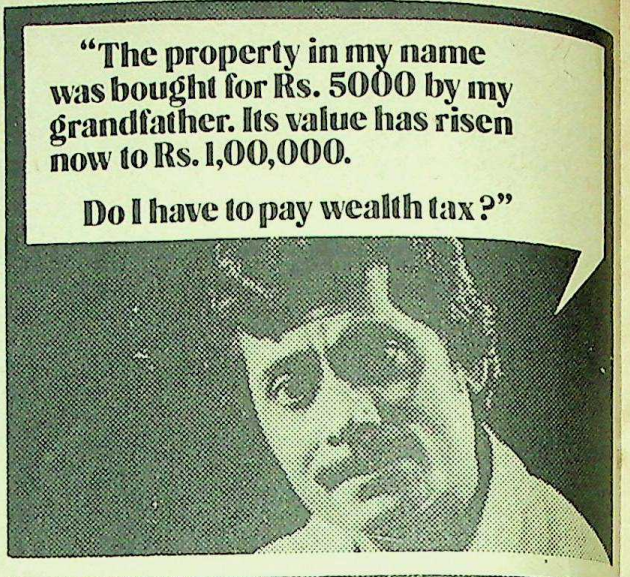

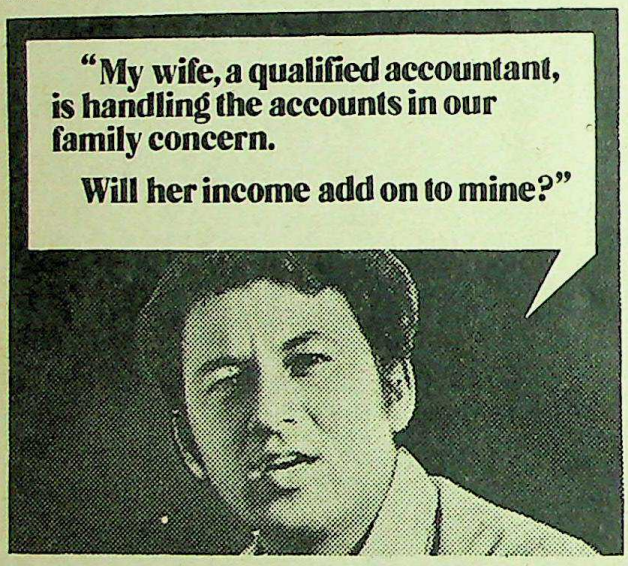

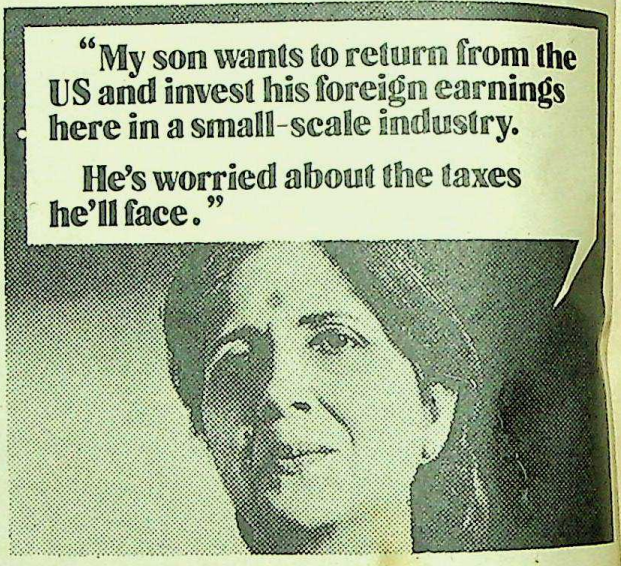

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East is East and West is West

I HAVE just finished reading Edward Said's magnificent book *Orientalism* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). What he is concerned with is the way European colonial domination, which from 1815 to 1914 expanded to cover 85 per cent of the world's surface, went hand-in-hand with a special view of those whom it dominated. He traces the historical development of this "Orientalism"—a way of seeing the East in the West—during the time of the rapid expansion of colonial conquest in the late 18th and 19th centuries, when the East came to be seen ideologically as little more than an appendage to Europe. And it was in this period that investigation of the East by Western administrators, travellers, and scholars became part of the exercise of political and cultural power over their subjects.

In consequence, as Said points out, countries like India came to have no real existence, *in themselves*, for the Englishman. All that India was, was what England knew of it. It was England (in the eyes of Englishmen) which gave India its identity; it had none of its own, or none worth having. Its colonial masters gave it birth, governed it, expressed its nature in their writings, explored it, wrote its history, "discovered" its literature and its religion just like Columbus "discovered" America, despite the fact that millions of its indigenous inhabitants were already there.

England was thus both politically and intellectually in command of India; India and Indians were nothing more than a terrain for administration and investigation. The Indians themselves, like other "Orientals", were rarely seen as human beings; instead, when they were not invisible, they were seen as administrative or military problems, demanding (English) solution. That is, India—its history, its culture, its traditions, its people—was less important *in itself* than what the Englishman made of it. Indeed, he was even capable of arguing that India could not be understood at all (least of all by Indians themselves) unless the Englishman explained it first. After all, India existed through him and for him, lock, stock and barrel; and, in his own opinion, he exercised his power over India—whether with subtlety or violence, or both together—by legitimate possession of it, both in mind and in body.

There is of course much more to Edward Said's thesis than this, though this is the core of it. Thus he also raises interesting issues about the historical obsession in the West about the East. He shows that, for some Europeans, interest in the "Orient" was (and still is) therapeutic, compensating the West for its "lost spirituality and traditional values". And we can add that many others who were frustrated in other ways were able to exercise, in the "Orient", forms of autocratic power over the colonised peoples which were becoming impossible at home, as the tide of political democracy rose in Europe. Even Marx, Said provocatively argues, was an "Orientalist"; after all, did he not also believe in the phenomena of Asiatic despotism and the Asiatic mode of production, neither of which—if they

existed at all—was specific to Asia?

BUT above all the East was essentially and ideologically "colonial space" in which the Westerner was proprietor. And he did not merely *act* as such, but logically and necessarily *thought* as such also. Behind this confidence, Said argues that there stood what he calls "the traditional Western hostility to, and fear of, the Orient". Despite this, and despite the fact that the Englishman's India was wildly different from the Indians' India, he nonetheless succeeded because of his political and ideological power in imposing *his* India on the Indians themselves; especially on the educated and Anglicised classes.

After all, there are still many Indians in India who appear to believe about themselves what the Englishman believed, and still believes, about them; who seem to have swallowed hook, line and sinker the Western view of them, and who spend their lives seeing themselves as their rulers once saw them. Thus it was the English who believed, wrote, said and repeated that the Indians were passive, fatalistic and dishonest; that they preferred ("Oriental") despotism to any other form of rule; that they were sexually obsessed as a result of the influence of religion, culture or climate, or all together; and so on, and so forth. And it is precisely these absurdities and cliches which one can still hear on the tongues of some Indians. In other words, colonialism lives on: not merely in the multinational corporations in Bombay and Calcutta, but in the nominally-independent minds of (some of) the people.

But if all this is so, what of Western intellectuals' attitudes to free India? Are they still "Orientalist", to use the term which Said discusses? Indeed, I myself have been accused —usually by former supporters of the Emergency— of many things in India as the result of my writings; including that I am some kind of "cultural imperialist" in disguise. That is, I have been accused of having the same proprietary attitude to Indian politics and to the question of the condition of the Indian people, as my Victorian predecessors. Others must judge this. All I will say here is that I am of another generation, in many senses; that I am myself the son of an immigrant to Britain; and that I am deeply hostile to its political history in relation to those whom it once dominated, and still dominates, from India to Ireland and back again. To me also, General Dyer was a criminal, and the massacre at Amritsar in 1919 *was* a massacre, and not the maintenance of law and order; to me also, the Indian "Mutiny" was no mutiny, but a just, popular uprising.

Moreover to me, India is a (great) microcosm of the world itself, whose future—like the futures of other "Third World" countries—will determine, and is already determining, the fate of the West. "Orientalism", though still alive and kicking (especially in American universities), is dying in this global reversal of fortunes. No "Orientalist" myself—or so I believe—I am ready to celebrate its passing.

DAVID SELBOURNE, London

Illustration/Ahi Bhusan Malik

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

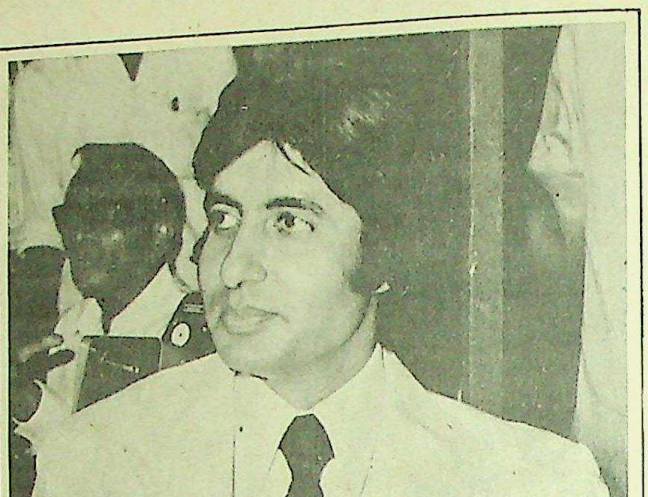
GUESS who is the busiest actor in the industry? It seems that *Raakesh Pandey* is. An old friend of his, who was in town recently, thought to himself, "Why not give my film star pal Raakesh a look up?" And so his friend started making efforts to get through to Raakesh. On the first day, it did not produce any result. He was told, curtly, that Raakesh was shooting at an outdoor location and would be busy shooting till ten at night, so would he please try the next day. The second day dawned, and his friend tried again. He was told that Raakesh had to report for three dubbing sessions in different parts of the city. This continued for the rest of the week. Every time he tried to contact the star, he was informed that the star was

Shyam Aurangabadkar

Ranjeeta

at a story session or shooting outdoors or was in Panchgani. Ultimately, in disgust, the friend said, "If he did not want to meet me why couldn't he have said so openly? Why this cat and mouse game? Or was he scared that I would discover how unoccupied he is and probably take the bad news back home?" That is your question, friend, not mine. I'm not saying a word!

BUT *Raakesh Roshan* is seeing better days. *Khatta Meetha* has not proved to be so *meetha* after all, and Raakesh himself is the first to admit that the film did not in any way help him. But the people in the film industry are currently raving over Roshan's performance in a forthcoming film called *Khubsurat*. And according to the *filmi* pandits, with the release of *Khubsurat*, the gates of heaven will definitely open up for Raakesh. It will be success, success, success, thereafter!



Umesh Vyas

Amitabh: annoyed with his guru

BEING sensitive by nature, *Raakhee* gets hurt even by the slightest remark—all the more when such a remark is directed against her appearance.
The other day, fed up with the catty gossip items saying that she had turned fat and funny, Raakhee said in an exasperated tone, "Are we stars, too, not human? Are we not expected to fall ill from time to time? I had put on some weight because I was retaining too much water in my body. And instead of sympathising with me over my problem, journalists can only make fun of me. Is this all film journalism is restricted to?" It isn't. There are quite a few magazines which do not deal only with gossip but have quite a lot of constructive articles on the problems and technicalities of filmmaking. But Raakhee, of course, wouldn't know that. For she has forbidden her newspaper agent to bring any film magazine into her sacred premises.

AMITABH, the still-angry, but no longer 'young' Bachchan, is apparently quite annoyed and puzzled by the recent statements made by Hrishikesh Mukherjee when the latter was quoted as having said that the film *Jurmana* (starring Amitabh and directed by Hrishikesh) "should never have been released." You can't blame Amitabh for feeling sore. He had, after all, acted in the film purely out of respect for his old *guru*, at a time when he did not really have the time to act in any film apart from the big-banner ones. But then, you can't blame Hrishikesh Mukherjee either. Film people have always had these funny ways of expressing their gratitude!

DIMPLE told a close friend that she is fed up with and tired of publicity. "I have only two interests in life — my husband, and his career. Nothing else matters, or is important enough." What about those dear Khanna children? Are they to remain, forever under the tender ministrations of Rajesh's mother,

SANJAY KHAN, the latest boyfriend of *Zeenat Aman*, claims that he is not destroying Zeenat in any way. Which is right in a way. It is the other way around. It is Zeenat who is destroying Sanjay Khan. The Khan family used to be such a happy family, with music, song and laughter, and children's voices and Zarine's tender admonitions. Now, it has become a household of tension and unhappiness, and much as the children may call Zeenat 'aunty' they are old enough to feel bitter about her because of the unhappiness they know she has caused their mother.

IF *Shabana Azmi* has any common sense, she ought to stop going on and on about how *Shashi Kapoor* and she are not having an affair, and how Jennifer Kapoor did not attempt suicide, and especially over her (Shabana). If Shabana really had nothing to do with it, she ought to have kept quiet. The matter would then be blown over by itself. But cribbing about it, the only gets quoted even further. Why,

Shyam Aurangabadkar

Raakhee

when she met me the day, she spoke to me subject for more than minutes. And I (who not believed the story before that) could not wondering, thereafter, whether it was indeed

NOW that *Ranjeeta's* career has picked so much, and considerably the fact that she has nearly fifty films on heroes (with big heroes, small heroes, and non-heroes) isn't it time she got her own starry pad? She can well afford it, too. Instead, she prefers to continue staying as a guest with her sister Juhu. She says it is because "people won't able to exploit me this

SHIRJEE

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RJEE

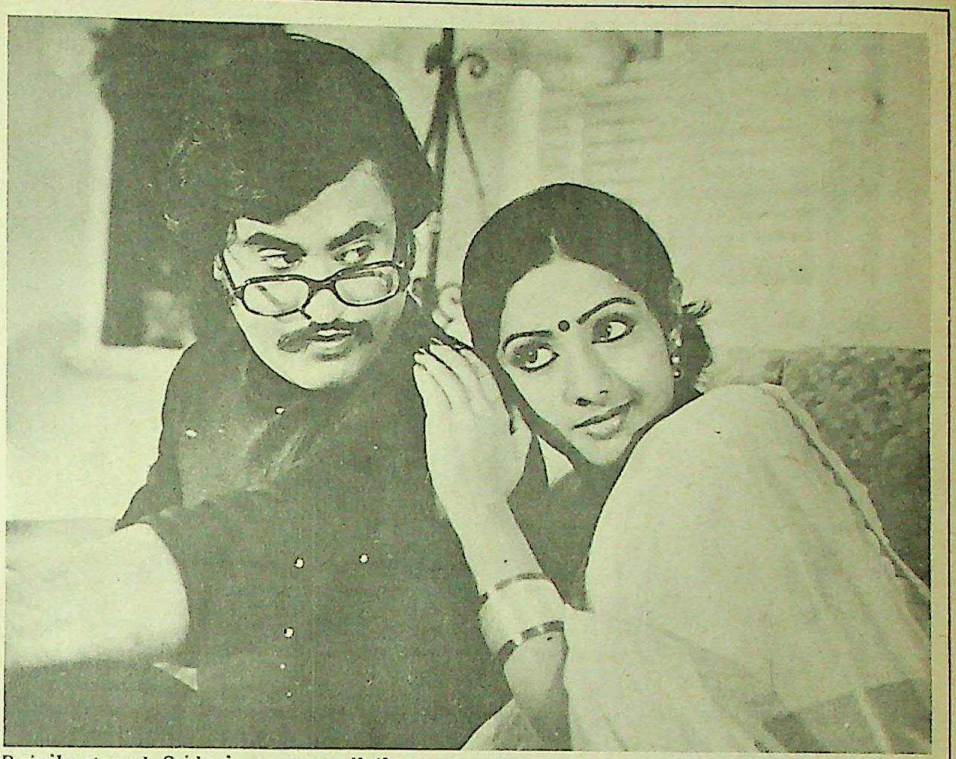
IDEVI and *Kamalahasan* still make a prize but producers are showing more interest pairing Sridevi with ikant, especially after super success of *Priya* which they are paired ther. Due for early ase is *Dhalma Yuddham* cted by R. C. Shakti. then there are at least more films to follow,

IO has been acting in K. Vijaya's films regularly the past few years. And oes not miss a chance to poon politicians who are osed to his political victions. He made a dig MGR in *Annapoorni*, and in *Natakame Ulagam* makes solid digs at Mrs dhi. Vijaya is far from g a political figure and she lets Cho get away his political digs, ch are, of course, penned him.

HANKAR NAG has proved that he need not confined to the Girish nad type of films. His ond venture, *Seetha mu*, a *masala* film, has ned to packed houses in nataka, and Shankar sign a dozen gnments soon. That ld be enough for the being, he says. He ws that he must plete his pet project, a rical film, about the ts of some patriots to nt public reaction st the British and the they had to pay for

ALALITHA is shrewd. When *Manipur Mamiyar*, lm with she was sed to make a back and in which she o be paired with *Jai ar*, ran into trouble, dly because of Jai ar's love for the DMK ent around g other films with heroes. And now we *Manipur Mamiyar* is revived—with Vijaya an AIADMK actor, hero!

DUCER *D. Rama aidu*, who reaped a e harvest out of *Prem* starring Rajesh a and Hema Malini, ned them for *Bandish* is scheduled to go to s in Madras, in July. ny other Hindi film



Subha

Rajnikant and Sridevi: success all the way

produced by Naidu (*Dis aur Deewar* is his latest), this one, too, is the remake of a Telugu hit.

IN the '60s, *Sivaji* appeared in many mythological films. Now, after a gap of many years, he's appearing in *Yamanukku Yaman*, as Yama and comedian Thengai Srinivasan plays Chitragupta. Sripriya is the heroine of this film. D. Yoganand directs the film.

SARITA plays the lead role in Rudrayya's new Tamil venture, *Gramathu Athiyayam*, a film about a young couple who cannot get married because of social pressure. So the girl decides to marry somebody chosen by her father, but she promises to carry on with her lover. Sounds interesting... but will director Rudrayya keep the story going along these lines, or will be there a last minute change of heart, with the poor lover being deserted in the end? Originally Kamalahasan was to enact one of the two male lead roles, but since Kamal is spending a month in London, working for K. Balachander's new Tamil-Telugu film, Rudrayya has decided to take two new actors for his film.

DIRECTOR *I. V. Sasi's* latest venture, for producer M. O. Joseph, is half completed. This Malayalam film features *Sarada* in a pivotal role, of a woman who has three unfortunate love affairs. Soman, Jose and Sukumaran enact the male leads. *Seema* is also featured in a big role, her second film for M. O. Joseph. The first, *Jnan Jnan Mathram*, was quite a hit.

THOUGH *Kavita* has appeared in quite a few Tamil films, in some as Sivaji Ganesan's daughter, she hasn't been able to make much of an impact in Madras. But the Andhra producers are casting her in many of their films. She's the heroine in *Bommala Kollu*, with Chandramohan as the hero. A fast progressing film, it is expected to be released in July. Komeneni Sheshagiri Rao directs this film, and also another Telugu social, *Telugu Talli*, which will feature Kavita and Chandramohan. Kavita hopes that with the release of these two films, she'll match Andhra superstars Jayasudha and Jayapradha, in popularity.

TELUGU producers are happily signing *Prabha* for a number of *sati savitri* roles after the success of *Jagan Mohini*. Though Jayamalini stole the show by her semi-nude scenes, the sympathy of the audience was with Prabha. Prabha and Murali Mohan are teamed, among other films, in *Eellali Muchatlu*.

THERE were some rumours that *Sangeeta* may star opposite MGR when he returns to the cinema-world. The rumour does not have a grain of truth. Sangeeta is busy with a dozen films, some of which are being backed by DMK financiers. In fact, she acted with Jai Shankar, recently, in a film written by Karunanidhi.

PIOUSJI

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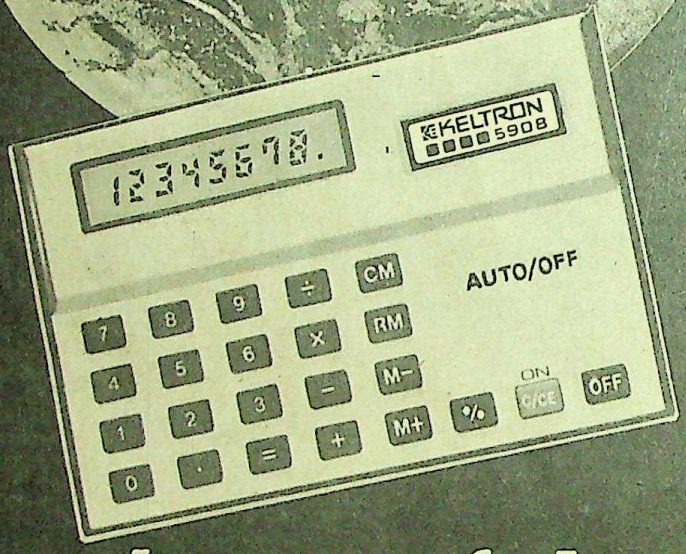
this great big world is full of little surprises



here's one of them

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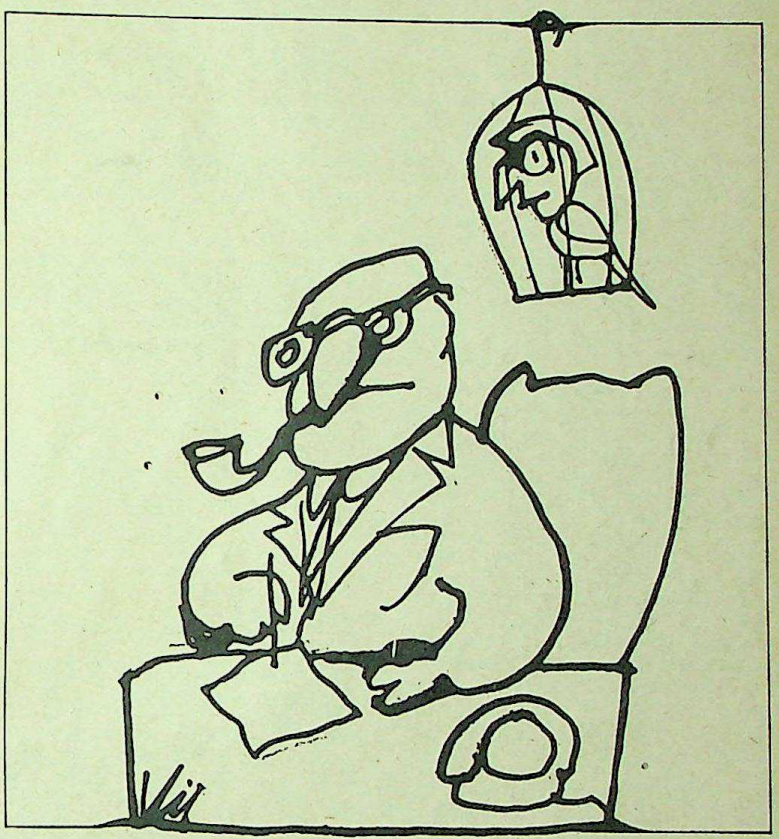
The case of the Oriya boy

By O. V. VIJAYAN



WHEN I read about this Oriya boy from the rural sector topping this year's IAS list, I decided to find out what the political leadership had to say. I chose the one Minister who held the twin portfolios of Tourism and Civil Aviation on which the life of the country depended. Purushottam Kaushik had just finished a letter to his Secretary which read, *Sir, as I am suffering from a bad rummy, I will not be able to attend the Coffee Shop tomorrow. I want casual leave, please ...*

"That's a moving relationship between Minister and Secretary," I said.

"See, we're nationalists and radicals," said Kaushik, "and will continue to be so."

"But as a socialist you must have thundered away at senior bureaucrats," I said. "Don't tell me you are more scared of them now."

"Scared?" said Kaushik. "I'd never been scared of full Secretaries. Could never conceptualize them. I could only be scared of Deputy Commissioners and the like. I saw a senior ICS man at close quarters for the first time after I took over Tourism and Civil Aviation."

"Your own Secretary, I presume?" I said.

"Yes," said Kaushik. "And a very senior ICS man at that. One about to retire."

"How did it feel?" I asked.

"I was scared," said Kaushik. "If we weren't scared, there would have been no national movement. That's the historical truth, but I doubt if the Cong(O)-Jana Sangh lineup would let the historians write it down in their text books."

"The Nehrus weren't scared, they say," I said. "Mrs Gandhi used to make her Secretaries dance, often for others to see. And those who remember the Anand Bhavan days tell us the Nehrus used to socialize with British Colonels' families."

"They weren't scared of the Colonels?" said Kaushik in dismay.

"The Nehrus weren't scared of even Brigadiers," I said. "But then, you know how it's with history. The national movement had gotten only as far as the Colonels."

Purushottam Kaushik was visibly agitated. "You say the Nehrus weren't scared of those Colonels," he said. "And yet, they claim to be nationalists."

I felt we were getting somewhere close to fundamentals. "Would you say, Kaushik," I asked, "that the Janata Party would repudiate the Nehru legacy?"

"Well," he said, "I'd like to keep the Party out for the present, considering the delicate nature of inner-Party goings-on. But I'd like to reiterate that all genuine nationalists, not the phoney ones, were scared. When I first saw this Civil Servant enter my room, I said, God, here's an ICS man ten times larger than those Divisional Commissioners I was scared of and so used to threaten in my speeches from safe distances. God, I said, and stood up. *Sit down, Sir,* said the ICS man. *Don't be scared of me, Sir,* he said. He was sirring me. Could you believe that?"

"I gather he's gone now," I said.

"Yes," said Kaushik. "Now it's an IAS person instead. One is less scared of the IAS."

"You might have read about this boy from rural Orissa who topped the IAS lists this year," I said.

"Didn't I!" said Kaushik. "It made my heart go pit-a-pat. I knew this rural boy must have written his papers in Hindi. I knew he would be as baffled by the ITDC menu cards, and as intimidated by the Ashoka stewards as I am, and so would let me handle the portfolio in peace."

"You may never have to write these casual leave applications to this Oriya boy," I said.

"You're talking of leave letters!" said Kaushik. "I might even be able to bully him some day."

"A nation takes a long, long while to come of age," I said.

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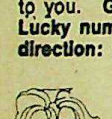
Beginning June 17

This week the Sun and Mercury are in Gemini, Jupiter alone is in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are conjoined in Leo and Uranus is in Libra. Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Mars and Venus are in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Pisces, Aries and Taurus.

ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Pay attention to business. Avoid disputes with employers and elders. This week promises a fair amount of success and good fortune. Do not hesitate to take decisions. Forge ahead in your profession. Friends and relatives will prove helpful. For those in fine arts this week will be a beneficial one as regards art and literature. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 19, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You are advised not to antagonise your employer. Pay attention to small business details. You will gain through speculation. Try to forge a partnership with someone you know well and this will be to your advantage in the long run. Do not make any changes in your career now. Be patient and take the opportunity when it comes to you. **Good dates:** 19, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) This week will be a much quieter and less eventful one than last week. However, fortunes are forecast. A secret matter, perhaps a love affair, turns to your advantage. There is a possibility of a bereavement in the family. Your financial worries will gradually cease from the middle of the week although there might still be some minor obstacles to be overcome. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 22 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.

CANCER (June 22 — July 22) The steady pattern of life that you have been having for the past few months might be broken by a sudden reversal of fortune. There might be attempts by friends to deceive you. Some unreasonable opposition on the part of an elderly relative will trouble you in your career. Auspicious correspondence can be taken up. Legal suits will stop worrying you. **Good dates:** 18, 20, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-east.

LEO (July 23 — August 22) Your outlook remains favourable this week. Take care of the health of elders. Do not be extravagant. You might experience a loss due to the negligence of an younger member of the family. Keep away from romance. Those in the military services will gain a promotion. There will be a number of delays and obstacles in business. **Good dates:** 18, 19 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable directions:** South and West.

VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) The planets are not favourable. Therefore, mark time and practice caution in all your dealings. Don't let yourself be carried away by emotions. You will gain a new friend who will exert considerable influence on your current affairs. Seek the advice of elders. Check extravagance to maintain economic stability. **Good dates:** 17, 19, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** North-east.

LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) You may change your job or residence. If you can check your extravagant tendencies, this week will prove to be happy. You may gain property through inheritance. Advice of elders will generally prove helpful. A secret contact will stand you in good stead. The domestic scene will remain peaceful. Love brings joy and good fortune. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers.** 4 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and South.

SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Men and women in service will gain promotions this week. Stars indicate love and romance. Some may even marry. It will be a lucky week. There are chances that you will win a prize in a lottery. Let your intuition guide you. You must try to take the maximum advantage from the present favourable planetary position. **Good dates:** 18, 19, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-west.

SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) You may possibly avert a lawsuit if you use tact and discretion. After a minor setback, your business affairs will move smoothly and you will make financial gains. Domestic bliss will be yours. Promotions will come through your own hunches and intuition. An elderly lady may oppose your plans. **Good dates :** 19, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 10. **Favourable direction :** West.

CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) This domestic scene will show a marked improvement this week. This will bring happiness. You may have to forge ahead inspite of the risks involved. The week is favourable for love and romance. You will make new friends and undertake journeys. Promotion are forecast for many. **Good dates:** 17, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 10. **Favourable directions:** South and West.

AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) An elderly friend or relative may prove helpful. A promotion is in the offing. Your business interests require great attention. Your family too, needs attention. Check extravagant tendencies. This will be a quiet week. New friends will contribute to your happiness and you may undertake a journey. **Good dates :** 18, 19, 22 and 23. **Lucky numbers :** 5 and 9. **Favourable directions :** North and East.

PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Friends and relatives will praise you for your excellent achievements. Let your own intuition be a guide to fortune. A secret contact will prove helpful. Your may undertake a journey. Your business affairs will prosper. This week you will buy expensive items for yourself and your family members. **Good dates :** 17, 18, 19 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable directions :** West and South.

M. B. RAMAN

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chess

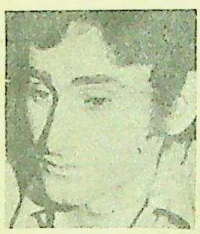
Continuation of Position No. 7

From a game Horvath–Kaposztas, played in Hungary in 1977: 2r2r1k; 5p1p; p2p1Pp1; 3Pp3; 1q2BN1Q; 8; 1PP3PP; 4RR1K.

White won by 1. R x B, P x R; 2. B x P, P x B; 3. R—K7, R—KB2; if 3. . , P—KR4; 4. Q—N5.

4. R x R, P—KR4; 5. R—K7, Q x P; 6. P—R3, Q—B8 ch; 7. K—R2, P—B6; 8. P—B7, K—N2; 9. P—B8=Q db. ch, resigns.

HARRY GOLOMBEK



The Magazine's new chess columnist, Michael Stean (above), takes over next week. He is 25, from Kew, very much an active player and certainly still a rising star in international chess. Last summer in Baguio City it was Stean, as one of challenger Korchnoi's seconds, who regularly sat up through the night analysing the next day's play. Then he went straight on to play Board No 2 for Britain in the World Olympiad in Buenos Aires.

Stean has been a Grandmaster – he is one of four in British chess – since 1977. Yet he started playing serious chess comparatively late: 'I learnt how the pieces moved when I was 4½, but I didn't move them until I was 13'. In 1967 he became London Under-14 champion, in his first tournament.

In 1973 he came third in the World Junior Championship in Teesside. Why Teesside? 'That's where the local council has money available to support chess.'

Stean has a number of books on the way, two actually published: 'The Sicilian Najdorf' (Batsford), an authoritative treatment of Bobby Fischer's favourite opening, and 'Simple Chess' (Faber)—for everybody.

bridge

TWO stories from the Olympiad at New Orleans shed light on the varying attitudes toward slightly peculiar bids

Dealer, South Game all

	♠ K Q 10 9 4 2 ♥ A 10 3 ♦ 10 6 2 ♣ 9	
♠ 6 3 ♥ K Q ♦ K J 9 5 ♣ K Q 8 7 4	N W E S	♠ J 8 7 5 ♥ J 8 6 2 ♦ 8 7 4 3 ♣ 5
	♠ A ♥ 9 7 5 4 ♦ A Q ♣ A J 10 6 3 2	

South opened Two Clubs, natural in Precision, and the bidding continued

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
2♣	No	2♠	No
3♣	No	No	dble (!)
No	No	No	

South went two down and East-West collected 140½ match points out of 142. A piece by Omar Sharif in the *Bulletin* extolled his friend's perception in doubling Three Clubs. All right, perhaps West did *not* give any indication that he had something to think about over Three Clubs, I'll believe it, but imagine how the wolves would have howled if an unpopular pair had followed this sequence.

This episode from the Ladies Pairs illustrates the climate of suspicion:

WEST	EAST
♠ A J 9 8	♠ K Q 6
♥ A Q 7 4 2	♥ —
♦ A Q 10	♦ K 9 8 6
♣ 5	♣ K 10 8 7 3 2

An Italian pair, Mondolfo and Venturini, bid as follows:

WEST	EAST
1♣	1♠ (1)
2♥	3♠ (2)
4NT	5♣
6♠	No

(1) A positive response to the One Club opening, denoting three controls.

(2) Not a misnomer exactly, but a 'mispull' from the bidding box. She meant, of course, to bid Three Clubs.

East, it is said, was unable to resist an exclamation telling everyone that she had not intended to bid Three Spades. Since the bid was implausible in this sequence, West might legitimately have acted on the assumption that Three Clubs was intended, but she felt obliged to battle on with 4NT, and East did not have the sense to pass this. Six Spades earned a zero.

That the women should have lost their heads is understandable, but a story by Henry Francis (the *Bulletin* editor) hailing this absurd performance as great sportsmanship received honourable mention among the journalists' awards.

TERENCE REESE

stamps

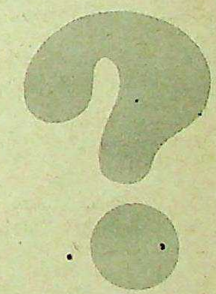
THE first high value stamps of King George VI, issued in 1939, were in a size and shape used for many Victorian and Edwardian high values. The 2s 6d and 5s stamps, designed by Edmund Dulac, featured the royal arms. The 10s and £1 stamps, designed by George Bellew, showed the King's portrait framed by the national floral emblems, the rose, thistle, daffodil and shamrock. The original brown 2s 6d stamp now costs about £150 in perfect mint condition but a reissue made in 1942 in green sells for about £10. Postmarked examples are very much cheaper. The matching 5s stamp costs about £25 mint or £1 used. Even the slightest damage, such as a creased corner or the disturbance of the gum where a stamp has been hinged for mounting in an album, drastically reduces these prices.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Where is the Heard Island ?
2. What is the actual name of the daredevil motorcyclist, Evel Knievel ?
3. What was the Fenian Brotherhood ?
4. From where did the term 'Young Turk' originate ?
5. In economics, what is Peppercorn Rent ?
6. What is a Junta ?
7. What is Dew Point
8. What is Daina ?
9. What are yellow-backs ?
10. Who were the Poor Men of Lyons ?
11. When was a Black Hole first identified ?



ANSWERS

1. It lies in the sub-Antartic.
2. Robert Craig.
3. An Irish revolutionary movement formed originally among Irish immigrants in the USA.
4. It was the name applied to an abortive movement of reform in the Ottoman Empire in 1908.
5. It is where only a nominal sum has to be paid for a period.
6. A term for a group of people who influenced trade union ideas and policy in England in mid-19th century.
7. In meteorology, it is the temperature at which the air becomes saturated with water vapour and below which moisture is likely to condense in the form of dew.
8. A type of folk poetry found among Lithuanians and Latvians.
9. Cheap editions of novels bound in yellow boards.
10. A movement founded by Peter Waldo whose main belief was a return to Apostolic simplicity.
11. December 1972.

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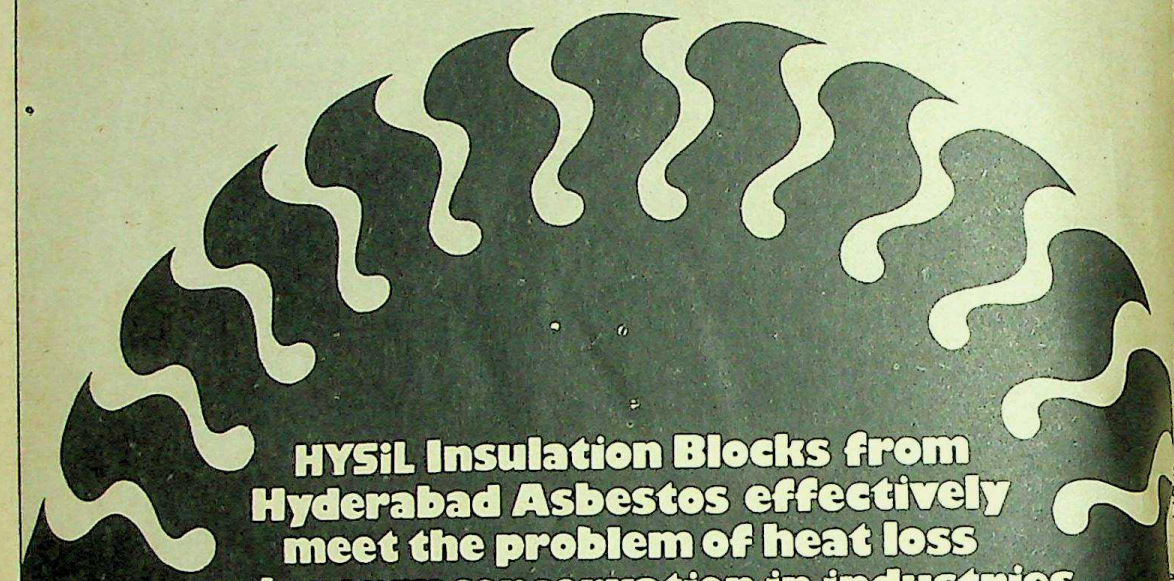

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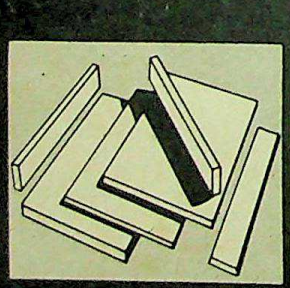

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dia

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AI : Bobby, a popular detective olice kennel here has given birth pups, and the constable in charge kennel is in trouble, because per- of the Superintendent of Police been sought for Bobby's mating, red under the police rules. The f the litter is the kennel's famous .Sanction of the Inspector Gene- olice is being sought for the of the pups. There is no provi- the police kennel to maintain s because it has sanction to feed e dogs — *Hindu* (Patitapaban Berhampur)

: The International Year of the giving a high yield of child s in Rajasthan and its neigh- areas. In Udaipur district alone, child marriages have so far emnised.

neighbouring town of Mandsor ya Pradesh, a bridegroom on k threw away his ceremonial nd started shouting for "kulfi" street vendor was selling. He e given what he wanted before iage procession could proceed ride's house — *Tribune* (D. V. andigarh)

A regular criminal case was l against a police inspector for assaulting and outraging the of a foreign teenager disciple ya Rajneesh here.

The police officer allegedly entered the room of the American girl to demand a bribe of Rs. 1,000 for the renewal of her visa. A trap had been laid earlier by the Anti-Corruption Department on a tip off-by the friends of the girl. The police officer allegedly made advances and later assaulted the girl. He was caught red-handed in the act — *Hindusthan Standard* (Pradip Kumar Dutta, Calcutta)

SURAT : Plastic surgery has given a young diamond cutter from Bhatlai village, near here, a new genital. The cutter, a bachelor, lost his private part when his lungi got entangled in the electric motor strap of a polishing machine. Dr M. Chandrasekhar of the Mission Hospital provided the man with a facility of passing urine and advised him to go to Bombay for further medical help. Dr Keshwani of Jaslok Hospital endowed him with an artificial penis contsructed from his own flesh. He claimed that "the new organ will be as functional as the lost original"—*Statesman* (Kajal Kumar Chakraborty, Calcutta)

SONEPAT : An Army officer got married by proxy here. The officer who was away, wrote to his parents saying they could use his photograph for the ceremony. Happily, the girl's parents agreed to the idea and the wedding was solemnised — *Sunday Standard* (A. K. Koul, Jammu Tawi)

BHOPAL : The Madhya Pradesh Government grants meant for an ailing writer and an artist reached them not only after their death but could not be used for their funeral. The Rs 2,000 cheque meant for the treatment of Mr Radhacharan Goswami, a veteran Hindi writer of Datia, reached him when he was almost dead and could not be cashed even for his funeral arrangements.

The Government-run Madhya Pradesh Kala Parishad announced that it had sanctioned a Rs 500 draft for the treatment of Mr Abdul Halim Ansari, an 80-year-old painter of repute. Mr Ansari was pronounced dead only a few hours after the Kala Parishad announcement—*Hindustan Times* (S. K. Saksena, Sagar)

road

BI : The Ugandan President, suf Lule, has apparently open- door for the return of 50,000 most of them Indians expelled rshal Idi Amin in 1971 and isation for those whose busi- entures were expropriated. Lule said non-African Ugan- hose large enterprises were ex- ted by Mr Amin but not given African owners, had the tic right to participate in ith the Government."—*Hindu*

LUMPUR : Leaders of Malaysia's minority races have begun talks with the Government for prompt action against an extremist Muslim group desecrating Hindu temples ... The group broke into four Hindu temples in the west coast State of Malacca and the northern State of Perak on the Thai border and destroyed images of deities. Last year the group allegedly desecrated 20 temples. The police are offering a reward of $ 2,270 for information leading to the arrest of the group. —*Statesman*

i Bhusan Malik

without comment

THERE is not a single file in my department the Birla group of industries does not know of—Industries Minister George Fernandes

WE have succeded in everything we have tried—Morarji Desai

THE RSS has come closer to secularism and those who want it and the Jana Sangh to return to their original stance are not the honest politicians—Minister of Housing Sikander Bakht

WE came to power with no illusions—West Bengal Finance Minister Ashok Mitra

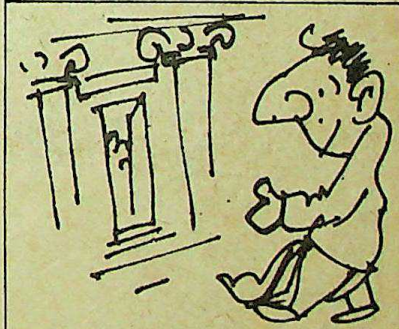
IF persons responsible for eliminating Bhutto and keeping my mother in prison for nine months thought that the people would forget Bhutto, they were living in fools' paradise—Benazir Bhutto.

I DO not mind being criticised editorially as I will curse the day when our policies will receive the support of big business. But why should news be distorted? Does freedom of the Press mean to tell lies?—West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu.

PRESIDENT ZIA has told me that he is not interested in nuclear weapons. I would believe him—Morarji Desai.

MY forerunners in the diplomatic profession, as history records, did not always have the pleasure of returning to their motherland—Indian Ambassador to the USA Nani Palkhiwala

humour in real life



A BANK in Calcutta requests its clients : "All advances to be made on the first floor" — T. T. Sen, Calcutta.

OUR teacher who caught two of my friends and I talking in class, rebuked us and said : "Both of you three meet me behind the class when I am empty" — Arif Hussain, Delhi.

prize rs. 30 for the entry given first and rs. 10 for the other items

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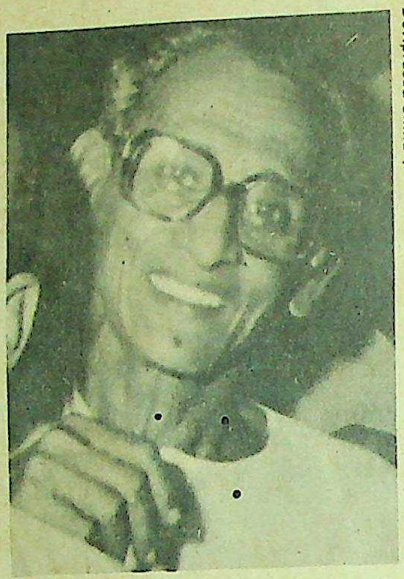
INTERVIEW

"We made mistakes, let's confess"

Says SOURIN BOSE (55), veteran CPI (ML) leader, who in 1970 had gone to China to consult prominent Chinese leaders as a representative of the Naxalites in India, about their movement. PATHIK GUHA spoke to him after his release from prison along with Kanu Sanyal, after eight years and two months, about the stormy past, dormant present, and uncertain future of the Naxalite movement.



Devi prasad Sinha

Q: Now that you and Mr Kanu Sanyal have been released from jail, what will your next move be?

A: Why should I tell you? Is ours a bourgeois Party? It is only those Parties that convene Press conferences who take decisions (in advance). We are not used to it.

Q: You, Mr Sanyal and some other top-ranking leaders are to meet in Siliguri very soon. Is it all that unlikely that a joint decision will emerge there?

A: Again, I protest against your use of the term "top-ranking". Look, in our Party there is no worker who considers himself a leader, not to speak of a "top-ranking" leader. Everyone is just a worker. As for the Siliguri meet, I can tell you that our basic concern will be assessment. A resolution or something of the sort may come out of it next.

Q: Your Party has lost so many young people who, at your behest, laid down their lives at the altar of revolutionary ideal. Do you not hold yourselves accountable for the loss of their lives?

A: I am not the authority to speak for others. But if you ask me I would confess that I do. Let me recall Tagore in his poem *Prashna* (The Question), in which he wrote:

What about my seeing
the young lad,
In his madness, beating
his head on stones
To die in gruesome pain,
An unfruitful death?

Those who were killed died unsung. Even if you do not accept their ideology, you cannot question the dedication with which they plunged into the movement. I feel sorry when I face so many dead comrades' near and dear ones. Now that things have not taken the shape we wanted them to, how shall we go to those who are alive today?

Q: What went wrong with your movement?

A: We totally ignored the urban areas. Our comrades were told that as there was nothing left to be done in the towns and cities, they should all go to the villages and concentrate their efforts there. We made peasants demigods, while antagonising the middle class.

Q: Didn't anti-social elements infiltrate your Party?

A: Yes, and this was another reason why our movement failed in the urban areas. Take the case of the assassination of the veteran Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Bose. We know who did it. Unfortunately, they were not the ones who were tried in court. The suspects were arrested because they belonged to our Party. Those who were behind the crime were only stamped as 'Naxalites'.

Q: Why did you preach the destruction of public property, like schools, colleges and sometimes trams and buses?

A: Oh, that was part of the romantic adventurism. With (their) petty bourgeois romanticism, some of our cadres attacked the structure only, while ignoring the system. They ought to have destroyed the latter first. Many of our overzealous comrades refused to heed the warning that our armed struggle would be ill-timed. They didn't want to comprehend even the uniqueness of India in view of its socio-economic condition and refused to wait till the time was ripe for an armed struggle.

Q: You mean they 'mechanically followed Marxist theory'?

A: Yes, that was the greatest flaw. Allow me to quote Engels in his *Anti-Dühring*: "The principles are not the starting point of investigation, but its final result; they are not applied to nature and human history, but abstracted from them; it is not nature and the realm of humanity which conform to those principles; but the principles are only valid in so far as they are in conformity with nature and history." Many of our comrades, totally oblivious of the circumstances prevailing here, believed they should be guided by Marxist theory in their actions. And we have realised what was ahead of us. Now some of my comrades might be evasive about a frank confession. I cannot understand this face-saving bid. That we committed mistakes has been proved beyond doubt, so let us confess. It would help in learning a lesson at least.

Q: What is this difference of circumstances you are talking about?

A: Your question needs an elaborate answer. Since that is not possible now, I shall cite just one example. The rule of Mrs Gandhi was entirely autocratic. She was like a cruel monarch. Had India been any other country, we would have been under a military dictatorship by this time. How many of us could foresee her fall in such a bloodless manner? I am not saying that a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established after she was overthrown. What I am pointing to is her fall.

Q: Would you comment on the Janata Government at the Centre?

A: They are a funny lot, each one working for his own ends.

Q: In 1970, you went to China to meet Chinese leaders like the then Premier, Chou En Lai and Foreign Affairs chief Kang San. How did they view your movement here in India?

A: Premier Chou took strong exception to our slogan: "China's Chairman is our Chairman".

Q : What did he say about it?

A: He told me: "By raising slogans like this you are only increasing your masses' ill-feeling towards China".

Q: Didn't the Chinese leaders give you some guidelines?

A: No. They said they should not, as they themselves had not heeded Russian dictates.

Q: West Bengal's Chief Minister Mr Jyoti Basu recently said at a rally in Siliguri that the Naxalite movement never had a mass following, and therefore the CPI (ML) should not be reckoned as a Party of the people. Would you comment?

A: I have spoken to Mr Basu about his remark. What I am given to understand is that he meant the group led by Vinod Misra and Satyanarayan Sinha.

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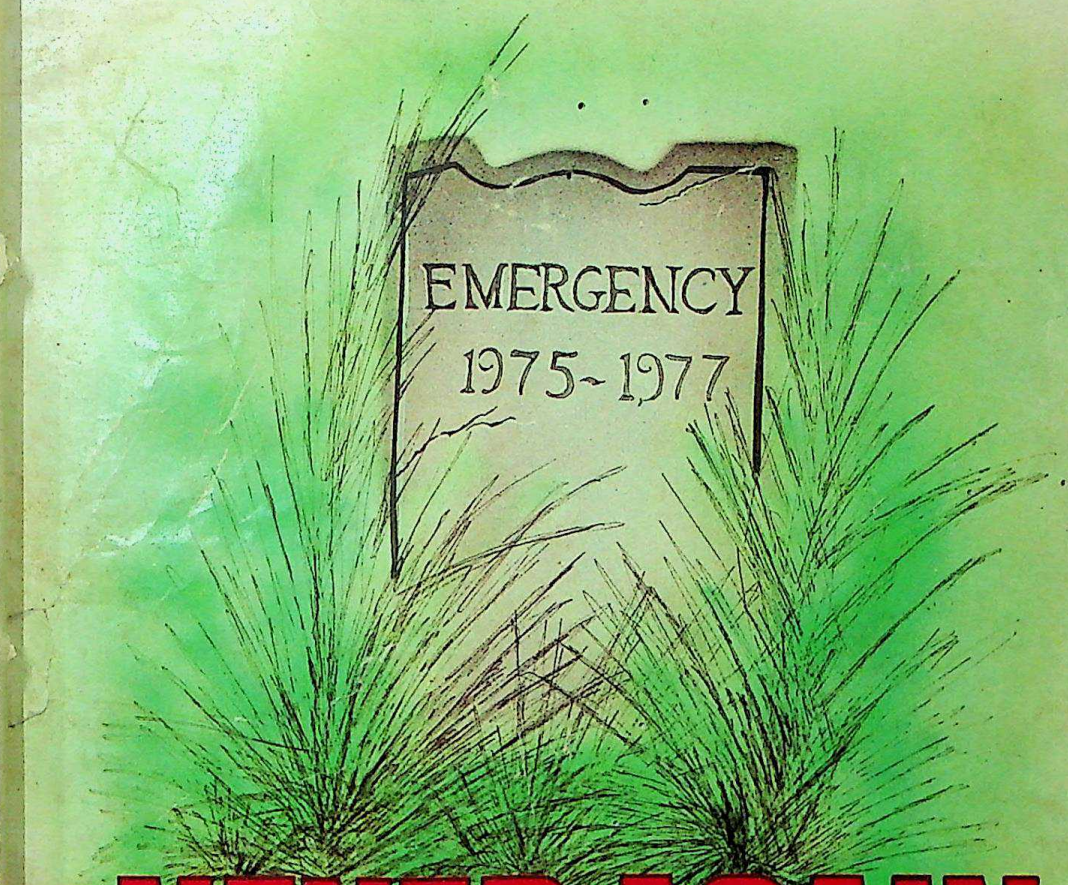
Khushwant Singh On Sanjay Gandhi

SUNDAY

SPECIAL ISSUE

10 YEARS AFTER EMERGENCY



NEVER AGAIN

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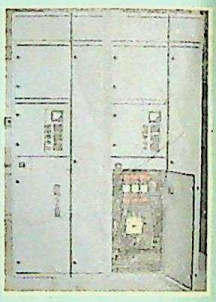
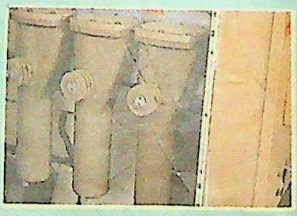


The Bajaj Auto order serves as a fair example. The new Aurangabad plant needed 75 low voltage panels and 100 M bus-ducting. Without these it could not go on-stream towards the production of 1250 units a day. Other major manufacturers estimated 8 months to deliver. Voltas executed the order in 12 weeks!



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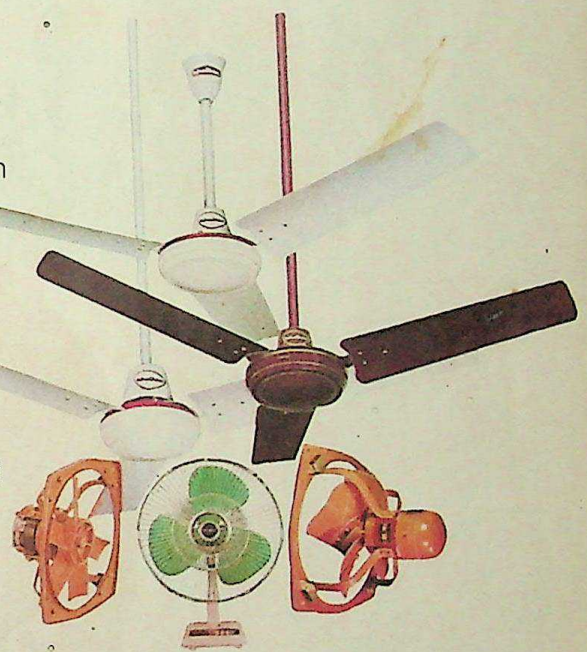

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Maruti-Suzuki, like other vehicle manufacturers, are sticklers for perfection. So, it cannot be just any battery for their car. It has to be specially designed to meet exacting performance standards in relation to weight, be failsafe, provide optimum starting performance and last the longest.

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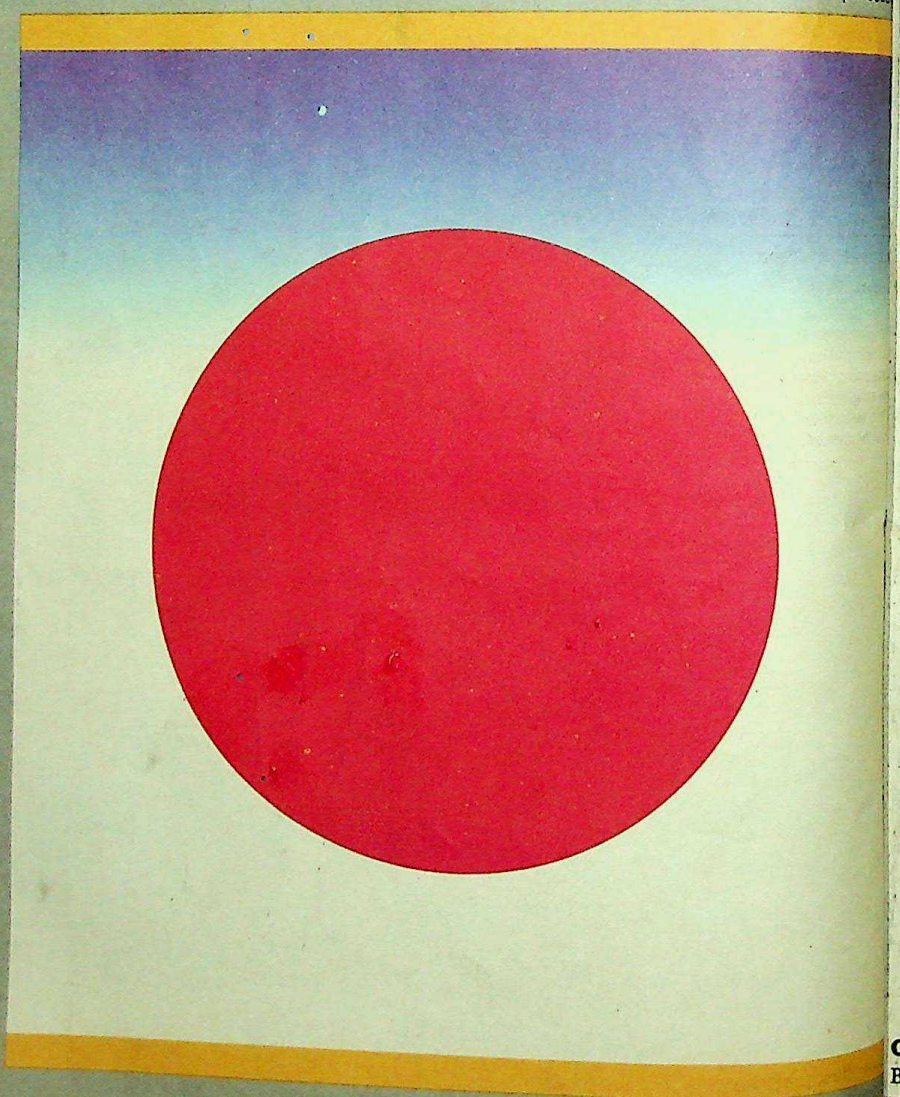

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23—29 JUNE 1985

SUNDAY

VOLUME 12 : ISSUE 34 : RS 4.00
AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

CONTENTS

COVER STORY **12**

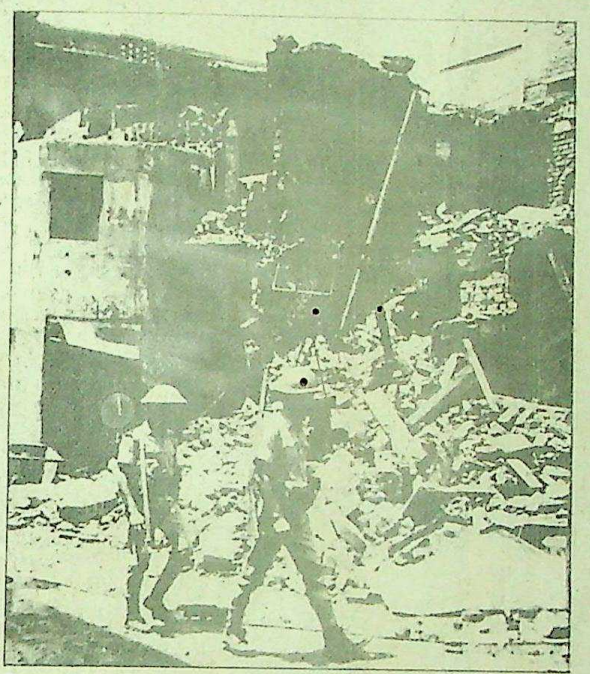
Never Again

On 26 June 1985 it will be ten years since the Congress regime headed by Indira Gandhi declared internal Emergency in India. Opposition leaders were arrested indiscriminately, innocents thrown behind bars, censorship imposed on the press and the Indian people who were fed on democratic liberalism for 28 years for the first time tasted authoritarian curbs on their freedom of movement and speech. A line-up of authors and journalists reminisce on the Emergency.

SPECIAL REPORT **52**

Assam-Nagaland Border War

The recent skirmish between the Assam and Nagaland border police has brought to the fore Assam's age-long border problems with Nagaland. A report from Seema Guha



Page 12

SUNDAY SPECIAL **49**

The Festivals of India in France and USA

Ashis Ray reports on how India is winning the west

COMMENT

Gossip Sweet and Sour Khushwant Singh 7
Exclusive Kuldip Nayar 9
Opinion 10

NEWS **54**

- Interview with Gundu Rao
- Indira Gandhi's Assassination Trial: End of Act 1

VARIETY

Spotlight 65
Science 66
Sundayweek 67
Chess/Bridge/Quiz 68
This India 69
Without Comment 69
Teasers 70
Peanuts 72
Khaas Baat 73

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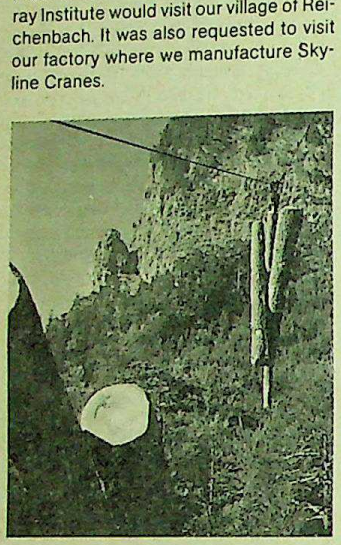
During my life's Work I have been saved and healed through the power of God

Until 1960, I was an ungodly man and knew for sure that I would go to hell when I died. At the funeral of my friends and relatives I always thought about this. Although I respected the true believers, I did not know how to receive such wonderful peace, until God led me into prayer.

From time to time, a vehicle from the X-ray Institute would visit our village of Reichenbach. It was also requested to visit our factory where we manufacture Skyline Cranes.



Our staff, my wife, our children and myself had X-ray examinations. After a few days the Institute called me to say that they had found a spot on my lung, and that I must go to visit a doctor for further examination and possible treatment.

A few years earlier, my younger brother, who also served our customers (see pictures) had died of lung cancer, and I was a smoker as he had been. This left me with a fear of having the same illness. I was convinced that doctors could not heal lung cancer, and that only the power of God could bring healing.

I only prayed to God when I had problems in my own life, my family or business and could not help myself or find help from others. The Lord always answered my prayers and helped me every time, even when I did not have peace with God I trusted in his promises: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver you, and you will honor me" (Psalm 50:15). With regard to the spot on my lung, for a whole week I prayed about twenty times a day, begging our Lord to heal me. During my prayer God asked me to promise to serve him, and this I did, without the condition of him healing me.

On the advice of the X-ray Institute I went to a doctor, who arranged for further X-ray examinations. As we examined the original X-ray together by a window, the spot was clearly to be seen, but on examination of the subsequent films my lungs were shown to be without the spot. My prayers had been answered and God had healed me! I continued my prayers, in which I thanked him for the healing, and the more I prayed the more I felt his presence. The Bible says: "Come near to God and he will come near to you" (James 4:8). This happened through my earnest prayers.

The next Sunday, as I was humbly in prayer outside my home, longing for the presence of God, his power came down from heaven like a cloud that almost pressed me down to the ground. Contained in the cloud was a brilliant light which almost blinded me and restricted my vision to two or three meters. In the twinkling of an eye, something wonderful came into my heart.

In a vision God showed me the name of "Jesus" written in great golden letters. After this marvelous experience I knew without a doubt that Jesus had come into my heart.

When for the first time Jesus spoke to me, he said: "Now thank God for what you have received", and as I walked from my home to Scharnachtal I thanked God for Jesus and the wonderful experience he had given me. It was as if a great burden had been lifted off me, and I did not know that I was carrying such a heavy load of sin.

Before returning home, I asked God to protect me from all evil, and that the devil could never rob me of this great experience. Later, Satan tried, but he could not succeed because I had the protection of the blood of our Lord. On the cross of Calvary Jesus shed his blood and died and there defeated Satan. This I know and believe fervently.

Since this extraordinary event, my heart is at peace and overflowing with joy and with the assurance that our Lord will never forsake me. When I die I will be with him and the Kingdom of Heaven will be my reward. The way to eternal life is to have Jesus in our heart. The Bible states: "God has given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He who has the Son has life; he who does not have the Son of God does not have life" (1 John 5:11, 12).

I confessed my sins which the Holy Spirit revealed to me and made everything right. I was shown that our Lord had forgiven all the wrongdoings of my past life.

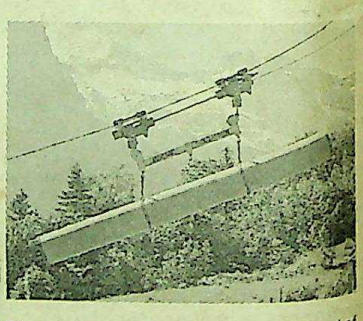
On this earth we are born of our mothers, but to enter heaven we must be born of the Spirit of God. The experience of rebirth is like a change of government in the heart, and when Jesus comes into our hearts, the spirit of the world must leave. Because Adam and Eve had fallen into sin we do not, by nature, have Jesus in our hearts, and all men have inherited their sinful ways from them. Therefore, we commit sins which, as we know, separate us from God, and as mere mortals we are powerless to free ourselves from sin. For this reason God, through his great love, sacrificed his beloved Son Jesus Christ to save us from sin. Only Jesus has God's authority to forgive the sins of mankind, for he said: "I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (John 14:6). Peter says of Jesus: "There is no other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12).

He who wishes to be saved must seek God with all his heart. "You will seek me and find me when you seek me with all your heart", says the Lord (Jeremiah 29:13). Through earnest prayer and longing for God, his Son Jesus will enter into our hearts and he will save us from the eternal damnation of hell, and give us the peace of God and eternal life.

And so, with joy I say, seek our Lord with fervent prayer, then you will find and be filled with the peace and the joy he has filled me. It is my prayer for the whole of mankind to enjoy such blessings and find salvation. May God bless you!

It does not matter what our work is, God wants everybody to be saved.

Jakob Wyssen



The pictures show lifting and transport of loads.

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Eyes

We were in the lounge of a hotel in Goa waiting for the weather to clear up. Outside, the rain was coming down in torrents without a sign of clouds lifting anywhere. There was nothing to do except sit and gossip. Inevitably the conversation turned to women. As they say *Saavan-Bhadon* is the *badmaash mausam*—the amorous season. During this *mausam*, if you can't do (we were men in our seventies), you talk about doing. "What, in your opinion, is the single most important item in a woman's beauty?" they asked me as if I was an expert on the subject. Without hesitation I replied, "As far as I am concerned, it is her eyes." I tossed in a remark I had read somewhere made by an Englishman about a woman telling her lover, "I would like to drown you in my eyes." What exactly did she mean?

A woman's eyes, when blue, are often compared to the ocean; when black, to the waters of an inland lake. In the *Song of Songs* they are likened to "the pools in Heshbon" (oddly enough, also to "doves beside brooks of water"). Dante Gabriel Rossetti in *The Blessed Damozel* had similar notions:

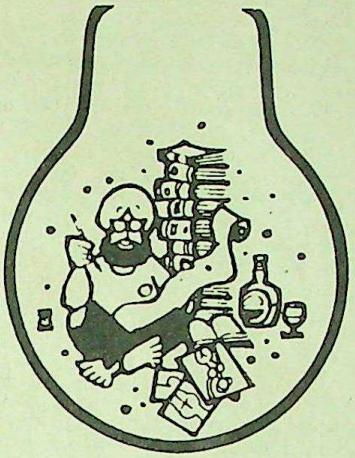
The blessed damozel leaned out
From the gold bar of heaven;
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
Of waters stilled at even.

To the best of my knowledge, Indian poets never used oceans or lakes as similes for women's eyes. Sanskritists used flowers or animals to describe their beauty: *Kamal Naini* (lotus-eyed) or *Mrig-naini* (doe-eyed). Persian and Urdu poets also lauded them as *chashm-e-aahoo* (gazelle-eyed) or *nargisee* (like the narcissus). Both Hindi and Urdu poets praise the pink-eyed, (I have never seen one) of one as if drunk: *mast* or *sharaabi*.

The first communication between lovers usually comes through the eyes. Cervantes called them "the silent tongues of love." Likewise Shakespeare in his sonnets:

Come, fair friend, you never can be old
For as you were when first your eyes I eyed,
Such is your beauty still.

I was under the impression that European poets were not aware of the phenomenon of eyes meeting—*aankhey chaar hona*—and transmitting messages of love. I was wrong. Byron on *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* has this:



"... and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men,
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music rose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to
eyes that spake again;
And all went merry as a marriage bell.

No one will question the Shakespearean observation that a woman has "language in her eyes". She can use its devastating effect when deployed as a side-winder missile—*tirchee nazar* which Milton described as "love-darting eyes". He saw "heaven in her eye"—presumably before he went blind. Thomas Moore ascribed his downfall to them:

"The light, that lies
In woman's eyes
Has been my heart's undoing."

Now to the Urdu poets. Shaad Azimabadi summed up their devastating effect in one couplet:

"Voh chashme-mast, voh tirchee nazar, maaz Allah!
Hayaa hazaar bharee hai, magar, maaz Allah!"
(Those besotted eyes,
Those side-long glances
The Lord protect us !
Full of innocence
though they be
The lord protect us!)

Shah Wali-ur-Rehman wrote of both their positive and negative aspects:

Jo phiree to tegh-e-qazaa banee
jo milee to aab-e-baqaa banee
(When they turned away, they became the sword of destruction.
When they met my eyes
They were the elixir of life.)

Hasrat Mohani was intrigued by eyes which, like photographs in which the sitter is looking into the lens, seem to follow you everywhere:

Dekho jo yaar kee jaadoo nigahiyaan
har ik ko hai gumaan keh mukhaatib hameen rahey
(Look at the magic in my beloved's eyes!
Everyone is under the illusion,
She is only looking at him.)

So the gossip and the *sherbaazi* went on and on; from gazelle-eyed Rekha to the almond-eyed Hema Malini to Greto Garbo-eyed Nandini Satpathi. The downpour continued and we adjourned to the Taverna Latina: We raised our glasses to drink to women's eyes:

"Drink to me only with thine eyes,
And I will pledge with mine;
Or leave a kiss but in the cup,
And I'll not look for wine."

Central Hall Chit Chat

Telegrams were sent out inviting members of the party to attend the Congress centenary celebrations in Delhi. Some telegraph clerks not familiar with the English language changed the word *centenary* to *sanitary*. Another variation of the word was used by Prakash Patil, son of Vasantdada Patil, then the chief minister of Maharashtra. When questioned whether his father had really met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, he replied in the affirmative: "Yes, at the *century* celebrations."

Then there was a member of Parliament who having spoken on the budget was correcting the transcript of his speech taken down verbatim. He lost his temper and exploded: "These fellows who prepare our Hansard get simple words wrong. I was talking on the *baajet* and they have taken it down as *budget*, not once but every time."

English Literature in Hindi

Shanti Swarup Sharma of Delhi has sent me this anecdote about a student looking for a text-book prescribed for his English examination. He could not recollect the title of the book. "I can tell you what the name of the book is in Hindi: *Maimney ki dum say hilti naashpaatee*." The erudite book-store owner was able to locate the required book: *Lamb's Tales of Shakespeare*.

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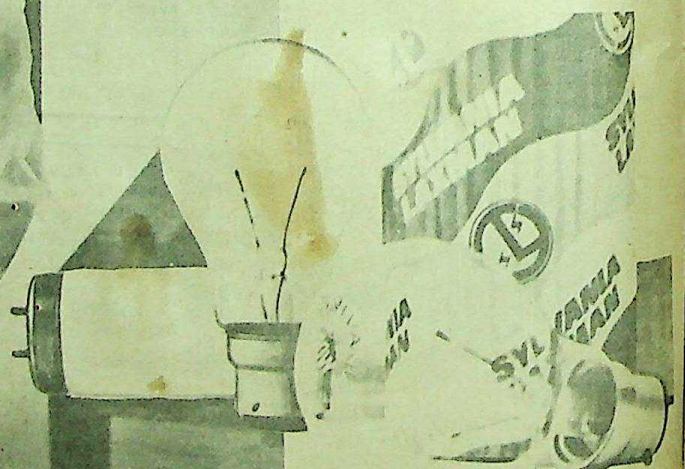

SYLVANIA LAXMAN

The name that lights.

REACT/SL/0365/85

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EXCLUSIVE/KULDIP NAYAR

A Year of Injustice

The G.M. Shah ministry of Jammu and Kashmir would be observing its first anniversary shortly—after being a year too long in office. If isolating "anti-national forces" was New Delhi's motive behind the installation of this ministry, then, in my opinion, it has failed, because such elements are now more active than ever before.

Take the Jamaat-e-Islami for example. The people's indignation over the dismissal of the popularly elected Farooq Abdullah ministry was fully exploited by this party New Delhi was promptly branded anti-Muslim. The centre's scant respect for democracy in Kashmir became clear. The Jamaat-e-Islami even fell back on history to argue how the elections in the state were rigged over several years, from the beginning of Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal on 9 August 1953 to his comeback in 1974.

A petition regarding the Koran in the Calcutta High Court once again brought up an opportunity for the Jamaat-e-Islami to whip up Muslim sentiments. In the name of Islam, Muslims were fed with lies, and one of the biggest rallies ever seen was staged. Amidst this tide of resentment, Farooq Abdullah was the only person who had the courage to say at public meetings that Kashmir's accession to India was a closed subject, and that the Jamaat was giving a helping hand to "pro-Pakistan and pro-US elements."

The union government's assessment of the Jamaat's activities has been summed up in a central report which says: "The secessionist and anti-national elements were quite vocal in the Kashmir valley" and were "giving vent to anti-Indian and secessionist feelings."

Already several recommendations have been made to the centre for the dismissal of G.M. Shah's ministry by the state Governor Jagmohan, who had himself engineered the ouster of the Farooq Abdullah ministry. At one time, he even favoured President's rule. But now he realises that a government led by Farooq Abdullah would be best for the state. This may be a reason for Farooq Abdullah's sudden silence on the demand for Jagmohan's dismissal.

In the past, Jagmohan's dismissal or transfer was always a condition for secret negotiations between emissaries of Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah. Now with the withdrawal of that demand, his proposal for fresh elections in the state under President's rule should raise no objections. In fact, this is the best way to clear up the political chaos, since the members who had defected to G.M. Shah's side are no more representatives of the people. Their unpopularity has compelled them to move about with armed protection.

Sharad Pawar, while driving through Srinagar recently, was struck by the Shah government's unpopularity. With him in the car was a state minister. As the car stopped for a traffic signal, he found people on the pavement making angry gestures at the minister and even spitting to show their contempt. Many senior officials who met Pawar complained that the ministers were corrupt. Apparently, the ministers know they will not be in power for long, and are lining their pockets while the going is good.

The Kashmiris are an emotional people. Farooq Abdullah is emotional, too. I know that he sometimes allows emotions to get the better of him and says and does things which create confusion and do not exactly contribute to an ideal relationship between Srinagar and New Delhi. But he is always quick to make amends and has always left no one in doubt about the state's accession to India. He is an Indian and proud to be one. As he had declared at public meetings: "*Sare jahan se achcha, Hindustan hamara.*" It is ridiculous to insinuate that he was in league with anti-national elements and paint G.M. Shah as a great patriot. There can be no comparison between the two. Farooq Abdullah has the respect of his people; Shah has few to support him.

I am told that New Delhi had often considered Farooq Abdullah's proposal for holding fresh elections in the state. Somehow, the forces opposed to him have so far had their way. In Kashmir the question is not so much what Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers want but what the people find acceptable.

The people in Kashmir also feel incensed over what they regard as "disrespect" shown to Begum Abdullah, the Sheikh's widow, who is held in high esteem. In spite of being a Lok Sabha member, she has not been allotted a house in Delhi, a privilege every member of Parliament enjoys. According to central officials, the house allotted to Farooq Abdullah when he was a MP, was to be given to her. But it could not be given since Farooq Abdullah, on becoming chief minister, had given it to D.D. Thakur, the present deputy chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir. He refused to leave the house, and procured a stay order from the court to resist eviction.

Mrs Gandhi was always motivated by political considerations and she dismissed Farooq Abdullah on such considerations alone. Rajiv Gandhi is supposed to be different. It is time he remedied the injustice in the state and announced fresh elections. If New Delhi persists with its present policy, democracy may be damaged much more—perhaps beyond repair.

In Kashmir the question is not so much what Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers want but what the people find acceptable.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

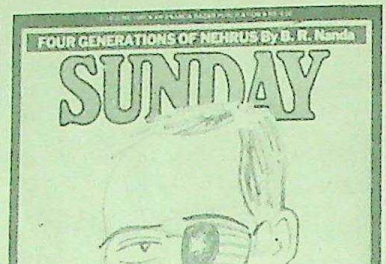
OPINION

Non-aligned

The cover story, *Is the West Being Won?* (2—8 June) was timely and informative. India, under Rajiv Gandhi, is gradually emerging as a significant power in world politics. It is time that India moved out of the protective wings of the Soviet Union and broadened its horizon. We should have a balanced relationship with both the superpowers. Only then can India play a meaningful role towards promoting world peace.
Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta

• Earlier India drifted the Kremlin way and now it is the American way. When will our country learn to stand on its own feet?
Arta Mishra, Cuttack

• While going through the interview with US ambassador Harry Barnes, I stumbled upon a statement made by Mr Barnes that at a public gathering in Calcutta while he was talking on Indo-US relations, a question was put to him on the United States arming Pakistan by "a representative of a foreign country and not an Indian citizen." This is far from the truth. I was present at that gathering and the question was put to him by a very senior reporter of a renowned newspaper. When in reply to that question the US ambassador dragged in the name of "another country," the representative of that particular country intervened to refute Mr Barnes' plea that Soviet presence in Afghanistan was the reason behind US arming Pakistan. Press reports on the incident published the next morning would bear me out on the authenticity of my version.
Sailen Kundu, Calcutta



Beloved leader

This has reference to the absorbing article *The Post Nehru Generation* (26 May—1 June). In this context I am reminded of what Chalapati Rau wrote: "Nehru lives in the people's minds and will continue to be discussed."But it was sad to learn that the leaders of yesteryears were being driven into oblivion by the younger generation.
S. Jayaraj, Coimbatore

• The article was unique. But among the 33 youngsters interviewed by SUNDAY there was no Bengali. I am sure that had the Bengalis been questioned on Nehru, they would have come out with flying colours.
Ashoke Sengupta, Calcutta

Real Culprits

Kuldip Nayar's *Exclusive (Why the Police Ran Amok*, 19-25 May) was, as usual, informative and thought-provoking. But I was disturbed to read the six words, "some of them from rich families," in the third paragraph. Had all the women been from poor families the event would not have attracted Mr Nayar's notice, I believe. I could not appreciate such a qualifying clause from a reputed journalist. Or was such an expression used to suggest some special meaning?
J. C. Khulbe, New Delhi

• *Khaki* and *khadi* are responsible for most of India's problems. Atrocities and excesses by the police are on the increase and it appears that they have become a most indisciplined force. The killings in encounters, deaths in lock-up, molestation of women in police stations and physical violence on persons in custody are an inseparable part of police culture. The police's loss of its image is so widespread that no one believes a policeman can be honest anymore. The politician too has fallen in public esteem. When a political system is based on corruption and abuse of power and position, it is futile to expect the super structure to be free from evils and malpractices. It is the responsibility of all democrats, including editors, writers, journalists and columnists to work among the toiling masses, raise their political consciousness and unite them against the rotten political system. The problems of India can now be solved only by the common man.
Abir Padhy, Berhampur

Muslims and Hindus Suffered Alike

Kuldip Nayar rightly invited the attention of the SUNDAY readers as to why the national press failed to highlight the suffering of the Muslims in Ahmedabad *(Muslims Suffered Most*, 26 May—1 June). It is indeed a pity that even when the situation turned into a bloody war between the Muslims and the Hindus, the press insisted on calling it an anti-reservation stir. Mr Nayar's demand that the victims be rehabilitated was justifiable.
Abrar Ahmad, Saharanpur

• Communal riots are usually engineered by politicians to remain in power. They instigate people of one religion against another to meet their selfish ends. The riots recur periodically because the guilty are hardly punished. The situation in Ahmedabad was unique because the police themselves indulged in violence and vandalism. As pointed out by Mr Nayar, the sufferers were the minorities.
Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

• Kuldip Nayar's assertion that "one common fear in the mind of the Hindus is that the Muslim population, for whom family planning is a taboo and whose men have freedom to have four wives, will one day outnumber them," is a figment of his imagination. Had Mr Nayar cared to take note of the growth rate of the Muslims and the Hindus, he would not have arrived at such a wild conclusion.
Uttam Kumar, Bhubaneswar

• I do not know what led Kuldip Nayar to conclude that the Muslims suffered most in the Ahmedabad riots. To top it all, Mr Nayar argues that only the Muslims should be rehabilitated. It is a fashion for the intellectuals to side with the minorities for there is more publicity that way. It is strange that those who speak for the Hindus are dubbed communalists while those siding with the minorities get public sympathy.
N. Krishnamurthy, Delhi

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

Who is the Third Assassin?

Missing Assassin? (26 May—1 June) touched new heights in investigative journalism. Most of the questions raised by Ritu Sarin were pertinent. When will we come to know of the real plot behind Indira Gandhi's assassination?
S. Ramakrishnan, Kumbakonam

• I was shocked to go through the statement made by Satwant Singh. Even if it is true that his confessional statement was forged by the police, the fact remains that he is a traitor. I wonder why the courts are delaying punishment?
Ramgopal Ramisetty, Hyderabad

• *Target: Rajiv* read like a Hadley Chase thriller. I extend my appreciation to the FBI agents for unearthing yet another henious conspiracy.
Kumarjit Guha, Berhampur (WB)

• Satwant Singh's statement added substance to the belief that three persons were behind the killing of Mrs Gandhi. But it is strange that the investigative agencies in our country are ignoring this vital factor. Are we to believe that someone powerful is protecting the third assassin? Moreover, why did the ITBP commandos shoot dead Beant Singh?
Subas Ram, Anandapur (Orissa)

The Sena's Threat

I was disturbed to read Olga Tellis's report, *The Shiv Sena Captures Bombay* (26 May—1 June). Sena chief Bal Thackeray's threat that all who came to Bombay after 1974 will be thrown out of the city was alarming. It is true that Bombay is overcrowded and Maharashtrians have worked hard to make it a prosperous city, but non-Maharashtrians too had their share. Moreover, the concept of national integration will suffer a setback if every state raises slogans against the people of other states.
V.N. Narayanaswamy, Madras

• S. K. Patil was never the chief minister of Maharashtra as mentioned in the article.
R. L. Barooah, Guwahati

• I failed to understand the reason behind the hue and cry raised over Shiv Sena winning the civic elections in Bombay. The Sena had raised issues which appealed to the people
Rama Chandra Tripathy, Madras

Not Fair

In *Kerala's Killer Schools* (19—25 May) Binoo John failed to touch upon any of the problems plaguing education in Kerala. Facts have been twisted to praise a certain political faction. The article highlights the action taken by the government against malpractices by one or two private educational institutions. But the fact remains that the ruling party has been encouraging the growth of private institutions. The box item, *Booming Business* also failed to pinpoint the real villain. It is an accepted fact that in the present educational atmosphere in Kerala, tutorial colleges are absolutely necessary. Many of these tutorial institutions are better equipped than the regular colleges and schools. Moreover, many of these colleges extend free tuition to the poor and needy students. In such circumstances it was unfair to criticise the tutorial colleges.
V. Sugunan, Trivandrum

Attractive Feature

The feature on M.F. Husain (*Husain: Both Maqbool and Fida*, 31 March—6 April) was worth going through. However, it would have been more interesting if photographs of the paintings, referred to in the article, were printed alongside. A few colour photographs would have made the feature more attractive.
Anutosh Dev, Gauhati

• It does not behove of a renowned artist like M.F. Husain to paint Morarji Desai as a monkey, show an Englishman as a dog or depict Shiva and Parvati in the nude. Love of humanity is an essential prerequisite for great art.
S. Jayaraj, Coimbatore

M.F. Husain

Holy Gutter

The cover story, *The Polluted Ganga: From Eternity to Here*, (21—27 April) was informative. While most of the facts and figures were well presented, I would like to comment on a few:

Firstly, the 'one man mission' of Mahant Veer Bhadra Mishra to clean up the Ganga is now a well-organised movement. The Sankat Mochan Foundation under the the presidentship of Dr Mishra launched 'The Swatcha Ganga Abhiyan,' a public education and awareness campaign against pollution of the Ganga two-and-a half years ago. This is being run by a group with Dr S.N. Upadhyay, professor of chemical engineering, Benares Hindu University, as its project co-ordinator.

Secondly, the Ganga discharge of 1700/1300 metres per second has wrong units and the magnitude too is wrong; if it refers to the minimum river flow, which is classified data, the information provided probably is much lower.

Thirdly, Varanasi has no sewage treatment plant. A very small one was installed by the BHU which hardly ever worked.
S.K. Mishra, Varanasi

• A passing reference had been made to the Central Ganga Authority (CGA) without much details. Here are some hard facts of what the CGA wants to do and how. In this connection I would like to mention that an international seminar on artificial recharge of ground water was held in Ahmedabad in January '85 where various speakers presented highly informative papers on the subject. During the course of the seminar, it was decided that a process called Soil-aquifer Treatment (SAT) will be eminently suitable for discharging low quality water, like sewer water, industrial effluents in the Ganga. In this system, developed by Herman Bower, waste-water is fed into infiltration basins, which goes underground and the naturally filtered water then discharges into the river or stream.
Puspa Mitra, Calcutta

• How can one allow the holy Ganges to be used as a gutter and air pollution to discolour the Taj Mahal? Steps should be taken to check these damages immediately.
N. Ellango Tirunelveli

• The report on the pollution of the Ganga was shocking, to say the least. It is a shame to note that a sacred river has become a carrier of disease.
Umesh Thappa, New Delhi

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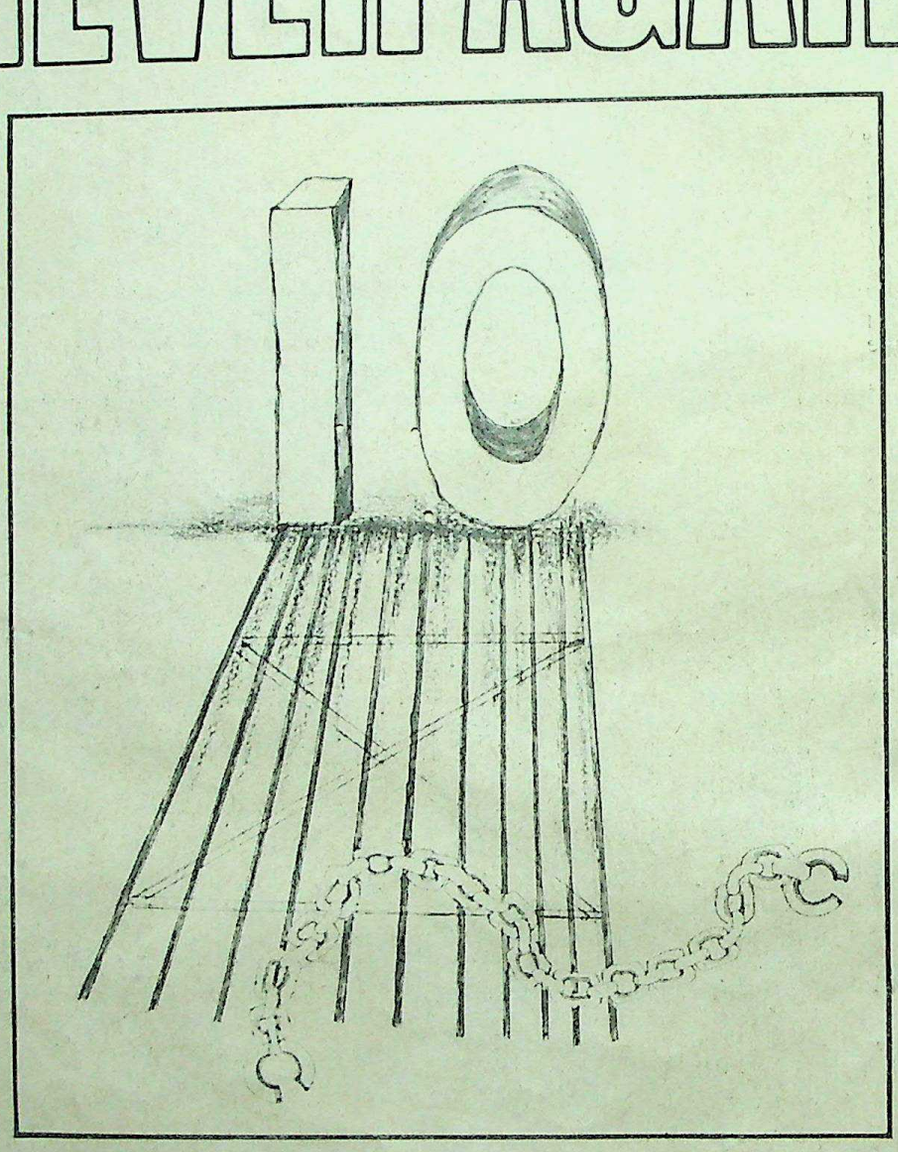
COVER STORY

NEVER AGAIN



Shortly after dawn on 26 June 1975, ten years ago, Indira Gandhi declared a state of Emergency in the country, leading to the sudden suppression of freedom and liberties of citizens. The next eighteen months were the darkest since Independence—the months of press censorship,forced sterilisation, indiscriminate demolition of hovels, sycophancy and terror. Citizens suffered mutely, till they got their chance to strike back with a vengeance—as they did in the 1977 polls which installed the country's first non-Congress government in the centre. It was as much a vote against the Emergency, which was imposed on an unwilling nation, as it was a pledge to see that the Emergency never happened again. Nikhil Chakravartty looks back on the months of fear and silence and explains why they cannot recur.

Illustration: Bulbul Sharma

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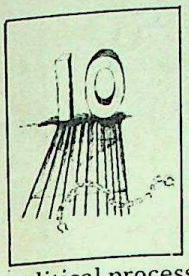

Looking back over a span of ten years, the Emergency (1975-1977) definitely marks a turning point in present-day India's political history. In fact, it brought a new dimension into our political process. Previous to it, there were occasions when the normal functioning of law and order was suspended for a particular area for a specific period of time. However arbitrary such measures might have been—as could be seen, for instance, in Nagaland—they did not shake the foundations of normal democratic functioning.

The Emergency shattered that premise of our political functioning. The entire democratic functioning was put in cold storage—from arrests without warrant and detention without trial, the authoritarianism manifested itself in gagging the press to a measure never experienced before and resort to administrative practices which can only be termed as tyrannical. "It cannot happen in India" was for long the complacent Indian refrain whenever dictatorial rule had been set up elsewhere. The complacency was definitely shattered by the Emergency.

At the same time, it is worth noting that the Emergency turned out to be a temporary measure, that it was possible for the country to come back to a democratic order. In other words, the Emergency despite all the strains it imposed on the constitutional structure, was not a violation of the Constitution. It was enforced under the provisions of the Constitution itself. Those who were closely following the developments preceding the Emergency might recall that the then establishment originally toyed with the idea of suspending or temporarily abrogating the Constitution. In other words, a form of presidential dictatorship was originally envisaged. It was at that crucial stage that some of the bigwigs at the time—Siddhartha Shankar Ray and Rajni Patel in particular—found a way out which obviated any need to do away with the Constitution, and could point to its flexibility that could permit even such a draconian measure to be sanctified as being in keeping with its provisions.

Viewed from this angle, it was incorrect to characterise it as fascism, as some of us tended to do at the time. No doubt many of the civil liberties were taken away under the Emergency. Police highhandedness bordering on terror, was experienced at many places. Blanket censorship kept away all the news of these happenings from the public in general. Parliament was kept in a state of paralysis—a situation which of course was its own making as it voted for all the measures that propped up the Emergency.

But all these added up do not amount to fascism. They were certainly authoritarian measures, but fascism is a qualitatively different system. However much the Emergency nightmare has to be denounced, it cannot be identified as fascism, for the simple reason that, fascism, as history shows it, comes to power upon the total destruction of all semblances of a constitutional regime. And never has there been a case of fascism having been brought to an end except by violent means. It com-

Creative Eye

Indira Gandhi with Sanjay Gandhi at the Gauhati AICC session

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es to power through unbridled violence and it is overthrown by counter-violence. The experience of the Emergency was that it was claimed by its enforcers as having been perfectly in keeping with the provisions of the Constitution and it was brought to a close by the democratic step of resorting to a general election.

It would, however, be equally incorrect to hold that the Emergency did not leave any scars on our democratic structure. The circumstances that led to the Emergency make it amply evident that the body politic itself had ceased to be normal and to meet the situation, the Emergency was resorted to.

It is worth recalling how the Emergency came. In 1971-72, Indira Gandhi's Congress won massive electoral victories both in Parliament and most of the state Assemblies. It was glibly felt by many that mass discontent could now be contained since the party in power had such an overwhelming electoral mandate. Indira Gandhi and her party colleagues were indeed dizzy with their electoral success, and they did precious little to implement their election promises, or even to appear in the eyes of the masses as being earnest about those election promises. At the same time, they made no effort at utilising this respite to build an active and vibrant party organisation. Instead, the period was marked by total neglect of the party organisation which inevitably became the breeding ground of intense factionalism

It was against this background of amazing complacency on the part of the ruling establishment that rumblings of mass unrest could be heard—first in Gujarat and then in Bihar. Multidimensional in character, this mass unrest—spreading from the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat to the railway strike at the central level—could not be put down by normal administrative measures. Resort to brutal measures as could be seen in the handling of the rail workers' strike, only inflamed discontent.

The point has to be borne in mind that the ruling party, despite having at its command an overwhelming majority, could not ensure for itself the stability of the regime over which it presided. It was also short-sighted on its part to have thought that the entire anti-government crusade was the handiwork of Jayaprakash Narain and the small band of people around him. The Gujarat and Bihar disturbances did not originate with JP. He did not engineer them Rather he had the perspicacity to understand the significance of that round of mass unrest in Gujarat and Bihar and therefore came forward to provide it with leadership.

The result was an extraordinary lapse into panic on the part of the Indira Gandhi establishment. This was mainly because it found that it had built no mass organisation of its own to counter or contain this mass unrest. This was indeed the nemesis for its total neglect of building its own party despite all the advantages of being the ruling establishment.

Prabhakar Bhatlekar remembers the Emergency

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When the mass discontent showed signs of spreading to newer areas and among newer segments of the people, and when the normal administrative machinery of law and order was found to be inadequate in coping with the developing situation, then the government in a state of panic resorted to the extreme step of clamping down the Emergency. The Emergency was thus not a demonstration of the strength of the government but of its feeling of insecurity.

As for those opposed to the Indira Gandhi government, the Emergency brought out their weakness too. The sudden police swoop and drastic police measures showed up that they were totally unprepared despite all the tall talk of ushering in a 'total revolution' under the leadership of JP. The fact that there was no serious resistance to the government for the 18 long months of the Emergency was eloquent testimony not only to their unpreparedness but also their incapacity to set up a determined underground movement. The Baroda dynamite case provided only 'propaganda dynamite' for its leaders rather than any proof of their capacity to shake the regime. Despite the mass public sympathy and support it got, the opposition came out very poorly as a sustained fighting organ against a despotic regime.

This bankruptcy of the opposition during the Emergency was once again demonstrated after the Emergency when the Janata government was swept into power by the electorate, which gave its unqualified verdict against the Emergency in the 1977 general election. Subsequent developments showed up that the Janata hardly deserved the confidence reposed in it by the electorate. Both Morarji Desai, as the leader of the government, and Chandra Shekhar, as the leader of the party, were found to be miserably wanting in repairing and rebuilding the edifice of democracy damaged during the Emergency. Apart from sensationalising the Emergency—which could not be kept up beyond a few months—there was no serious effort on their part to draw the correct lessons from it. It needs to be mentioned that under cover of the Emergency, the government did weaken, distort and reverse some of the tested policies, both economic and political, of the past. The so-called liberalisation of the economy started with the Emergency and was carried forward under the Janata. If the Sanjay mafia captured the political stage under cover of the Emergency, the Janata leaders did nothing to draw the necessary lesson, that is, that neglect in building a viable party organisation can only lead to its liquidation or its replacement by a mafia such as the one led by Sanjay Gandhi, under official protection and patronage. In fact, the Janata leaders made no efforts whatsoever at building a party of their own. And so their government fell like a house of cards when they themselves fell out, squabbling among themselves.

Opposition party workers courting arrest in Delhi: a protest against the Emergency

Looking back, the greatest lessons that the Emergency provided were two: first, that neglect in building a political party by any ruling establishment compels it to resort to extraordinary means to the point of virtual extinction of the political process, thereby bringing about its own isolation. Secondly, that the mere possession of a majority in Parliament or Legislature—however overwhelmingly impressive that majority may be—does not insure any regime against any form of mass unrest or discontent. Nor can these be suppressed by highhanded administrative measures. The situation in Punjab and Gujarat reinforces this conclusion today and it is for the ruling establishment to realise that these and such other intractable problems can never be tackled or solved by the means and methods of the Emergency.

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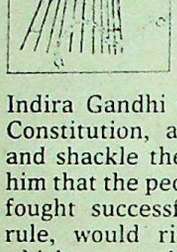
An Eye to the Emergency

By Kuldip Nayar



On 22 June, a day before the imposition of the Emergency, a correspondent of *New Statesman* came to visit me in the *Indian Express* office in Delhi. He asked me what would happen if Mrs Indira Gandhi were to suspend the Constitution, arrest her opponents and shackle the press. I simply told him that the people in India, who had fought successfully against foreign rule, would rise against a set-up which usurped their right to rule themselves. Two days later, when we were sweltering in the summer heat (cutting off the supply of power was for the government the most effective way of ensuring that the newspaper was not published) the same correspondent again dropped in to meet me and asked what would happen next. I did not reply to the question since I did not have an answer. For, no one had protested against the imposition of the Emergency. Whether the people were dazed or were unaware of the Emergency's implications, they appeared to have accepted it without demur. To make matters worse, on that day AIR had broadcast Mrs Indira Gandhi's remark before pressmen that not a dog had barked at the government's action.

So, I went to a few newspaper offices and to UNI where I had once worked, and asked journalists to assemble at the Press Club the following noon. Obviously, word had spread about the meeting because the next day the club's bar, the only spacious place there, was thronged by nearly 110 journalists from different newspapers including *Patriot*, which supported the Emergency and *National Herald*, which was owned by the Nehru family.

I placed before the gathering a resolution to condemn the press censorship and to urge the government to withdraw it immediately. Someone proposed an amendment to incorporate in the resolution the demand for the release of newspapermen who, I was told, had been detained in the last 48 hours. The amended resolution was passed unanimously. My proposal was to send the resolution to the President, Prime Minister and information minister—there was no objection to that. I announced that I was placing a copy of the resolution with the club's office secretary for anyone to sign. Except for nearly a dozen journalists, everyone present, including those from the *Patriot* and the *National Herald* signed the resolution—a document which I have preserved since.

I sent the resolution under my signature since I did not want the others to get into trouble. The police came to know of the gathering at the Press Club a day later and so did V.C. Shukla, who was by then the information minister in place of Inder Kumar Gujral. I had known Shukla from the days when he was a mere MP. He asked me to meet him. The day I met Shukla, the *Indian Express* had used my weekly column, "Between the Lines," under the heading, "No, Mr Bhutto No." The article talked about Bhutto's dictatorial rule and said that there was no personal or press freedom in Pakistan and that critics were picked up by the police at dawn. If one were to replace Bhutto's name with Mrs Gandhi's, the article told the story of her authoritarian rule. I had done it purposely. Shukla told me that the government was no fool and that it understood what I had tried to convey. He said that Mohammed Yunus had told him to arrest me. In my reply I said that I did not know that things in India had come to such a pass that they could be compared with those in Pakistan. We ceased to be friends after that day and we have avoided each other since.

A few days after my meeting with Shukla, I met Justice Iyengar, then chairman of the Press Council of India. I was a member of the council and I wanted him to convene a meeting of the council to discuss the press censorship. He opposed the idea and said that no useful purpose would be served by it. His argument was that there would be no publicity and none would even know whether the council had condemned the censorship. I insisted on his calling at least the local members to feel their pulse. Ultimately, the local members met. They were not willing to go to the extent of criticising censorship, although some of them did feel unhappy about it. I was insistent and pointed out that posterity would one day condemn the Press Council for not speaking out, since it had been constituted to uphold the freedom of

Houses and shops demolished at the Turkman Gate area during the Emergency

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the press. I told them that it was a question of conscience and not of publicity. My entire speech was reported to the government, word for word. I later learnt that Justice Iyengar had written to Shukla: "You remember I spoke to you about the desire of some members to have a meeting convened for the purpose of discussing the Emergency and censorship. I had an informal meeting with the Delhi-based members and I was able to convince them that this is not necessary or desirable. So this will not figure in the agenda of any meeting that is being called."

I pursued the matter with the then Prime Minister. I wrote Mrs Gandhi a letter, criticising the censorship imposed on the press and replying to a statement she had made that the press had instigated the opposition in the country.

The letter is as follows:

Dear Madam Prime Minister,

I do not think that you are correct in saying that no pressman has ever criticised JP or his call to the armed forces. Leading newspapers have taken him to task for his observations. I am sure that some of those comments must have been put up to you.

Similarly, the allegation against the Press Council for not protesting against scurrilous writings is wrong. As a member, I can say that (the editor of) the Organiser has been reprimanded for the irresponsible article he wrote against you and your family. The announcement of the judgement was unfortunately delayed because of long, cumbersome procedures.

You will probably concede that the leading papers have given their unstinted support to the government in its drive against communalism. Their complaint is that the administration is soft towards communal elements. The Press Council has also warned many papers for carrying "communal" and "parochial" writings.

If newspapers have criticised the government, it is largely because of its sluggish administration, slow progress in the economic field and the gap between promise and performance. If I may say so, even when the government has a case it does not know how to put it across. For example, your letters on administration were never released, odds and bits had to be picked up from here and there for publication.

Madam, it is always dificult for a newspaperman to decide whether he should tell. In the process of doing so he knows he runs the risk of annoying somebody, somewhere. In the case of the government, the tendency to hide and feel horrified once the truth is uncovered is greater than in any individual. Somehow those who occupy high positions in administration, labour under the belief that they and they alone know what the nation should be told, how and when, and they get annoyed if any news which they do not like appears in print. But what is not realised is that such methods decrease the credibility of official assertions. Even honest claims of the government begin to be questioned.

Abu on the Emergency

In a democracy, where faith stirs people's response, the government cannot afford to have even an iota of doubt raised about what it says or does.

In a free society, and you have repeatedly said after the Emergency that you have faith in such a concept the press has a duty to inform the public. At times it is an unpleasant job, but it has to be performed because a free society is founded on free information. If the press were to publish only government handouts or official statements, to which it has been reduced today, who will pinpoint lapses, deficiencies or mistakes?

I often read what Nehru told the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference on 3 December 1950: "I have no doubt that even if the government dislikes the liberties taken by the press and considers them dangerous, it is wrong to interfere with the freedom of the press. By imposing restrictions you do not change anything, you merely suppress the manifestation of certain things, thereby causing the idea and the thought underlying it to spread further. Therefore, I would rather have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom than a supressed or regulated press."

The type of censorship which has been imposed today will kill initiative, free inquiry and ultimately free thinking. I am sure you do not want that to happen.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Kuldip Nayar

Her reply, sent through her adviser on publicity, Mr H.Y. Sharada Prasad, said:

Dear Shri Nayar,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of 16 July. The very fact that all these (nine and a half) years she did not react even to the most false and vicious personal attacks on her shows the Prime Minister's own extraordinary tolerance of criticism. If censorship was introduced in the last few weeks, it is not because of any personal or governmental hypersensitiveness but because certain newspapers had become a part and parcel of the oposition front. When these parties had to be prevented from carrying out their plans to disrupt national life, their principle organs of propaganda had also naturally to be restrained from stirring up trouble. Restrictions on the press have indeed contributed to the situation being under control in the last few days. Freedom of the press is part of the personal freedoms which in any country are temporarily abridged in times of national Emergency.

That apart, the press as a whole has been remarkably ineffective in preventing abuse of press freedom, whether it is scurrilous writing or spreading downright falsehoods. You have cited a few random instances of how the Press Council and a few newspapers have tried. Would you say their action has had impact?

As regards how much a newspaperman should tell, which you have said is a difficult decision, the Prime Minister would only say that not all of them have taken their decisions with responsibility or even respect for the facts.

Yours sincerely,
H.Y. Sharada Prasad

Within 24 hours of the receipt of Mr Sharada Prasad's letter, the police knocked on my door. I was detained at Tihar Jail, Delhi, without trial.

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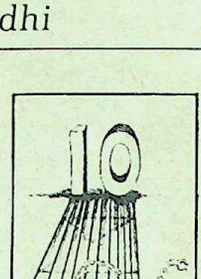
The Knight of the Emergency

Khushwant Singh explains why he supported the Emergency and what he admired in Sanjay Gandhi

Sanjay Gandhi: hero of the Emergency



I supported the Emergency but criticised censorship imposed on the press. If conditions which preceded the imposition of the Emergency were to obtain again, I would support its re-imposition but criticise it if it included restrictions on the freedom of the media.

I supported Sanjay Gandhi. I concede that he was very rough in his ways but what he did, in the very short period he wielded power, was for the good of the nation. It is a pity he did not live long enough to see the fruition of many of his projects.

Why I supported the Emergency

Democracy has a few fundamental rules which if disregarded not only spell the death of democracy but also lead to chaos. One of these fundamental rules is that men and women chosen by the people must be allowed to function freely. The opposition has every right to agitate in the legislatures and in the streets, if necessary; it can call for strikes and *bandhs* provided they are not coercive and do not involve violence. There are, however, limits beyond which such agitations should not go. Preventing elected members of municipalities, district boards, Vidhan Sabhas and the Parliament from discharging their duties as representatives of the people is clearly crossing permissible limits. It may be recalled Jayaprakash Narain took over the Gujarat students' agitation and tried to magnify it into an all-India movement against the states and the central government. I had great admiration for Jayaprakash Narain and fully supported his call for a total revolution to eradicate corruption from the body politic.

But when he exhorted his followers to *gherao* members of legislatures and prevent them from entering

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state Assemblies, I felt that he was no longer playing the game according to the rules. I wrote to him protesting against it. He wrote back justifying his stand. I published his letter in *The Illustrated Weekly of India* but maintained that he was wrong. But then the law and order situation in the country had also deteriorated and lawlessness was widespread. In Bombay, on several occasions, processionists going along the road smashed up cars and plate-glass windows of stores. Holding up trains and buses became a daily occurrence. Schools and colleges remained closed for several weeks. Clearly no government worth the name could tolerate this for too long. Jayaprakashji himself played into the hands of the government. It may also be recalled that when the Emergency was first imposed it was generally acclaimed by the people. Law and order was restored with an iron hand.

Censorship on the press was wholly uncalled for. I protested against it as vehemently as I could and did not bring out issues of *The Illustrated Weekly* for three weeks till I was ordered to do so—or quit. I decided to stay but for the next six months did not publish a single photograph of Mrs Gandhi. I made it clear that while I supported the arrest of Jayaprakashji and other opposition leaders, condemned the violence instigated by George Fernandes, I could not do so as a free editor and whatever I wrote had lost credibility. I met Mrs Gandhi and pleaded with her to remove censorship on the press. She remained adamant and kept repeating: "There can be no Emergency without censorship on the press." The *Illustrated Weekly* kept up its campaign against censorship and at one time S. B. Chavan, the then chief minister of Maharashtra, imposed a pre-censorship order on it. Nevertheless, I continued publishing articles by critics of the Emergency like Nani Palkhiwala, Soli Sorabjee and A. G. Noorani.

There is little doubt that after a few months, the administration began to misuse powers conferred on it by the Emergency to make arbitrary arrests and harass law-abiding citizens. The goodwill generated by its initial imposition was soon frittered away and a mood of vengeance generated. This found expression in the disastrous defeat Mrs Gandhi met in the general elections that followed. I recall meeting her a few days later and she explained the debacle in one sentence: *Feed back nahin tha* (there was no feed back)." I could not help retorting, *"Indiraji, feedback kaisey hota? Aap nay to press pe taaley lagaa diye they*—how could there have been a feed back? You had muzzled the press."

A Congress rally in Delhi in support of the Emergency

Why I supported Sanjay

I was with Sanjay in his ups and downs. I first got to know him when he was trying to make his Maruti. He had been viciously attacked in the press and the Parliament, for having acquired land at throwaway prices near the Palam airport runaway. Bansi Lal, the then chief minister of Haryana, had been quoted as having allotted the land to him to please Mrs Gandhi—*bacchrey ko pakar lo to apney aap chalee aye gee*(if you catch the calf, its mother is bound to follow).

I investigated the charges and found them to be false. Although I drove his first Maruti I had no illusions of his being able to get the plant going: it looked more like a village smithy than the Assembly plant of General Motors which I expected to see. It was one of Sanjay's great failures.

My coming to his defence when there was no one else in the media to say a kind word about him, gave a base to our relationship. It matured from friendly acquaintance to friendship which was further strengthened after I got to know his wife, Menaka, and her mother, Amtesh Anand. What I came to admire most in Sanjay was his forthrightness and his guts. He also had his priorities right and had the courage to take unpopular measures. He felt that the exploding population was the greatest menace to India's prosperity and if people were not amenable to reason, they had to be coerced to toe the line. What he did was right. What his minions did to implement his commands was often unjust and cruel. His detractors got the largest mileage out of the compulsory *nasbandi* drive. Even they will admit today that Sanjay was right and we will soon have to make sterilisation and abortions of parents with more than two children compulsory—or court disaster.

Sanjay had two other enthusiasms which I heartily shared with him: slum clearance and tree-planting. There is no way of clearing slums and unauthorised constructions than to bulldoze them. This is what Sanjay ordered and in turn earned the odium of all who talk about it without having the slightest intention of doing anything. Sanjay was a doer. It is now being realised that the very people who had been forcibly evicted from the slums and moved to new townships in the suburbs and those who cursed Sanjay then, now bless his memory and are the staunchest supporters of the Congress party in Delhi. The capital remains the greenest city of the world because Sanjay planted hundreds and thousands of trees in every locality he built. What more could one ask for from a young man of his age who was given so short a lease of life to fulfil his dreams?

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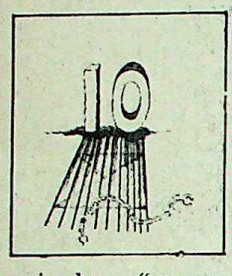
A State of Fear

The slogan Garibi Hatao *was exploited to justify the excesses of the Emergency, argues Rajni Kothari.*



The Emergency was without doubt a disgrace to this country. Those who imposed it and justified it may have thought of it as a temporary episode, a "strong medicine" administered to deal with a transient problem occasioned by a court verdict. I do not think they fully realised what a shattering blow they were dealing to the fine balance not just of the polity but of an ancient civilisation that was gradually acquiring a new personality to deal with new challenges. It was a blow from which the country has not yet recovered. For it left behind tendencies that have if anything gained ground. Whether we will ever recover will depend on how carefully and fully we derive our lessons from this simple fact that the Emergency did take place and that we allowed it to take place so casually.

It was not the imprisonment of party leaders and a few dissidents or the subsequent atrocities on the poor and the torture of some people in jails that were the worst acts committed during the Emergency. Such violations of fundamental rights have taken place on a large scale both before and since the Emergency, and have in fact got worse since. That is not the point. It is rather the deeper and more basic violations of the democratic spirit and the attempt to legitimise a new type of regime and new criteria of allocation of rights and obligations that were more central to what the Emergency was about. It was the abrogation of any sense of boundary or restraint in the exercise of power, and the striking growth of arbitrariness and arrogance with which citizens were turned into subjects that was at issue. It was a state off-limits, a government that hijacked the whole edifice of the state, a ruling party and leader who in effect treated the state as their private estate. These attitudes still persist. It was the imposition of a highly concentrated apparatus of power on a fundamentally federal society and the turning over of this centralised apparatus for personal survival and family aggrandisement. It was one big swoop overtaking the whole country spreading a psychosis of fear and terror with the new upstarts (Sanjay and all) storming away through whatever came their way, pulling it all down and calling boo to it all. And it happened in this country after 29 years of democratic functioning.

Far more pertinent than this act of imposition of an Emergency regime is the manner in which the nation almost capitulated, to a man, with so few exceptions in such a vast land. There were no doubt protests. There was that smart tiny advertisement in the *Times of India* announcing the death of democracy, packaged as a condolence message. There was Gaur Kishore Ghosh shaving off his head in a similar symbolic act of grief and also of shame. These were individual acts of both courage and imagination. The rest was routine: the newspaper blanks or excerpts from Gandhiji and Nehru for the first few days, a few pamphlets from the underground, a few highly critical articles in some periodicals or lectures in some academic places—until such simple expressions were also not permitted. While the mass of the people were under a hush even on bus trips, a few hundred boys and girls in Delhi University shouted slogans and courted arrest every day, to be let off soon thereafter, for a couple of months. And while the Supreme Court of the country gave in, judges in a couple of High Courts delivered some "historic" judgements. All these were individual "heroics" which is all that these individuals could do. But they hardly had any great impact on the course of things.

On the other side was the intimidation and torture of dissenting individuals, ransacking of their homes and harassment of their relatives. Stories of these episodes and other adventures of the powers-that be became an important pastime. Everyone wanted to know what was going on. The bulk of the supposedly conscious citizenry had buckled under. The few academics who felt concerned (the bulk had either walked over or remained tightlipped) were found huddled together, exchanging their precious bits of information or weaving grand theories on human oppression—only another pastime really. As for the press, censorship from above was strengthened by self-censorship. And the judiciary, that other presumed citadel of democracy, had simply sold itself shamelessly. As for the politicians, they took time recovering from the shock of their imprisonment but soon got tired of prison life and many of the more prominent among them were found trying hard to get closer to Mrs Gandhi.

Now such a timid and supine response to a simple civilian act of declaring an Emergency (the army was nowhere in the picture) needs to be explained. I am not prepared to believe those cultural psychological explanations of how Indians are by nature timid or that they always defer to authority and accept whatever *sarkar mai-baap* does, or that politics is so remote to them that they do not really care. The fact of the matter is that something like the Emergency had long been in the making but as we did not see it unfolding over the years, when it finally did take place we were too shocked for words or deeds. It began with the deliberate and wanton undermining of institutions after Indira Gandhi's assumption of the mantle of the saviour of the poor. Indira Gandhi joined this populist spree, including almost all the parties (some by being cornered, no doubt), the new modernisers and managers who were convinced that the Congress was an encumbrance and that the need was to strengthen the bureaucracy instead, the key "advisors" who thought the bureaucracy was too cumbersome and built the Prime Minister's secretariat on top of it, the economists and social scientists who wanted "hard" decisions to be taken by the PM and all those fans of the Nehru dynasty, including the left intellectuals who had always had romantic notions of curbing peoples' liberties, and, above all, it included the masses themselves who were really taken for a ride by the rhetoric of *garibi hatao*—with suchwide support, the tradition of dissent got

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weakened and was marginalised. The line that the new Congress under Indira Gandhi was a party of the poor and that any and every populist measure it took or indeed every institutional space that it destroyed was for the welfare of the masses was sold hook, line and sinker. It was a stunning success. And it was heady success at that. Parliament, the party system, federalism, academic freedom, independence of the judiciary were all sharply devalued and their place was taken first by a supra-bureaucracy and then by the dynasty. There was little by way of resistance. The illusion persisted that we still had a democracy going. Evidence that it was becoming mere icing on a structure full of decay and fraud was brushed aside. So that when the end finally came, there was little to fall back on. And there were not many you could carry with you.

Such a build-up towards the Emergency should receive as much reflection and soul-searching as the actions taken in the wake of the Emergency. Unfortunately this has not taken place. It should be done at least now, when the shadow of Indira Gandhi has been lifted and there could be, who knows, a chance for new thinking to bear fruit. Such new thinking must counter many a pet theory of modern statecraft that came to the surface with the legitimisation of authoritarian politics during and since the Emergency. Four of these need special mention. First, removal of poverty can justify any means. Second, stability and order are not just necessary prerequisites of a society engaged in change, they ought to be accepted as having priority over change. Third, in a situation of so much change only the state can provide protection against internal and external threats and for this reason the state has to be thought of as superior to civil society and having a higher intelligence and morality, hence as having the right to arm itself with the most Draconian of statutes and laws. And finally, dissident forces and grassroot movements, not being fully supportive of the government, are to be seen as disruptive of national unity and as national unity came first the government was justified in using the Draconian statutes and laws against them.

Such a spectrum of ideas was spurred by the Emergency and even more the political culture that produced the Emergency. These ideas are still in vogue and may get a new lease on life unless they are forcefully countered and delegitimised. As we reflect over the Emergency ten years later and draw our lessons in a manner that it happens "never again." It will not do to simply repudiate the Draconian laws and dictatorial methods that were adopted after the Emergency. We will also need to repudiate perverse populist and Stalinist beliefs, to vow to restore the political process in its fullness, to revive the institutional and infrastructural bases of the democratic process, to so conduct our affairs that the processes of power and decision-making are widely dispersed. And to do all this by re-establishing dialogue in politics—the supreme casualty of the last 15 years of national disarray.

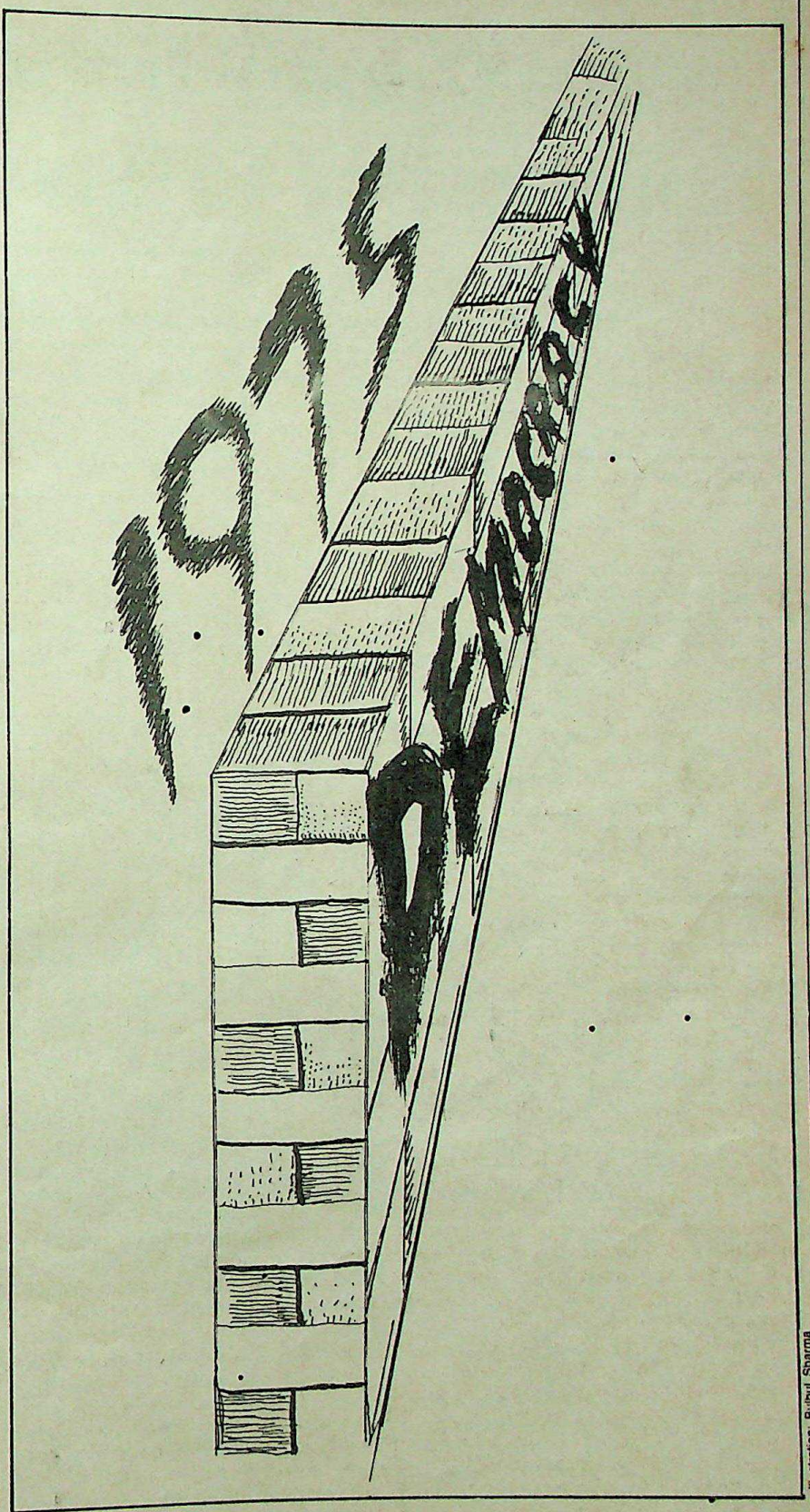

Illustration: Bulbul Sharma

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COVER STORY

'Mrs Gandhi Imposed the Emergency to Save Herself'

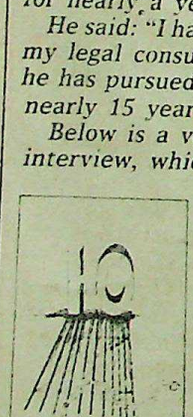
Justice J.C. Shah, who headed the one-man commission to enquir into Emergency excesses, told Kuldip Nayar

Ten years ago, a one-man commission, headed by Justice J.C. Shah, was appointed by the Government of India to look into the allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed during the Emergency proclaimed on 26 June 1975. I went back to Mr Justice Shah's modest office in Bombay to find out if he could make any change in the three-volume report, were he to start the enquiry all over again. No, he would not change even a comma and he believes that Mrs Indira Gandhi imposed the Emergency only to stay in power after the Allahabad High Court judgement had unseated her because of corrupt election practices.

During an hour-long interview, Justice Shah spoke without the help of any note, which was remarkable—when he held the inquiry in 1975, he was turning 70 and now he is turning 80. He had no regrets. And he did not accept any remuneration for the commission's work, which continued for nearly a year.

He said: "I have been all right with my legal consultancy," a job which he has pursued since his retirement nearly 15 years ago.

Below is a verbatim report of his interview, which is recorded.



Q: Justice Shah, do you know that your reports on the excesses during the Emergency are not available?

A: Yes, the government has withdrawn the reports.

Q: Didn't you also have the proceedings tape-recorded and handed over to the archives? Have they been preserved?

A: I have no idea. In order to facilitate the work, instead of recording every word being said it is better to tape, so that I could finish three days' work in one day.

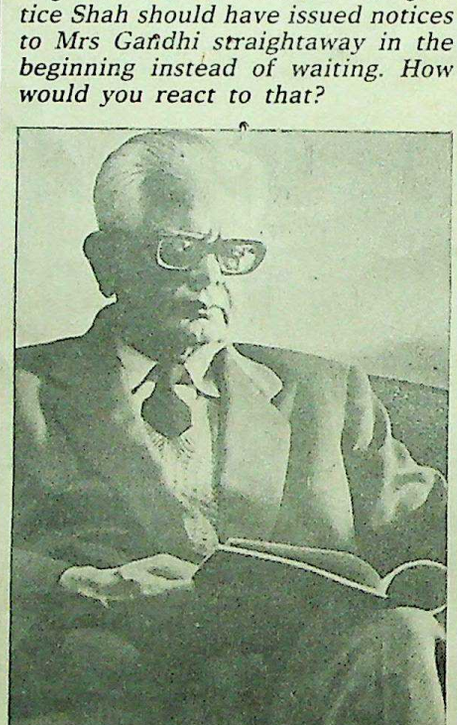
Q: If one were to take you back to 1975 and make you start the enquiry all over again, would you have gone about it in a different way?

A: It is difficult to say; my work was purely investigatory in the sense that on the facts placed before me I had to reach conclusions as to what facts were reliable and what were not and draw my inference.

Q: Have any new facts come to your knowledge since then?

A: I have not tried to keep track of it.

Q: One criticism made is that Justice Shah should have issued notices to Mrs Gandhi straightaway in the beginning instead of waiting. How would you react to that?



J.C. Shah

A: Until I had clear evidence before me, I certainly could not have issued a notice to anyone. I requested her appearance. Several people were asked to come and they came.

Q: But she did not.

A: No, she came. She was present in the commission room. I asked her to give evidence. I believe her lawyer said that all that evidence against her be taken first and thereafter she would give evidence. I said it was for me to decide what the sequence would be.

Q: One of the terms of reference was the Emergency. You knew that she being the Prime Minister was connected with it. So, why this legal fiction?

A: I could not proceed on name, hearsay, things which I have come to know apart from the evidence.

Q: You have no doubt that Mrs Gandhi was guilty. Would you say that?

A: Well, whatever findings were reached were on the basis of evidence.

Q: How did you go about the enquiry?

A: There were nearly 40,000 complaints received and in order to investigate all the 40,000 complaints, it would have taken 100 years. Therefore, I suggested that subordinate commissions be appointed to investigate cases of local importance and I retained about 100 cases. On my recommendation, subordinate commissions were appointed.

Q: Did you have anything to do with the subordinate commissions?

A: I had nothing to do with them; nor could I have supervised their working.

Q: What did you deduce from the evidence you collected? Why did she impose the Emergency?

A: The conclusion appears in the absence of any evidence given by Mrs Gandhi or anyone else that the one and the only motivating force for tendering the extraordinary advice to the President to declare an internal Emergency was the intense political activity generated in the ruling party and the opposition, by the decision of the Allahabad High Court declaring the election of the Prime Minister invalid on the ground of corrupt election practices.

(In his report, Justice Shah has said: "But Mrs Gandhi in her anxiety to continue in power, brought about instead a situation which directly contributed to her continuance in power and also generated forces which sacrificed the interests of many to serve the ambitions of a few. Thousands were detained and a series of totally illegal and unwarranted actions followed involving untold human misery and suffering...")

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Q: But Mrs Gandhi said that democracy had got derailed and it has to be put back on the track. Were there some circumstances which necessitated the imposition of the Emergency?

A: There was no evidence of any breakdown of law and order in any part of the country, nor of any apprehension on that behalf. The economic condition was also well under control and had in no way deteriorated. There was not even a report of an apprehension of any serious breakdown of the law and order situation or deterioration of economic condition from any public functionary. The public records of that time, both secret and public, and newspapers spoke with unanimity that there was no unusual event or even a tendency in that direction to justify the imposition of the Emergency.

Q: In your findings you said that the imposition of the Emergency was a political decision which she took to save herself. Do you stand by that?

A: Yes. As an interested Prime Minister, she took the decision in a desperate endeavour to save herself from the legitimate compulsion of a judicial verdict against her.

Q: Did she not once walk out of the commission? What happened?

A: I do not know what happened but I was informed that she was arrested. I strongly protested to the Prime Minister (Morarji Desai) that this was something (which should) not be done. When you want the commission to look into the matter and enquire, then to start other proceedings creates problems.

Q: What was Morarji Desai's defence?

A: He said that he was not directly responsible for it and requested that I might continue. He gave me an assurance that it would not happen again.

Q: After so many years do you have second thoughts?

A: No.

Q: Did they try to harass you after Mrs Gandhi returned to power in 1980?

A: No.

Q: Did the government stop sending you briefs as it was doing earlier?

A: No. As a matter of fact, my entire practice since I left the Supreme Court is that of consultation; there has been no difference.

Q: Do you know that the police officers and others concerned with the commission were transferred, demoted or otherwise punished?

A: I was told that one of the officers was demoted or sent to some other job.

Q: But it was not one officer; they were quite a few.

A: I see.

Q: Don't you think something should be done to protect such officers? After all, the government entrusts them with a job and they do it.

A: There should be; they were not fishing on their own. They are required to perform certain assignments to bring the party to book.

Q: Didn't you make lots of recommendations to the government so that the misuse of police and official machinery did not take place again?

A: Yes, they are in my last report.

Q: Would you say something on the recommendation that the government machinery should be protected against politics?

A: I think everyone with the interest of the country in mind will agree with it. I do not think that the government has ever said that they profess any other principle. One of their public services, police, must be insulated against politics.

There was no unusual event or even a tendency in that direction to justify the imposition of the Emergency

Q: Would you agree with me that it is not happening?

A: Sometimes it doesn't. More than often now it is a personal equation; some officers may be able to stand up, many do not.

Q: Doesn't this make you sad?

A: Yes, it does. We have borrowed our political institutions and administration set-ups from the Britishers. Whatever may be their shortcomings, they left us a legacy of efficient government. And if we are to take lessons from them, we should take the lesson that public servants, whoever they are and whatever their rank, should be completely insulated from the politics of the country.

Q: Do you see this happening in Gujarat, Assam, Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir?

A: That is so; it causes pain.

Q: Didn't you suggest in your reports that the laws framed should be periodically reviewed so as to assess their utility?

A: What I suggested was that there should be some kind of agency or mechinism to review the laws from time to time.

Q: Did anything happen?

A: No. They do not have time even to apply their minds to the laws they are enacting much less to past laws. Often the laws are made on considerations which are ad hoc and not based on principles.

Q: Could you elucidate on your agency idea?

A: There should be a reviewing agency, either governmental or semi-governmental which keeps in touch with all the laws and suggest to the government the changes that are necessary in order to keep society abreast of developments.

Q: At another point, in one of your reports you have viewed with concern some of the secret operations of the intelligence bureau and the complete absence of in-built constraints subject to which they should function. What did you have on your mind?

A: It means that investigating agencies must have a free hand but their operations must be subject to supervision by higher authorities. And if they are not, then society suffers.

Q: Did you have a non-official agency in view?

A: Maybe an official agency and it is not necessary to have a non-official agency. In fact, because of the nature of things you cannot have a non-official agency supervising secret investigating agencies.

Q: Somewhere in one of your reports you said: "Without the awareness of what is right and a desire to act according to what is right there may be no realisation of what is wrong. During the Emergency, for many a public functionary the dividing line between right and wrong, moral and immoral, ceased to exist." What is your impression now?

A: Personally, in 1947 when we won our independence I thought that the people were on the springboard of jumping to a place among the first few nations of the world; that was because of a very strong inbuilt sense of morality in us, our efficient administrative system and a strong moral courage which we had I am sure. Gradually, all this has gone down. For many this is disappointing.

Q: Where did we go wrong?

A: I think all sorts of adventurers got into politics, not the people who wanted to serve the country but the people who wanted to serve their own ends.

Q: Do you believe that the Janata government was better?

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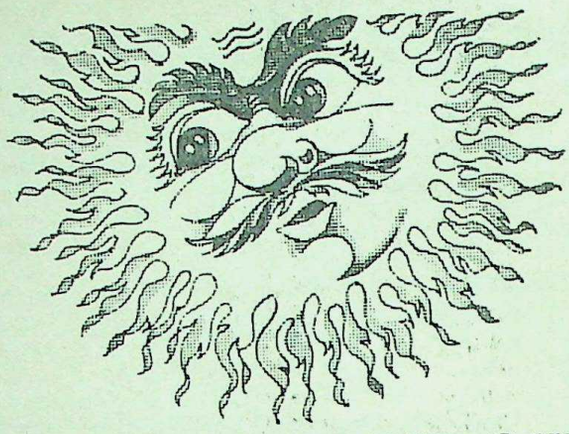

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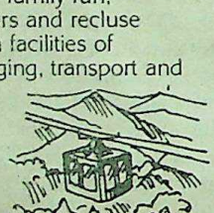

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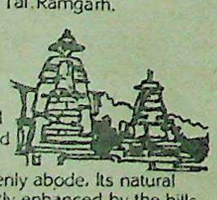

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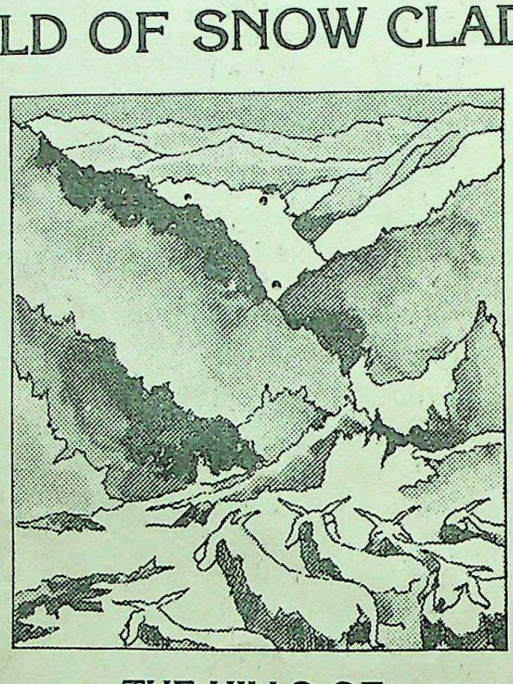

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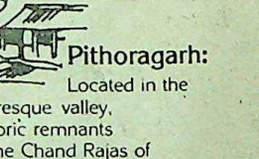

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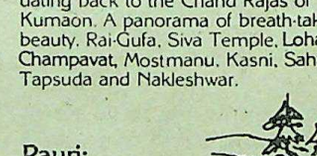

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A: Many things could have been corrected or put right but from the very first day their wranglings began.

Q: Do you think that they too indulged in many things which were no better than the doings of Mrs Gandhi?

A: Most certainly.

Q: Do you think that the country will ever break away from all these things?

A: All the time I have believed 'I will arise'; this is the promise the Lord has made to this country. Times will change. I do not forsee for this country a future (similar to the present).

Q: In your report you have laid stress on freedom of the press and...

A: No, freedom of the individual; primarily it is freedom of the individual; freedom of the press I regard as a by-product of freedom of expression.

Q: Beginning with freedom of the individual, how do you react to the recent anti-terrorist measures?

A: Certain extreme measures have to be taken on some occasions. No one can say that because it is a harsh measure it should not be enacted. Therefore, it cannot be said by itself that the anti-terrorist act is bad or repressive. It is really the administration of the measure which is more important than the act itself.

Q: But you saw how MISA was misused during the Emergency. If you give extraordinary powers to the executive it is apt to misuse them and not rule through normal laws. Would you still justify detention laws?

A: What you have said may provide the ground for incorporating in the act certain provisions which will protect individuals and their lives. And the courts should have the power to supervise appropriate cases in operation. By itself a harsh measure cannot be something which can be thrown out.

Q: And now freedom of the press. Do you feel at times that the press misuses its freedom?

A: Yes. There are all sorts of people who are also in the profession of journalism. Some are good, some maintain the highest traditions and some are bad. I happen to be the chairman of the *Statesman* board and I have tried to ensure that the *Statesman* maintains the highest standard of journalism and I believe we have been able to do so. But it cannot be said of all newspapers, especially of those which have been issued and circulated now. Personal considerations arise often. And it is not the larger interest of enlightening the people of what is happening but other considerations. News is published, distorted and a slant is given to the news.

Q: What would you suggest?

A: I believe that the education of the people all over will help.

Q: Do you have in mind some type of a code of ethics?

A: The code of ethics is there: the question is of ensuring that it is abided by.

Q: How does one ensure that the government does not bring about situations like the Emergency where the Constitution is suspended, the press shackled s he went up in a big *tics detained* courtesy Vishwa Ban-

A: There is se sole balloonist of force of the pe ding youngster had people, to ensu ming the country, put up with injure as the "new star ruler. horizon of India." It

Q: Would y of Russi Karanjia's *vigilance bodie* jay Gandhi's rise to

A: Our count us as history's own has to done by prayer," he exulted. seminars and le information minis- be general eduran Shukla, telling ndents, without any it n member of the 's family "has any tics." But there was ireaucrat telling the st correspondent: a *de facto* cabinet eir apparent." Or

In most of the votes a it cannot be said or all elections but of the majority.

and they must realise that putting up with injustice—you may not be a victim of it—is something which is evil and which must be resisted.

Q: But what can be the check on the government?

A: The government is nothing more than the representative of the people in a democratic country. The people form the government. And that is the question of educating the electorate to send the right type of people to the legislatures, not self-seekers.

Q: Do you think that universal franchise was a mistake?

A: Now it is too late. When the country was given universal franchise, many people thought that it was not a step in the right direction. And I think it has come true. In most of the elections the votes are purchased; it can't be said of all elections but the majority of them.

Q: Coming back to the Emergency, who was the most to blame for its imposition: Mrs Gandhi, Sanjay or Siddhartha Shankar Ray?

A: It is difficult to say.

Q: But after so many years, have you no doubt about Mrs Gandhi's complicity?

A: A state that calls, after the Prime Minister is unseated, that there should be an Emergency is something which is a shocking state of affairs.

Q: Did you ever praise the judge of Allahabad High Court for his bold judgement?

A: He must have satisfied himself. He had to depend on the appreciafettered by the dictatorship. In another courtroom not many months later I witnessed Bansi Lal in chains. The hatchet man of *l'emergence* hurling abuses at the magistrate, threatening that he would fix him at the earliest.

I remember how like a house of cards the great edifice had suddenly crumbled. The jostling crowd of pressmen that February afternoon at Jagjivan Ram's house. Democracy suddenly back with a bang. President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, who had signed on the dotted lines, had already crossed the Rubicon. And now Babuji had deserted the sinking ship. I remember that telling line of M.J. Akbar in *Ananda Bazar Patrika*: "She has lost both Ram and Rahim."

I also remember the afternoon when Indira Gandhi filed her nomination papers from Rae Bareili—the hour and minute set by her great pundits, all timed for certain victory. She had taken off for a hectic round of campaigning. The images come back so vividly—the flower bedecked dais at village Dasauti. More policemen than villagers. Acres of sipty barricades. Pot-bellied Con(tsmen wondering what had hapged to the "Indira crowds." One of *opposed the 42nd amendment to the Constitution, you should not have accepted the position. Would you comment on that?*

A: My criticism of the amendment of the Constitution was based on facts, legal and otherwise.

Q: Did you meet any minister during the sittings of the commission?

A: None; once I met the Prime Minister but only to protest against the arrest of Mrs Gandhi. In fact, I was all the time confined to Patiala House where I held the sittings and lived. Mine was a solitary confinement.

Q: Have you received any letters of appreciation from the public for the job you did?

A: Well, not letters. But while going on the road sometimes people meet me and say 'You are Mr Shah.' This is their way of expressing their appreciation.

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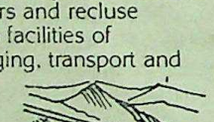

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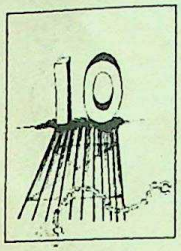
COVER STORY

The Emergency Montage

Janardhan Thakur recollects some incidents



What do I remember? There is no order or sequence to the images and memories which crowd in across the passage of years. I remember the heady days of the Bihar movement, the ocean of faces at the rallies of Jayaprakash Narain, the old leader marching across Patna's Gandhi Maidan through bursting teargas shells, the flash of the police *lathi* coming down on his frail shoulder. I can even hear the click of Raghu Rai's Nikon as it captured that instant—'a moment's monument, a memorial to a dead deathless hour.'

I remember the hushed silence in the ticker room of the news agency as the reports of pre-dawn swoops slowly trickled in and the machines waited for more. Until just a few days before it had seemed the lady would be drummed out of political life in disgrace...There was the tongue-in-cheek editorial in a New York paper bewailing: 'How will we get along without her sermons on the evils of power and wickedness of wealth? It will be hard going without Mrs Gandhi, but we'll try, oh boy, we will try.'

How a sentence could change the course of history! A sentence spoken by a weary-looking High Court judge: "The election of respondent no. 1 to the Lok Sabha is declared void." One had never imagined as one watched the imperial lady in the witness box that Justice J. L. Sinha had it in him to do what he did. Perhaps he himself did not know that history had destined him to play a role.

I remember the huge billboards that had gone up in Delhi: "The leader's right, the future's bright," "Hard work, clear vision, iron will, strict discipline," "Talk less, work more." In the classified column of some heavily censored newspaper appeared the obituary of "Mrs Democracy, wife of Mr Freedom." And there was the great Bombay editor, Russi Karanjia saluting the "renaissance mind" of Mrs Gandhi, and the great Congress president Dev Kant Barooah intoning, "India is Indira and Indira is India."

I remember the thousands of faithfuls being carried in buses and trucks to show their "solidarity" with the "new empress of India." And I remember Kamagatamaru Nagar and the launching of the son of India, the roar of cheers as he went up in a big hot-air balloon, courtesy Vishwa Bandhu Gupta, the sole balloonist of India. The balding youngster had gone barnstorming the country, hailed everywhere as the "new star on the political horizon of India." It was the result of Russi Karanjia's prayers. "So Sanjay Gandhi's rise to power came to us as history's own answer to our prayer," he exulted.

I remember the information minister, Vidya Charan Shukla, telling foreign correspondents, without any provocation, that no member of the Prime Minister's family "has any interest in politics." But there was also a senior bureaucrat telling the *Washington Post* correspondent: "Sanjay is both a *de facto* cabinet minister and heir apparent." Or "something between the crown prince and the lord high executioner," as J. Anthony Lukas of the *New York Times* was told by another high-ranking officer.

I remember the confusion about the "dual role" of Sanjay Gandhi—as the power behind his mother's throne and a merchant doing business from a stall in front of it. I remember this was all blasphemy. To quote even Gandhi—the Mahatma—on censorship was forbidden. I remember the pathetic looking censors trying to look high and mighty. Sitting with stiff upper lips, running blue and red pencils through innocuous copies, passing lethal ones that went right over their heads.

I remember the bejewelled Rukhsana Begum on her *nasbandi* campaign. Wafting her fragrance through the lanes of old Delhi, dolled up as though for a film set. I remember the bulldozers knocking down the homes around Turkman Gate. The wailing women, the shrieking children. I remember M.F. Husain's mural depicting Indira Gandhi as the goddess Durga riding a lion...and George Fernandes in handcuffs and chains, telling the court that the chains were symbols of the nation fettered by the dictatorship. In another courtroom not many months later I witnessed Bansi Lal in chains. The hatchet man of *l'emergence* hurling abuses at the magistrate, threatening that he would fix him at the earliest.

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I remember Mrs Gandhi going up the dais and looking around with a big frown on her face. "Why are the crowds so poor?" she asked chief minister Narain Dutt Tewari. For a moment Tewari was speechless, and then said: "Er, the villagers seem to have gone for lunch." What an explanation! She must have known better. Certainly on 20 March 1977.

I remember the testament of that old Sarvodaya worker, Prabhakar Sharma, who set fire to himself rather than live under the tyranny of Mrs Gandhi. "Will your MISA apply even to God?" his testament had asked Mrs Gandhi. "If not, let me tell you that when you leave your sinful body your stooges will not be there to aid you."

What more is there to remember?

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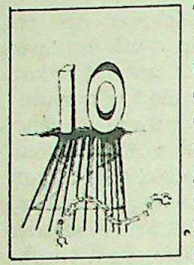
The Good, Bad and Ugly

Uma Vasudev examines the effects of the Emergency on the country's politics

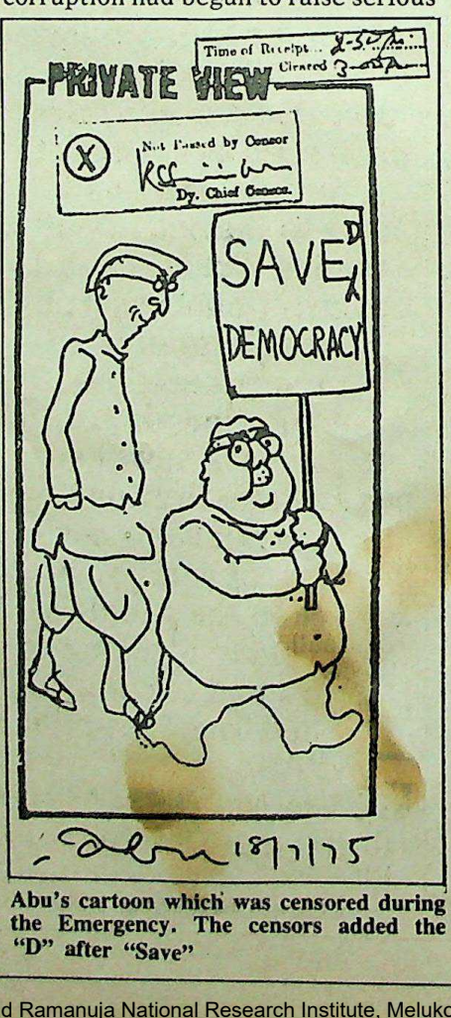


The Emergency, 1975-'77, turned out to be a necessary evil. It created a catalysis in political awareness. India grew up as a democracy because it realised what it could mean to lose it. It was shocked into adulthood. Nations are, after all, the sum total of individuals. Unless there is a profound, deeply felt, intense experience in the life of an individual, he or she does not grow up. Neither does a nation.

For an elite generation fed on democratic liberalism for 28 years of independence, the Emergency provided the first taste of authoritarian curbs on freedom of movement and speech. For the Indian masses fed on dreams of an egalitarian order it became their first experience of reform through state coercion, an imposition through sterilisation which hit them in their loins. Had the Indians been apathetic, passive, resigned and cowardly they might not have reacted with a passion that eventually overthrew a government and a party which they held responsible for such an aberration. But it was their capacity to reject the Emergency regime which proved that the lessons of democracy had been well learnt, that the Indians were not conditioned any longer by the fatalism ascribed to them traditionally to tolerate a hostile value system. It also proved that both the elite and the masses, though for different reasons, would not brook the methodology of institutional force to achieve political ends no matter what the benefits of discipline and planned order that would seem to accrue from it temporarily.

Secondly, it was again the Emergency and the hates it spewed that made a horrified people think of alternatives in political choice to the Congress that had so far dominated the centre. For the first time in 28 years the opposition was given a chance and was brought in to operate at a national level. Had its leadership shown a capacity for positive governance, the last ten years might have seen a radical change in India's political scenario. But this opposition, combined of disparate ideologies, failure-oriented, tired leaders, feudals, fadist and vengeful but with raging rival personal ambitions proved to be a child of hate, a direct offspring of the people's interaction with the Emergency. It showed that it carried over from the pre-Emergency period the agitational approach, the unconstitutional emphases and the flouting of democratic norms with which Jayaprakash Narain had given a momentum to his movement against Congress rule in late 1974. In fact, that is when the opposition lost the first opportunity to consolidate the functioning of a democracy.

1974 was the year when the euphoria of the Bangladesh victory, the enthusiasm that gave the Congress party a two-thirds majority in Parliament and the image of Indira Gandhi as the protagonist of *Garibi Hatao* were just about fading out. The aftermath of a drought and the hike in petroleum prices combined with party infighting and mounting corruption had begun to raise serious misgivings about the Indira government's capacity or desire to right the situation. Hope had yielded to discontent. There were only 15 months left for the next general elections in 1976. Instead of harnessing the people's growing disillusionment with the Congress party into a constructive opposition which could fight the battle of the ballot, Mr Narain himself chose all the short cuts that made nonsense of the norms and procedures that actually should have been reiterated, particularly by a movement claiming to build itself on moral values, to provide manure to what was only a young 27-year old plant of parliamentary democracy. He did not set out on a campaign to convince the people with argument. He incited them instead to lodge protests, undertake *gheraoes*, demand the recall of elected legislators and challenge the executive authority of the police and the discipline of the army. It was an unbelievable performance which was possible only under a Congress regime which had become slothful and complacent. Indeed, it was so easy and tolerant that it could not raise any serious apprehensions at the time that it would ever resist the verdict of the vote.



Abu's cartoon which was censored during the Emergency. The censors added the "D" after "Save"

In fact, so sick were people of inaction that when action came with desperate force to put down the Railway strike they even welcomed the ruthlessness with which it was done. But Mr Narain was an old man in a hurry. 15 months were too long for him to wait. In the process he succeeded in setting the fateful example for negative politics. He took Mahatma Gandhi's extra-constitutional methods which had been honed to fight an alien power in pre-independence India and began to use them against a duly elected government of his own people. This pushed a government into reacting with its back to the wall, got him and his supporters into jail for 19 months and India on the road to a systems break up from which it is even now barely recovering.

The fact that the promulgation of the Emergency came under a provision of the Indian Constitution did not make its impact, specially after the first six months or a year, less severe. Had it been lifted after six months it would have been seen as a

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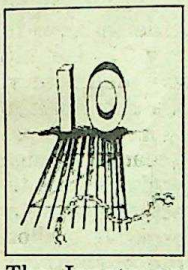
means to administer a quick shock to the body politic, the last but still valid constitutional resort by a beleaguered government. Its prolongation almost to two years however began to institutionalise its potential as a more permanent reality. That is when the people's simmering discontent threatened to come to the boil and Mrs Gandhi's own "discomfort" with the Emergency, as one of her colleagues has termed it, led her to release her opponents, lift the Emergency and call for elections. At least she did that. She went back to the people—whatever her motives. An individual is judged by the sum of his or her actions, as Sartre has put it succinctly. She not only went back to the people, she accepted her ignominious defeat and her party's rout at their hands and sat back to watch how the Janata Party would conduct itself.



The Janata aborted the birth of a national opposition party. The Emergency had initiated many wrongs and a style that rocked the boat of democratic functioning and soured individual dignity. The Janata compounded both.

Whatever was left of bureaucratic morale after the Emergency was shattered when two senior secretaries to the government were arrested in their offices in the manner in which they were and on charges which could not be substantiated. Personal vilification of the former Prime Minister, her family and whoever was left of her erstwhile colleagues who did not betray her, took such precedence in the Janata's programme of action that whatever was left of political delicacy turned vulgar. They had won such a vote of confidence from their electorate that they could easily afford to let a defeated opponent and a defeated party suffer the ignominy of an unprecedented rejection. But they sought her arrest on some count or the other. When the magistrate released her for lack of a viable charge, both the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai and the home minister Charan Singh, criticised the judge. So much for respect for the judiciary! Mr Desai's contempt for the intelligence services and his belief that there was no need to rely on an intelligence network put paid to an organisation which was already reeling under manipulative politics. In fact, the Janata did everything to see that the precepts of the Emergency were not for burning, only that they should be garbed in surface freedoms. The people, as in 1974, had again given them a chance to stabilise the democratic pattern. Again it was the leadership that failed.

It took less than three years for the vote to bring Mrs Gandhi back again. The electorate realised that they would prefer to have the bad they knew than the bad they had not bargained for. Mr Narain's negative politics were reaping their full harvest. The 1980 vote was not a happy vote. It was a vote of disgust against the Janata, a negative one. But it gave Mrs Gandhi another chance. It goes to her credit that she set about retrieving the situation. All the freedoms were assured. In fact, she was like one singed by fire. This showed in two ways from 1980 to 1984. Her decision-making became slow and guarded, and her attention turned outwards to the international sphere.

Mrs Gandhi made up for the lack of sanction to Sanjay's extra-constitutional authority during the Emergency by making him a participant in the elections in 1980 and by doing what she should have done at the very outset when she first allowed him to function in the political sphere—she gave him a role to play in the party organization. Sanjay's personality, however, was not such as could be neutralised even in a non-Emergency atmosphere, though there were indications that parliamentary responsibility was beginning to have its effect on him. It is interesting to note that though Sanjay died within six months of Mrs Gandhi's return to power the two factors that were associated with him from the Emergency onwards have become a living legacy. One is that with him began the era of the amateur politician. It was not so much the emphasis on youth but how they were brought in and on what grounds that determined the complexion of the new Parliament. The party functionary, born of grassroot foundations and the elective process had been at a discount for a long time. But party experience was still something that counted. That emphasis was changed.

Had the Emergency been lifted after six months, it would have been seen as a means to administer a quick shock to the body politic, the last but still valid constitutional resort by a beleaguered government. Its prolongation almost to two years however began to institutionalise its potential as a more permanent reality. That is when the people's simmering discontent threatened to come to boil and Mrs Gandhi's own "discomfort" with the Emergency led her to lift the Emergency.

Second is economic policy. Sanjay's sensational advocacy of private enterprise, in an interview to me, created a flurry of suspicion about Mrs Gandhi's own stand. She denied giving sanction to his views but events have shown that his call for less controls, freer play for market forces and competitive standards of functioning began to be followed, not only during and after his lifetime, and hers, but have also found full sanction under his brother's stewardship.

For the first time since 1971, however, the election that put Rajiv Gandhi in the office of Prime Minister was a positive one. It was a vote for, not a vote against, like that of 1977 which was against Mrs Gandhi and 1980 which was against the Janata. It has put the Congress on a dizzy peak with a majority in Parliament it has never known before and nobody to keep it on its toes than its own perceptions. Except, perhaps, the press. This again is a fall-out of the Emergency. Bursting at its seams with impatience under the controlled censorship of the Emergency regime, the press really cut all its cords under the Janata. It was an area of expression which grew from liberty almost to license in an explosive avowal of freedom till, finally, finding itself the lone, viable functioning voice of opinion it almost took on the role of the opposition.

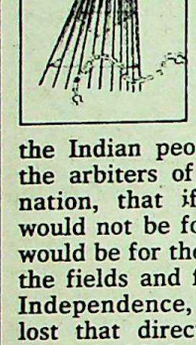
This vacuum has to be filled politically. This is the current challenge before the system. A parliamentary democracy without a national opposition, but with proliferating regional entities is a hard scenario for a new leadership. The advantage that Rajiv Gandhi has is that he has no hangups.

Uma Vasudev is a biographer of Indira Gandhi and editor of Surge International.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Misunderstood Messiah

JP was the true Gandhian whose ideas are relevant even today, writes Chandra Shekhar



There have been two great leaders in this country. The first was Mahatma Gandhi whose message was: be fearless and fight for the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi gave a new confidence to the Indian people—that they were the arbiters of the destiny of this nation, that if freedom came, it would not be for the chosen few, it would be for the millions who toil in the fields and factories. Then after Independence, unfortunately, we lost that direction and were confronted with desperation and frustration. And a time came, in 1975, when in certain streets young men rose in revolt. The agitation started in Gujarat and then spread to Bihar. One should always remember that neither the opposition nor the leaders in the opposition were responsible for sponsoring these agitations—it was the spontaneous reaction of the younger generation.

In spite of his failing health and his age, Jayaprakash Narain was the only person who could provide the leadership to the youth of this country at that time. If I may say, he was next to Mahatma Gandhi in inspiring confidence among the people and creating a sense of self-realisation among the Indian masses. Mahatma Gandhi had said that millions would recreate history and bring back the glory and prestige to the people of India. Jayaprakash Narain again infused the same spirit among the people, and his contribution cannot be forgotten by history.

If the history of India is to be remade, or society is to be transformed in favour of the toiling millions, we have no other option but to repeat Jayaprakash Narain's slogan: *Loksatta*—the people's power. The power of the people can be generated only if we identify people's problems and approach them at their own level. It is not from the corridors of power that the transformation of the people is possible, but by bringing about a change in the attitude of our people. For this, it is necessary to make them aware of their problems and the need to solve their problems by getting organised.

Unfortunately, both Jayaprakash

Police fire tear gas shells in Patna to disperse a procession led by JP (sitting under the umbrella)

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

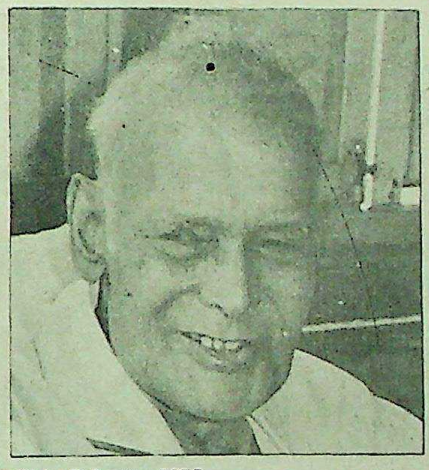
Narain and Mahatma Gandhi have been misunderstood by their followers. Mahatma Gandhi's followers today claim that he was worshipped by the people because he was a saint, an apostle of truth and non-violence. But I think, Mahatma Gandhi was essentially adored by the Indian people because he fought against injustice, inequality, oppression and tyranny. This was also the reason he got spontaneous support from the people. Jayaprakash Narain was very mild in his utterances; he was a man who always changed his position while searching for new ideas.

In 1975, when JP was launching his struggle and I was in the Congress, I tried to persuade the Congress leadership that we should not make mistakes in our assessment of Jayaprakash Narain. I told them that he was a man who was always changing and therefore people took him to be a vacillating personality. But as a man of action he was the most determined person. In 1942 when Mahatma Gandhi gave the "do or die" call, it remained a slogan for others but for Jayaprakash Narain, it was a question of life and death. The JP of 1932 who scaled the walls of Hazaribagh Central Jail was seen in a different light by the Indian people in 1974-75. The ruling party leaders had made a wrong move, they had thought that with the use of coercive power they could silence Jayaprakash Narain and beat down the movement that was inspired and led by him.

Even then I had pointed out that JP was not fighting for power, and power games cannot be used against such a person. But those in authority did not understand this reasoning. I told them that nobody could deter him from his path. I had warned them that we would have to pay a very heavy price if we did not reach a compromise with JP. For a country of India's size, power as well as moral authority is needed to rule it. And any opposition to JP would erode this moral authority of the party in power. The message of JP is relevant even today. People think just by acquiring political power, by hook or by crook, they can rule this country but they are repeating the same mistakes which they committed in 1974-75. Merely retaining authority is not enough. You can manipulate and win elections, you can acquire power and form the government—but you cannot rule the country until you are able to touch the hearts of the millions who work hard and are yet unable to meet the basic needs of life.

The Gandhian ideals, as seen by Jayaprakash Narain, should have been adopted by the politicians of this country. Unfortunately, not only has Gandhi been forgotten, but also the experience of Jayaprakash Narain as late as in 1974-75 met with the same fate. People seem to be in too much of a hurry to acquire power and reach new heights of glory and glamour. Individuals may achieve power for a short period, but for a nation it is not possible to achieve any meaningful prosperity and development unless it is able to enthuse millions to cooperate. Foreign help, modern techniques which we have copied from the west, and sophisticated technology are not going to help. But by putting all our people together, both small and big, we can create a new atmosphere of reconstruction in this country. This was the message of Jayaprakash Narain.

From time immemorial there has been a slogan: "Change yourself and the society will change itself." Every man should be pious, good and virtuous and the society will become more habitable. But in contrast,



JP in Calcutta, 1975

another slogan was given in the west: "Change society by any means and the people will be forced to change." This is what is happening in a large part of this world. But once again we saw that the people who led revolutions became thirsty for each other's blood and the goal of compassion and equality was not achieved. So Mahatma Gandhi said: "While it is essential to change oneself, we should also try simultaneously to change society." Gandhi's idea was adopted by Jayaprakash Narain in a different context. He said that means are essential, but we should not just be pious men or should not simply express pious wishes. If there is oppression and exploitation in society, we should stand up against it. We should try to struggle against social evils and exploitation. This can be done by the support of the people as a whole. A force has to be organised.

Our emphasis should be on the poorest man in society and the only programme should be the one that meets the needs of the people. Unfortunately, all this is forgotten today. There is only talk of big budgets and high technology. All this high technology is useless unless we are able to meet the basic needs of our people. In this country, we cannot talk of sophistication, when more than one lakh villages are without drinking water, 65 per cent of the population is illiterate, over 250 lakh uneducated young men and women are unemployed and where the backward classes do not lead a life of dignity. It is not possible to talk of high technology without giving them an assurance of a satisfactory life and a responsible living.

Whether it was in the field of economic policies, or in our attitude towards fighting injustice and exploitation—JP's ideas have been very relevant. But how many people remember JP? How many people are ready to face the ups and downs of life as JP faced them? If the goal is to acquire power then JP and Gandhi were both irrelevant because they never attained power and never occupied high positions in the government of India. But any Indian who has any knowledge of history will always remember that Mahatma Gandhi inspired the people to fight for the freedom of this country and Jayaprakash Narain inspired the younger people to fight for the values of democracy and for human dignity. These were the two great men who gave the people the confidence to build their future.

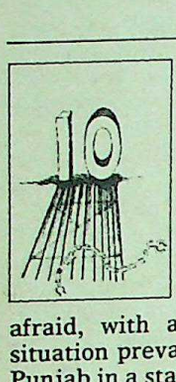
There is one incident concerning JP which I remember vividly. During the Emergency in 1975, when the agitators in Bihar wanted to use abusive language about the people in authority, JP castigated them and said that harsh language cannot change society. He pointed out that you have to change the outlook of those people who are uncared for and the illiterate. And to do this, it is necessary for you to identify yourself with them. Unless the people realise that they have to solve their own problems, no social transformation is possible in society.

JP felt that it should not be a few leaders, but the common men who should be organised to solve the problems facing the country. His emphasis was always on creating mass-awakening and not depending only on the authority of the government. We should, therefore, as a nation remember Jayaprakash Narain whenever the people's rights are being curtailed. JP did for the country and for human dignity what many martyrs have done in their lifetime.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

'We Are in Need of a Mini-Emergency'

R.K. Karanjia, editor of Blitz *and* The Daily, *told Olga Tellis*



Q: Mr Karanjia, as one of the veteran observers of the Indian scene, how do you see the country ten years after the Emergency of 1975-77?

A: We are back to square one, I am afraid, with an identical pre-1975 situation prevailing in Gujarat, with Punjab in a state of insurgency, Jammu and Kashmir unsettled as ever, the north-east on fire, the Assam and Nagaland police conducting a mini-war among themselves, the Sri Lanka-Tamil problem shaking the south and what have you. We are in need of a mini-Emergency.

Q: Aren't all these problems the fruits of wrong policies and the Machiavellian politics of Mrs Indira Gandhi and her clique?

A: Wrong policies, maybe yes. But I certainly do not see anything Machiavellian behind them, because right or wrong we cannot question the bonafides of a leader who paid for her convictions with her life.

Q: That she paid for her convictions with her life is one thing. But the point I am trying to make is that her policies created these situations.

A: I have, myself, put these questions more than once to Mrs Gandhi and her answer was that in a liberal democracy like India you cannot control your government or party to the extent that no Bhindranwale should appear. And Bhindranwale was really the creation of Zail Singh who was chief minister of Punjab. He rose from the contradictions between Zail Singh and Darbara Singh and was used by the former to pull down the latter.

Q: I do not think one can differentiate between Zail Singh and Indira Gandhi. He acted on her behalf to keep the state under her control.

A: You are free to hold your opinion but all I can say is that in a democracy and an open society there are many limitations.

Q: You seem to be making democracy and an open society an excuse or a scapegoat for Mrs Gandhi's failures. Are you indirectly saying that we need an emergency as you so often do?

A: I don't accept her regime as a failure and it has been praised as the golden period of history in all her obituaries.

Q: You don't really take obituaries seriously. Who ever speaks ill of the dead? The realities were what you just said in your first answer, all these problems from northeast to Gujarat.

A: Yes, but what about putting a man in space, going to Antarctica and a host of other achievements.

Q: None of these achievements are related to the economic problems that have led to poverty, squalor and subsequently led to riots and clashes between various groups. And what seems so bleak is the fact that Rajiv Gandhi is following in the footsteps of his mother.

A: What time has he had? Just three months and he has utilised this to the utmost advantage as far as major issues like Punjab are concerned. The Punjab issue is almost resolved with both Longowal of the moderate group and Joginder Singh of the extremist faction ready for talks. This is an advance from the way the situation existed at the time of Mrs Gandhi. Maybe there could be an emergency for a short while in the affected places, if only to give the new and inexperienced Rajiv government time to relax and sit back, think clearly and hammer out solutions to the half a dozen major crises.

Maybe there could be an Emergency for a short while in the affected places, if only to give the new and inexperienced Rajiv government time to relax and sit back, think clearly and hammer out solutions...

Q: Instead of an emergency would it not be better if Mr Rajiv Gandhi stayed home and concentrated on problems of the country, rather than go on foreign jaunts for his personal popularity.

A: These trips are not of his choice. They are relics of the past. The festivals of India in Paris and Washington were decided by Mrs Indira Gandhi. A government has to maintain its commitments and there is no way out of it.

Q: A responsible government could always cancel these trips. After all it is a question of priorities. And opening a festival is certainly not a priority when one considers the imperative need to tackle problems within the country.

A: Mr Gandhi might have been called a coward had he not gone because there were threats to his life. Besides, ever since independence we have maintained an international outlook. We have given supreme priority to the cause of peace and nuclear disarmament and this responsibility has now been imposed on Rajiv Gandhi by virtue of the fact that he is the chairman of the non-aligned community which has a direct interest in peace.

Q: Forgive me, but people like you and Mr Gandhi who have the best of everything and are untouched by the violence in the country can afford to give priority to issues like peace and nuclear disarmament. But what about those who are being killed, whose homes are being burnt and destroyed daily? Should decisions on these issues not be taken on a priority basis? What is the use of neglecting things till they get bad and then clampingan emergency in an illusory bid to solve them?

A: Of course, the government is doing its best on all these issues. The trouble is that a sequence of national crises piled one atop the other since he took over the reins of power amidst a holocaust—I'd say a

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

double holocaust, his mother's assassination followed by the massacre of sikhs—have really left Rajiv and his aides no time to sit back, think and plan. The result is some kind of an adhocism without adequate thought being given to the various challenges. I may be wrong, but I think a time-bound emergency—say, for three to six months—would create a climate for this kind of thinking.

Q: What kind of climate?

A: An enforced moratorium of all the present rioting, killing, violence and arson. Ahmedabad—indeed, the whole of Gujarat—provides an illustration. The Solanki government has been retreating step by step, surrendering to violence and terror: yet there is no sign of peace. If an emergency were declared, martial law proclaimed in the affected areas and the control of law and order situation handed over directly to the military, peace and normalcy could be achieved within 12 hours.Military presence has that kind of an electric effect. They don't have to shoot. They only have to show themselves and the job is done.

Q: How would you guarantee the restoration of democracy after an emergency? The last one lasted for two and a half years.

A: That was an exceptional situation with the Sanjay-Menaka gang having usurped power, but ultimately Mrs Gandhi realised that the Emergency had to end and she herself ended it by ordering general elections, even at the cost of the fall of her government. With a tried and trusted democrat like Rajiv in charge today, a temporary emergency covering areas of insurgency would be used for the benefit of the nation and not for any kind of personal survival.

Q: What do you mean by the distinction between national benefit and personal survival?

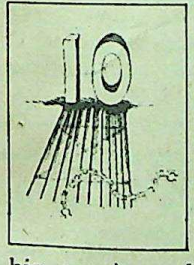
A: It has been suggested that the Emergency of 1975-77 was enforced to prevent the Indira Gandhi government from falling under the impact of the adverse Allahabad judgement and the pressure of the Janata movement led by Jayaprakash. Maybe that was true. Today there are no such pressures on either the Prime Minister or his party. They are well established with massive votes in the Lok Sabha as well as most of the state legislatures. The emergency is suggested, therefore, only to save the nation from such situations as are prevailing in Punjab, Gujarat and other places, where innocent people are being put to fire and gunshot, and not to help any individual or party to continue any unwanted regime. That is the difference.

Q: What about the press censorship which is inseparable from an emergency, however long or short it be?

A: I feel the best solution is to leave the press free to indulge in self-censorship as, when and where it becomes necessary. A great deal depends on the free press itself. We, of *Blitz*, never accepted either censorship or pre-censorship during the last Emergency: and we came out somewhat bloodied but certainly not beaten. Anyway, the emergency I am suggesting — and I would like to repeat this condition again and again—is a temporary one, restricted to areas of insurgency, like Punjab or Gujarat, and with no motive other than strengthening democracy with better plans and more positive solutions than are possible in the existing situation under pressure of continuing insurgency. Gujarat is an example of both the malady, the diagnosis and the solution recommended.

'Press Should Have Been Left Free'

Om Mehta, the union minister of state for home during the Emergency, told SUNDAY



Was this Om Mehta, the powerful minister of state for home affairs during the Emergency? The famous "Omji" Mrs Gandhi so relied upon? It was unbelievable, as Om Mehta walked into his spacious drawing room at 30 Feroze Shah Road, once buzzing with fawning courtiers and now deserted. Struck by Parkinson's disease and progressive muscle atrophy, Mehta is a ghost of his former self. He speaks slowly, very incoherently. After the expiry of his Rajya Sabha term in 1982, Mehta has been working as "adviser to Parliament," managing even in his present condition to go to Parliament almost everyday. But he shies away from public life, does not dabble in politics and is hesitant to go back in time, murmuring softly that it was the "unbearable mental pressures" that came with politics which contributed to his present disability. But coaxed a bit, he begins talking. The first thing, surprisingly, that he talks about are the excesses of the Emergency. "There were too many excesses, or why else did the Congress lose in 1977... too many excesses committed on poor, innocent people by small politicians and petty officials." Two of the most reprehensible acts of the Emergency that he recalls were the compulsory sterilisation campaign and the bulldozing of Turkman Gate. Om Mehta was in Mexico when the operation at Turkman Gate was ordered. "I was shocked to learn of it on my return..."

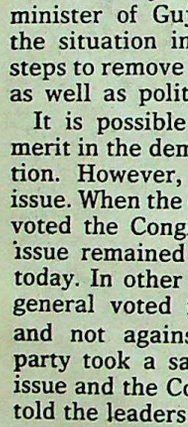
Another occasion he says, he tried to put his foot down was when the controversial sterilisation bill was being introduced in the cabinet. "*Sab ne haan mein haan mila di* (everybody gave his unqualified assent)," he says, "but I told Mrs Gandhi that this would harm us in future... nobody listened to me." What about censorship on the press? "Ah yes, yes. We should not have done it. The press should have been left free, *par us samay to...*" Mehta never once denies he was a part of that authoritarian caucus around the Prime Minister but his tasks, he says, were different. The duties Mrs Gandhi had entrusted him with were looking after the law and order situation in the country, convening the cabinet committee on anti-smuggling operations and managing the department of personnel. Under the third category came all the intelligence agencies and the essential services. Hesitantly, he claims to have done his duties well and then makes a mild comment on his erstwhile colleagues., "*Ab to sab hero ban gaye hain, us samay sabse badh chadhkar Emergency ki prashansa karte the* (now everybody has become a hero but at that time they were all praise for the Emergency)." Among those he named in this category was Jagjivan Ram. "*Cabinet meetings mein sabse aage aage wohi bolte the* (in cabinet meetings, it was he who spoke most enthusiastically)." And in his own department, he said, there was Brahmananda Reddi, the then home minister. Not one decision did he refuse to sign, says Mehta. One can almost see in this now vulnerable character, the feeling of guilt.

Sankarshan Thakur, New Delhi

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

A Lesson Forgotten

Shrikant Varma, AICC(I) general secretary, writes that the opposition is behaving as irresponsibly as it was before the Emergency



In one of my post-election briefings I had mentioned that the opposition parties mauled by public opinion and exiled by the electorate from the Parliament will now take recourse to street politics, which will be detrimental to the interests of the nation and the people. I didn't prove to be wrong. A couple of weeks after, an anti-reservationist movement was launched in Gujarat. Before the chief minister of Gujarat could examine the situation in his state and take steps to remove the anomalies, social as well as political, the stir began.

It is possible that there is some merit in the demand against reservation. However, that is a separate issue. When the electorate in Gujarat voted the Congress(I) to power the issue remained as relevant as it is today. In other words the people in general voted for the reservations and not against it. The Congress party took a saner attitude on this issue and the Congress leaders often told the leaders of the agitation that the issue could be discussed and some solution could be achieved. However, no one paid any heed to this appeal. On the contrary the agitation became more explosive. It was not a surprise to me. The complexion of the movement was entirely political. The demand to abolish the reservation was only a pretext, the actual leadership has passed into the hands of those opposition parties and adventurist elements who wanted to start the process of destabilisation. They chose Gujarat as their laboratory. What an irony that Gandhiji chose Gujarat for several of his non-violent experiments. Those who would not hesitate to swear in the name of Gandhiji have changed Gujarat into a laboratory for experiments in violence and killing. Everyday the newspaper headlines bring shocking news informing the people of the killings of innocent men and women. When the police assaulted a journalist the Congress party was quick in reprimanding the Gujarat police. Now, when the hooligans are indulging in wanton killings the conscience of the opposition has gone to sleep.

In fact it is a 1974-type stir. In 1974, the readers will remember, a similar agitation was launched. The young people and the students, with whom we never had any quarrel—and today also we don't have any quarrel with them (the truth remains it is the Congress party which can be described today as the party of the younger people)—were used by the opposition parties to destabilise the legally elected government. The same story is being repeated eleven years after the forgotten episode. To understand the total strategy of the opposition one must recall that after the destabilisation in Gujarat the scene was shifted to Bihar and then to other states, finally culminating in the call given by the late Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narain to overthrow Indira Gandhi's government. The peace-loving Sarvodaya leader wanted the help of the Indian army to remove Indira Gandhi from power although he was critical of the government of India when it came to the army fighting battles on various fronts on Indo-Pak borders, as a result of the war imposed on India by the dictatorial regimes in Pakistan.

Once again the opposition, although disarrayed, is at it. How is it that once again most of them appear to be indifferent towards Punjab?...It is strange that history is repeating itself.

The forces at work in 1974 wanted to create a situation of confrontation with the government at the centre and the states. And they succeeded in it. There was total confrontation between the government and the opposition. Life became impossible. As a result Emergency had to be imposed.

It was not a happy situation. Democratic process came to a halt, the entire opposition was put in jails and at the lower level the over-enthusiastic officials offended beliefs and the faith of the people. However, the question will forever remain valid, who created the situation where the imposition of Emergency became inevitable. And the answer would always be, it was the old and the tired leadership among the opposition who wanted power at any cost which made life almost impossible, inviting emergency.

Once again the opposition, although disarrayed, is at it. How is it that once again most of them appear to be indifferent towards Punjab? The saner elements among them have welcomed the initiative taken by the government towards arriving at a settlement on the issue of Punjab. The insane among them have gone to the extent of seeking support from the terrorists here as well as abroad. Those who follow the middle path are more interested in blaming the government rather than persuading the Akalis to negotiate with the government. It is a well-known fact the Janata Party leader, Chandra Shekhar wields considerable influence on the Akali leaders. He should have used his goodwill in the public interest, to convince the Akalis that the only option is negotiations. I am sure his advice would have been heeded by the Akalis not only because he has cordial relations with them but also because he is considered a man of integrity.

It is strange that history is repeating itself. Immediately after assuming power in 1980 Indira Gandhi gave a call for consensus. She described Punjab as a national problem. She sought the cooperation of the entire opposition to solve the problem of Punjab. She held several rounds of

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talks with them. Everybody appeared to be exercised over Punjab. However, no one had the guts to take the initiative to persuade the Akali leaders to sit across the table and solve the Punjab problem. They roared in Parliament as well—as though in the Ramlila Ground—but none of them pressurised the Akali Dal to initiate a dialogue with the government. I remember everyone blamed the government when the Hindu and Sikh leaders were shot in Delhi and Punjab. If only they had used their energies to discuss the matter in its entirety with the Sikh leaders in Punjab.

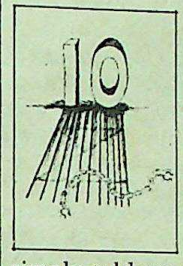
The situation remains the same today except that the Akali leadership has further been weakened and the real power has slipped into the hands of the terrorists. Still, I believe the Punjab problem can be solved, if only certain elements in the opposition would persuade the Akalis to agree to negotiate with the government. There are moderates among the Akalis. At the moment they are opposing the terrorists and the secessionists. Their hands should be strengthened. The government is taking every step to suppress the terrorists and to create an atmosphere of peace in Punjab as well as the adjoining states. However, any government would need the active support of the opposition in solving the problems of the magnitude of Punjab. The opposition in such a situation can function as a catalyst. The opposition may legitimately ask: Why should we do so? Already some opposition leaders have expressed their anger by commenting on why they should cooperate with the government when the Congress Party during the election campaign used strong language against them.

The answer is that no one (including the opposition) should forget that the country does not belong to any one party and should remember that national issues can be solved only with the cooperation of all. The opposition is in no position to say that the Congress Party has not given them the respect they deserve. Immediately after the Lok Sabha election results were declared, Rajiv Gandhi assured the nation that from now on consensus would prevail The opposition is meagre in numbers at least in the Lok Sabha. However, the Prime Minister has been listening to the opposition with great respect and regard. He has also been consulting them on almost all the national issues despite the fact that the Congress Party does not require any more quantitative support in the Lok Sabha. The party wants to resolve all the national problems without disturbing or banishing the opposition. It would not be impertinent to mention here that although there is substantial support for the Congress Party in Karnataka and Andhra, we have done nothing that may disturb the sleep of Shri Ramakrishna Hegde and Shri N. T. Rama Rao.

The country is passing through a critical phase. The problems of national importance can be solved with consensus and not by having recourse to confrontation. In fact this was the message of the recent elections. If any political party fails to respond to the voice of the people it will damage no one else except itself. As far as the Congress Party is concerned it will continue to seek the cooperation of all to solve these problems.

'When You Commit a Big Error You Have to Look Foolish'

Dev Kant Barooah, the former Congress president who proclaimed that "India is Indira, Indira is India," spoke to SUNDAY at his residence in New Delhi. Excerpts:



Q: You were one of the main Congress leaders during the Emergency...

A: People have that idea, but I never really supported it. Mrs Gandhi never even consulted me on the matter. She simply told me that she had decided to impose the Emergency. She had already talked the matter over with the President, when I was informed. I was not one of those who took the decision.

Q: What did you tell her then?

A: There was no need for doing anything like that. I told her we could fight them (the opposition) politically, down to every street. They were not so powerful then. The Congress was still strong. It is we who made Jayaprakash Narain so powerful.

Q: But you did remain with Mrs Gandhi, didn't you?

A: Yes, but I was one of the first to give a warning also. If you remember, I had given a statement only a few days after the Emergency was declared that it was to be used not with arrogance but with humility.

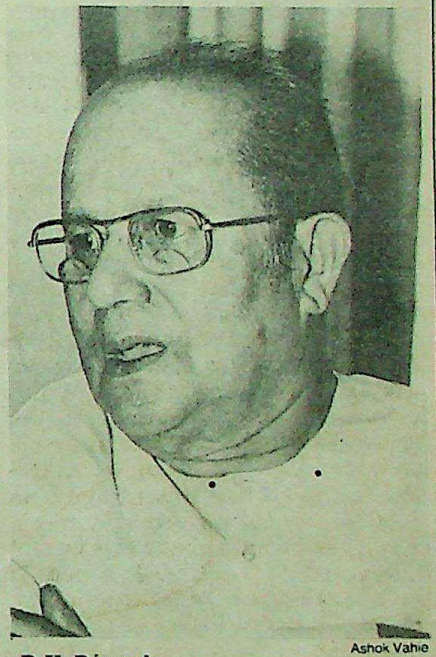
Q: Did it appear in the papers or did the censors...

A: No, no, it did appear in almost all papers of Delhi. I forget who had interviewed me, if I am not mistaken it was Prem Bhatia. I had told him this but I did not see it in the papers. Then I came to know that the censors were creating problems so I told them very sternly I had taken exception. Then the statement was published.

Q: You must have known of the excesses that took place during that period, did you speak your mind to the Prime Minister about this?

A: I was never in the administration. I was more concerned with the party. But, yes, I did tell things. What can you do when...And another thing is that the excesses were limited only to certain areas. In my state there were not many complaints. In Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh there were not many excesses. It was only a certain area in the north. That is why we did not lose in the southern states and Assam.

Q: Ten years after the event, how do you look back on the Emergency?



Ashok Vahie

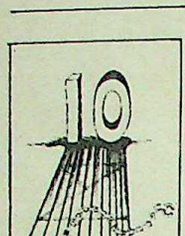
D.K. Barooah

A: (*Laughs*) What is there to look back on or say? When you commit a big fault, you have to look foolish.

Interviewed by Sankarshan Thakur, New Delhi

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

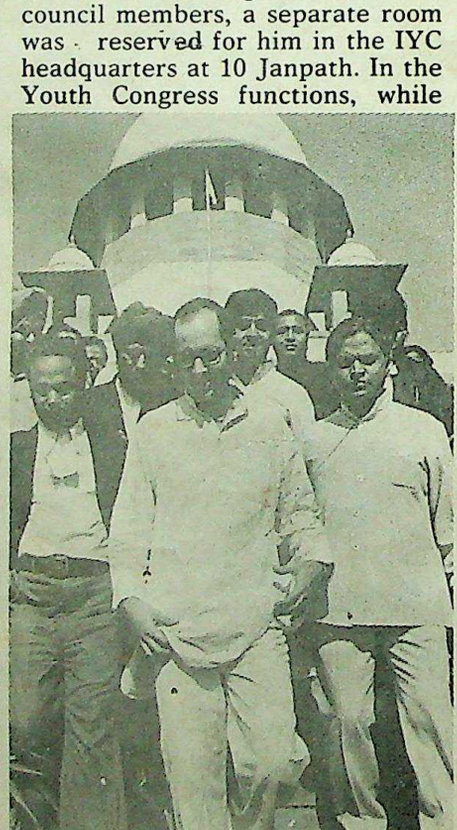
Sanitisation of the Congress



Sanjay Gandhi could not have emerged as a force to reckon with in Indian politics, had there been no Emergency. Sanjay Gandhi's role as a politician began with the Allahabad High Court judgement unseating his mother, Indira Gandhi, from the Lok Sabha. On 12 June 1975 Sanjay took charge of the operations in 1 Safdarjung Road. In the confusion created by the judgement, seasoned Congressmen could not understand the implication of the interference of Sanjay Gandhi. Perhaps the partymen did not imagine that Mrs Indira Gandhi, who was their democratic leader, would suddenly put democracy in a state of suspended animation and usher in an era in which Sanjay Gandhi, without even being a primary member of the Congress, would rule the country. The communists, after the initial euphoria, had termed Sanjay Gandhi as the "ECA" (extra constitutional authority). While it is true that at the time of his death five years ago, Sanjay Gandhi was mourned as a popular youth leader, it cannot be ignored that his sudden emergence in politics ten years back did not have the sanction of the people.

Till 12 June 1975, Sanjay Gandhi was known for his infamous Maruti car project. While Rajiv Gandhi had come into the news only due to his marriage to Sonia Maino, Sanjay Gandhi had hit the headlines on many occasions. Madhu Limaye's exposures about the unusual favours shown to Maruti Ltd, by the government, had portrayed Sanjay Gandhi in bad light. There were many stories about him circulating in the grapevine at the time when he stepped into the political arena. After the Allahabad judgement, Sanjay Gandhi started supervising the mobilisation of truckloads of "volunteers" who thronged to Mrs Gandhi's residence to express solidarity. It was during one such rally that the then Congress president D.K. Barooah, had raised the slogan "Indira is India, India is Indira." The Congress party, accustomed to the supremacy of Indira Gandhi since the 1969 split, had accepted Sanjay Gandhi's dictates after 12 June. But still the party was strong. Therefore, the proclamation of Emergency on 26 June 1975 did not coincide with the date of Sanjay Gandhi formally joining politics.

When the Allahabad judgement was announced, the Indian Youth Congress leadership was caught unawares. A meeting of the national council had been called at Mount Abu in Rajasthan. Most youth leaders, including the IYC president, P.R. Dasmunshi, were in Mount Abu on 12 June. The only office-bearer of IYC present in the capital that day was Ambika Soni, then a general secretary. During the initial days of the Emergency, Ambika Soni was the only youth leader of importance. Dasmunshi was eased out of his post in October 1975. The national council of the IYC, met under the presidentship of Ambika Soni, and "invited" Sanjay Gandhi to be a member of the Youth Congress and he was included in the national council. Such was the power Sanjay Gandhi wielded that while he was among the 42 national council members, a separate room was reserved for him in the IYC headquarters at 10 Janpath. In the Youth Congress functions, while the badges of the office-bearers and council members bore the respective designations, the badge meant for Sanjay Gandhi had the legend, "Sanjay Gandhi." The individual had become supreme. It was only after the March 1977 election debacle was it discovered that Sanjay Gandhi was not even a primary member of the Congress party. There was a move to expel him, but his detractors were politely reminded by pro-Sanjay elements that as he was not a member of the party, he could not be expelled either.



Sanjay Gandhi with supporters

Was Sanjay Gandhi unpopular among the Congressmen? No. With few exceptions, most Congressmen accepted Indira Gandhi's younger son as the number two person in the organisation. The party split in 1978 primarily on the issue of Sanjay Gandhi. Seven years later, we find that most stalwarts who had opposed the mother and son team, meekly sitting in the backbenches of the Congress(I). K. Brahmananda Reddi was the party president behind whom the rebels rallied on 2 January 1978. He is in the Congress(I) now. In fact, when the Congress symbol case was decided by the then chief election commissioner, S.L. Shakhder few years back, he had noted the constant stream of defections into the Congress(I) while denying the Congress(S) the right to use the symbol and name of the Indian National Congress.

The Janata government made Sanjay Gandhi even more popular. Democracy is ingrained in the Indian mind. That was the reason why during the Emergency, while the opposition leaders and workers were in jail, they were not illtreated. That was the reason why Mrs Gandhi felt the need to announce elections and having lost, handed over power to the victors. The elections of 1977 and 1980 showed that the people wanted to assert their supremacy. Sanjay Gandhi had been punished in the 1977 elections. The right to punish him any further could not be that of the Janata government. Sanjay Gandhi emerged as a popular mass leader during the movements he led against the Janata rule. The *lathi* charge on a demonstration led by him (in which he fell down) in May 1979 transformed the dreaded Sanjay Gandhi into a popular hero.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

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JAPANESE TECHNOLOGY FOR
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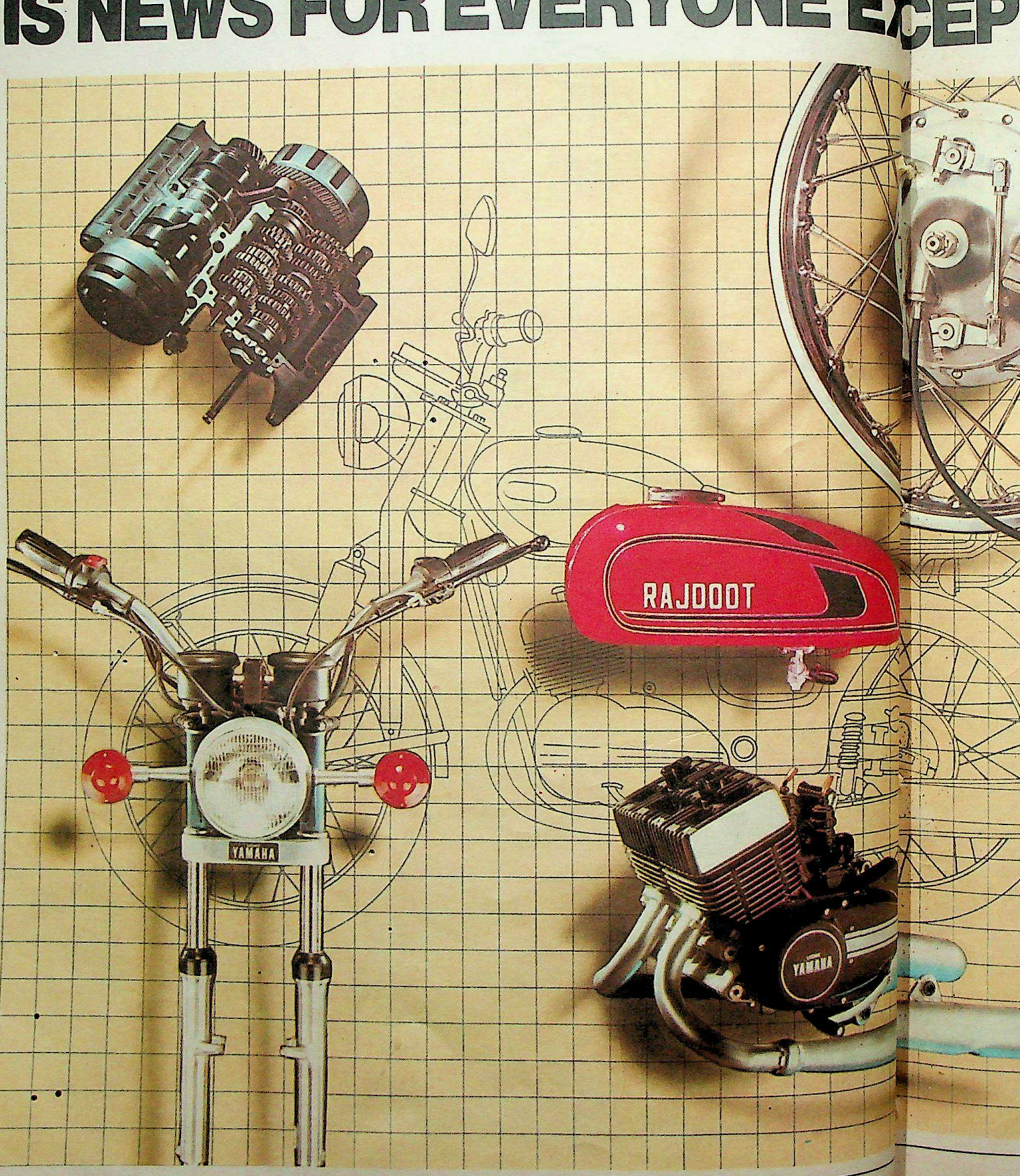

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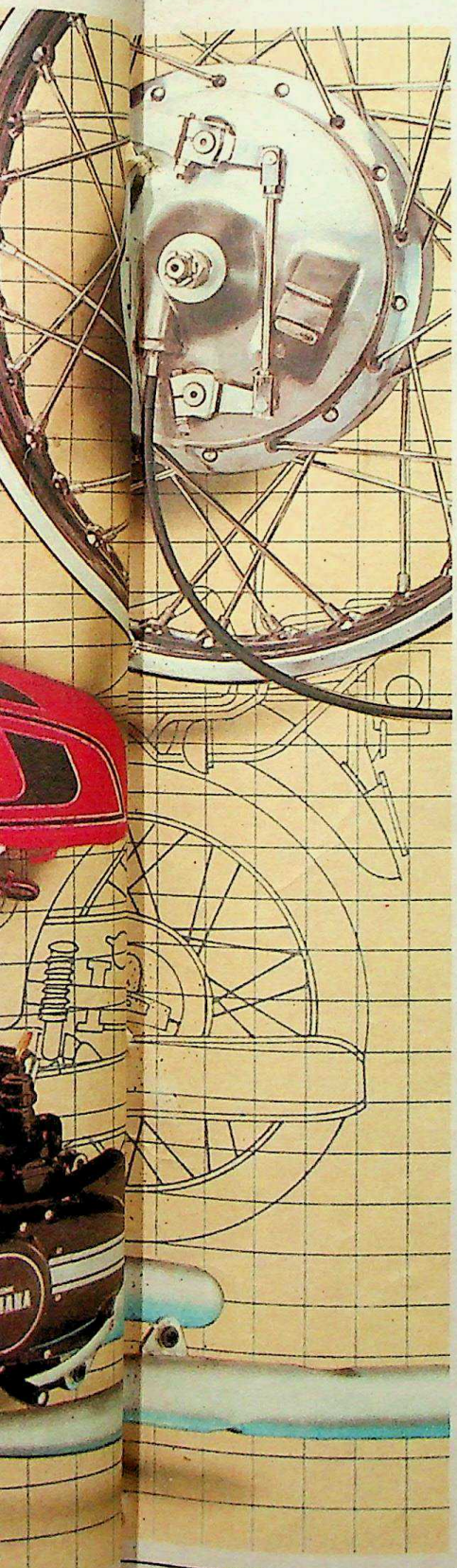

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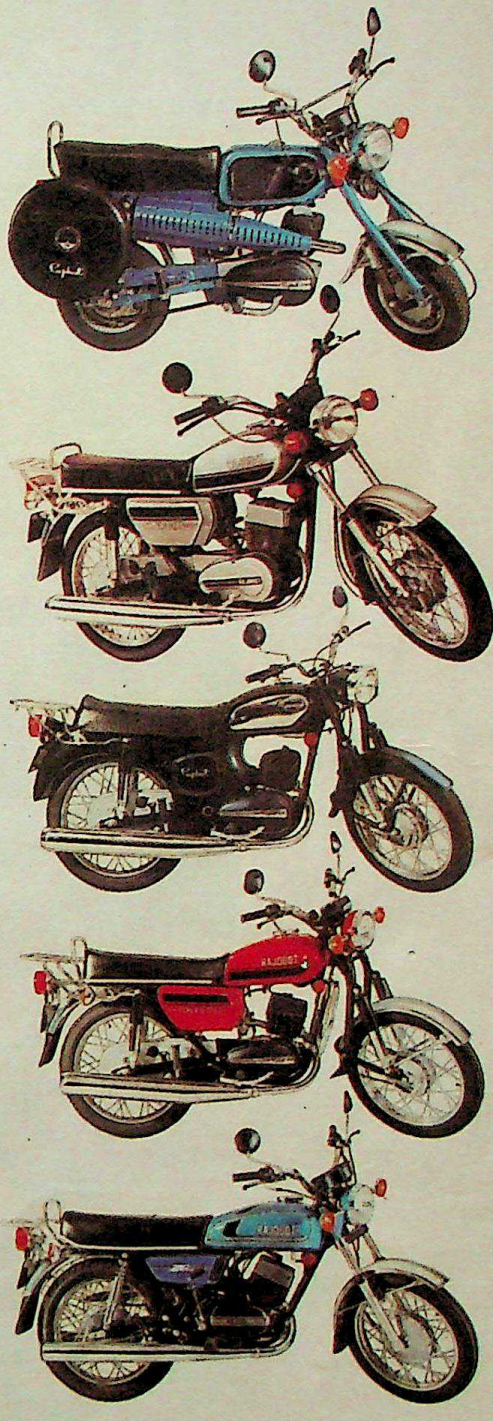

RAJDOOT
WHAT IT TAKES TO BE A LEADER

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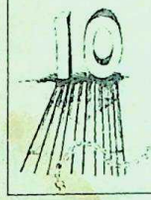

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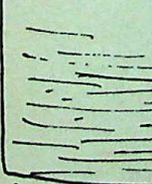

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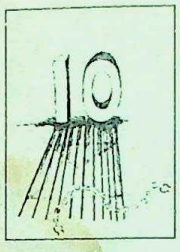
After the Emergency

K.P. Unnikrishnan writes about the fallout on the Congress

The immoral course is always more effective because it is more violent. The immoral course gives the illusion of strength and daring in persons who are merely underhand by choice.

—Rauchning in *The Revolution of Nihilism*, page 45



A decade has passed since the promulgation of the Emergency which though lasted only 20 months, left a traumatic impact and deep imprint on the course of development of our democratic system and institutions. These were the years of tumult, anguish and despair rather than years of help and promise compared to the preceding 28 years of Indian Independence. For many, it was a nightmare to be forgotten, an event which when it unfolded, launched a frontal assault on the basic rights enshrined in our Constitution, gained after decades of struggle. Indeed, it was an attack on the assumptions and values of the entire system. on institutions like Parliament, judiciary and the press which he had believed to be axiomatic for the survival of the democratic path we had chosen and the Constitution we had given ourselves.

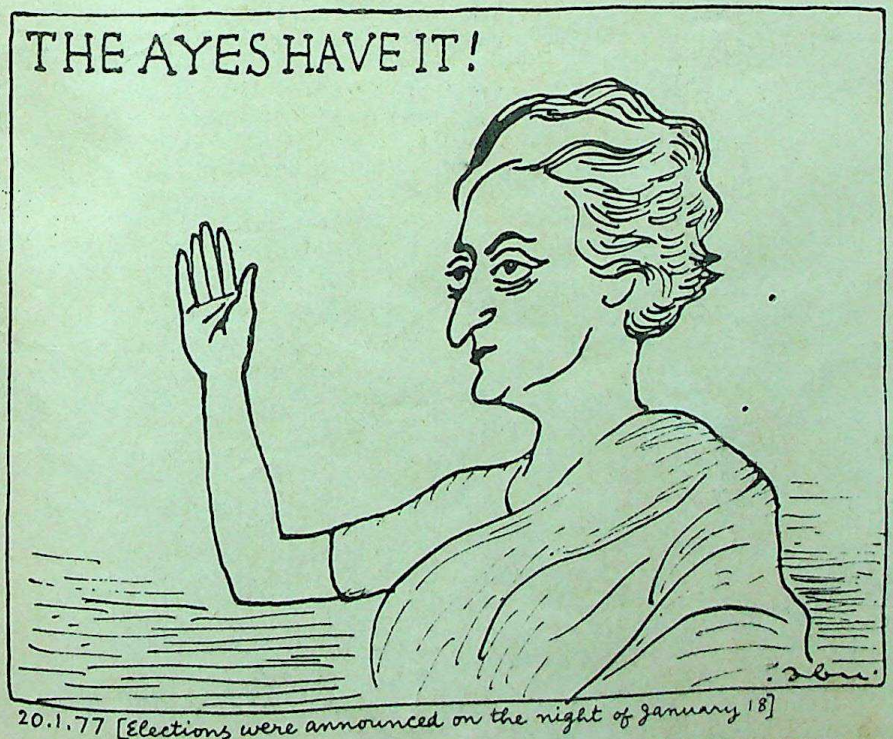
What was the meaning and content of the Emergency? Was it just the use of a constitutional device to meet a serious and unparalleled threat of internal disruption and disturbance? Or was it a facade used by a leader and her colleagues to initiate a process of liberation from past commitments, away from the legacy of national struggle? There is a tendency among many commentators in India and abroad to link up this event of momentous historic significance to the judgement of the Allahabad High Court which unseated the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, from Parliament for a minor electoral offence. It is sought to be projected as a decision propelled or triggered off by one of those accidents of history or the Machiavellian response of an individual confronted by the compelling logic of the rule of law.

Some commentators, on the other hand, have advanced the thesis that under this constitutional umbrella an attempt was made to create conditions for a dynastic succession. While there may be an element of truth in all these perspectives, the question that has to be posed is how one of the most significant and vital democratic movements in the world—the Indian National Congress—was allowed to be used and trampled during those ill-fated months of the Emergency. This is a worthwhile line of enquiry on the tenth anniversary of the Emergency and the centenary year of the Indian National Congress.

So far, attention has been focussed entirely on the main events of the Emergency or the pre-Emergency period—like the movement led by JP and the judgement of the Allahabad High Court, its impact on the Congress Party, the emergence of Sanjay Gandhi and the Youth Congress with a new facade, the excesses and assaults on the media and the press censorship, the 38th, 39th and 40th constitutional amendments, postponement of elections and total collapse of democratic norms, standards and institutions and their interrelationship. But it is my contention that these events of the Emergency, significant as they were, cannot be divorced from their social and political milieu and from the crisis—the stresses and strains in the path of India's democratic and developmental processes and its prime vehicle, the Indian National Congress.

Inspite of its many inadequacies and organisational shortcomings, history records that the Indian National Congress stands apart as a unique national liberation movement with its democratic character intact. Though conditioned largely by Mahatma Gandhi, its unique feature lay in the fact that it was not bound by any well-defined ideology, dogma or creed. Its democratic temper was at once its limitation and advantage. The methods it employed, like the *satyagraha*, were unique instruments of mass resistance and Mahatma Gandhi could evoke mass involvement and participation by an appeal to the spirit of suffering and self-sacrifice. Jawaharlal Nehru was influenced not only by the Mahatma but also by the social and historical forces of the contemporary world.

The Congress after its assumption of office had naturally become a ruling party and with the trappings



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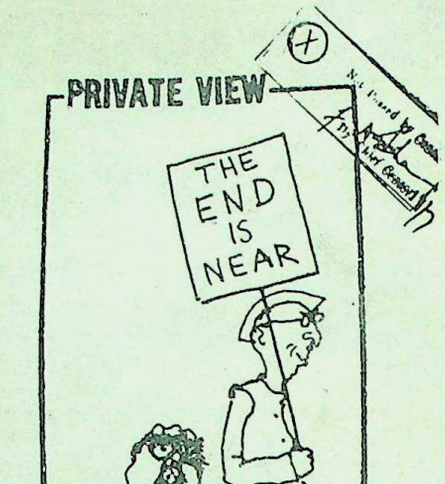
of power it acquired traits which differentiated it to a large extent from the pre-Independence party. But under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, who had imagination and hope inspite of these disturbing trends it retained the character of a democratic natural platform with its traditions substantially unimpaired.

During the Gandhian period it was the civil disobedience or the *satyagraha* which formed the nucleus of political activity, although Mahatma Gandhi tried to involve and train a large number of Congress workers in what he called a constructive programme. Thus, the arena of activity for the Congressmen had been widened and deepened. But the Congress organisation had kept it as an activity sponsored by organisations like the All-India Spinners Association, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Adim-Jati Sangh, Nai Taleem and various other organisations promoted by Gandhiji. The Congress activist was expected to involve himself in one of these activities though it was loosely related to the essential Congress thrust towards political independence.

With Independence and disappearance of Mahatma Gandhi who clearly understood the consequences of the transfer of power, new contradictions arose, adding to the complexities of newer challenges that had to be confronted. But Congress in the Nehru years retained the democratic temper of the organisation. Although elections had become a ritual a certain amount of degeneration had set in. Congress remained an expression of Jawaharlal Nehru's ideology. The pre-eminent role of Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister and an ideologue, particularly after the death of Sardar Patel, did not affect the policy-making role of the working committee of the AICC. It was still possible to raise issues of crucial significance in these forums till the historic split of 1969.

These developments synchronised with the changes in the political and economic landscape and the crisis in the path of Indian development after 1962. Hopes were revived again with the emergence of Indira Gandhi in 1966 but it was only in 1969 that she and the Congress were able to capture the imagination of the people with the promise of a new dawn. The new slogan of '*Garibi Hatao*' was a stirring slogan. It roused the masses with high hopes and the new generation was infused with a new organisational identity, purpose and coherence for the Congress. Many of us at that time had hoped and dreamt of building up a cadre-based party and



also retaining the essential elements of the mass character and democratic traditions of the Congress. By 1975, this dream had turned into a nightmare and hopes of a Congress revival were effectively sabotaged.

The style of ad-hocism that emerged in the Congress in the years of 1969 to 1972 was not an accident of history but one of conscious design and purpose, to deprive the Congress organisation of its natural and legitimate role.

The question of the relationship between the Prime Minister and the Congress president, or the organisation and the parliamentary wing had come up at recurring intervals and controversies like the Kripalani-Nehru debate or Tandon-Nehru conflict did not impair the organisation. The pre-eminent role of a Prime Minister in a parliamentary democracy had always been recognised by the Congress and the nation. This was also clear to all those who supported Indira Gandhi in what was essentially a struggle between 'bossism' and democracy and status quo and change in 1969. And soon, a crude form of prime ministerial form of government emerged which, for a while, projected an extraordinary, if not extra-constitutional role for the Prime Minister's secretariat.

It was very clear that it was not the secretariat which really mattered, except in some policy or administrative decisions, but the newly emerged tribe of 'household aides' who acted as subterranean operators on Mrs Gandhi's behalf, projecting a litmus' test of personal loyalty to the leader and the Prime Minister.

What about the policy framework? *Garibi Hatao* was soon forgotten as the party oscillated between left populist slogans meant primarily to refurbish the image of the leader. But insistence on promises being kept was interpreted as an act of indiscipline and disloyalty. The assault on the Congress organisation continued. No Congress president, be it Sanjivaiah, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma or D.K. Borooah, was allowed to function freely even within the organisational set-up. The parliamentary board, the Congress Working Committee and the AICC were drained of vitality as their meetings were progressively reduced to mere rituals. The AICC, known during the days of freedom struggle, as the parliament of the nation, which debated the great issues of the day, became a forum to pay tributes to the leader.

At the state level, the PCC presidents, office-bearers and the chief ministers were chosen as submissive nominees, depriving them of their original roles. They no longer provided leadership, deriving strength from the roots of the organisation. Controversies like the never forgotten Nehru Forum-Socialist Forum debates were engineered from the Prime Minister's house and effectively used to divide Congressmen and sow seeds of dissension and mutual suspicion. Simultaneously, the bureaucracy and repressive organs were expanding their range of influence as the leader chose to depend wholly on the state apparatus. Standards of rectitude, moral worth and relevance had almost disappeared as the media projected tell-tale evidence of political corruption at all levels. By 1975, the Indira wave had receded and *Garibi Hatao* was already a forgotten dream. The Congress, as a political organisation had been alienated from the masses and was soon losing the capacity to withstand the challenges posed by the JP movement. It was in this background of the collapse of Congress which enabled the leader to close down the system and introduce a dynastic mes siah who was allowed a free rein in the system.

K.P. Unnikrishnan, general secretary of the Congress(S), a former journalist and a Member of Parliament for four terms parted company with Mrs Gandhi in 1977.

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COVER STORY

The Days and Nights of Horror

What do the victims of Turkman Gate demolitions feel ten years later?

Sanjida, a nine-year-old chit of a girl, could well be the symbol of the notorious Turkman Gate demolitions of 1976. For that is how she got her unusual name. "*Yeh Sanjay Gandhi ke raaj mei paida hui thi* (she was born in the reign of Sanjay Gandhi)" explained Bibbo Khatoon, the child's mother. She went on to describe the holocaust of the night of 19 April 1976 when hundreds of families in the seven-acre Muslim-dominated area around Turkman Gate in central Delhi were in the grip of terror. The peace and quiet of that night was shattered by the rattle of bulldozers. Floodlights dazzled. And Operation Demolition began.

Bibbo Khatoon was then in the last days of her pregnancy. But the demolitions changed all that. As the bulldozers ruthlessly reduced their house to rubble, she miraculously managed to salvage some of her belongings from the heap of brick and concrete that had once been their home, and escape to the safety of waiting trucks provided by the administration. While she was being transported with hundreds of others away from Turkman Gate, her husband, Mohammad Illiazi and two sons, Meharajuddin and Gulzar, along with others, were jailed that night for resisting the demolition. The men, who spent a month in Tihar Jail, were oblivious of the havoc and destruction that the fortnight-long demolitions had caused, oblivious that pregnant Bibbo Khatoon was now living in the wilderness in a low-lying uninhabited place called Trilokpuri.

It was about this time, nine years ago, in Trilokpuri, that Sanjida was born under the open sky. (Sanjida, in Urdu, means 'sombre'). Like thousands of others who had been left homeless by the sudden demolitions at Turkman Gate, she too was at the mercy of mother nature for 14 months. Without shelter or refuge, the displaced families faced the fury of the elements. Torrential rain flooded the area and they had to wade through knee-deep water to reach their new "homes." When summer came, strong hot surface winds blew off the thatched roofs on their *jhuggis*.

Several children were bitten by snakes which infested the area, some died. As many as 100 persons died because of malaria or cholera—as the toll of the demolitions continued to rise. It was only when the Emergency was relaxed in January 1977 that the refugees were promised a sanctuary. Most families were accommodated temporarily in barracks in Minto Road and Mata Sundari Road. Hopes of returning to the Turkman Gate area became a reality on 19 January 1978 when the Janata

Then and now: New DDA tenements at the spot where the demolitions ceased

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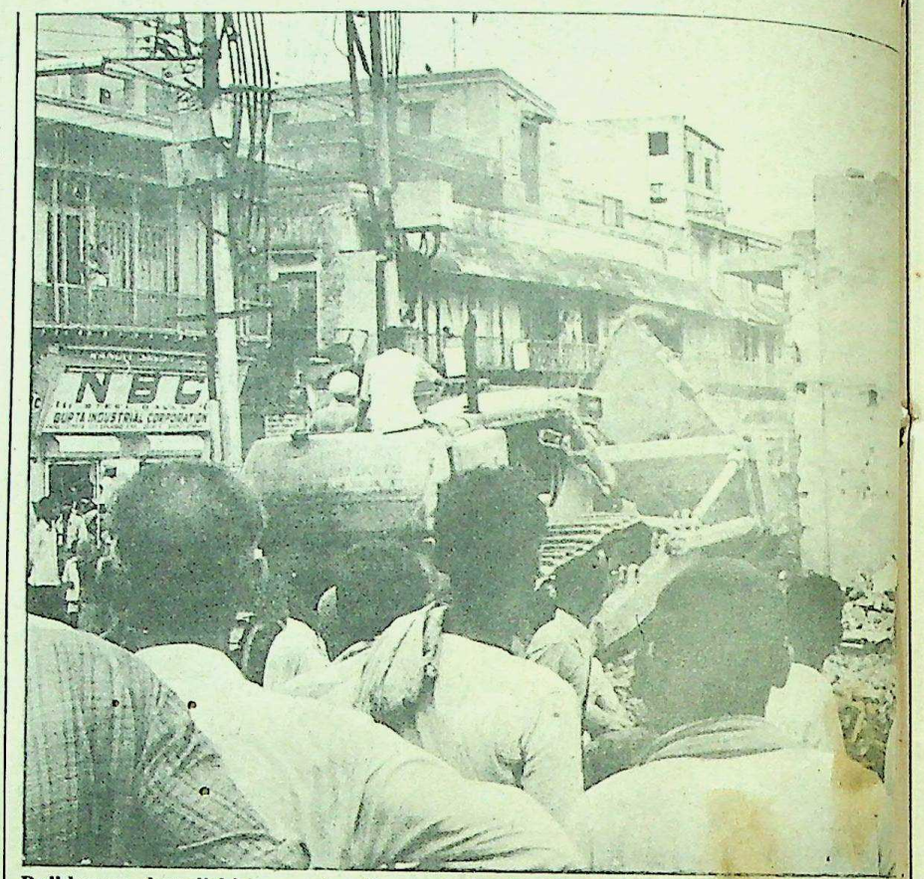
Prime Minister Morarji Desai, laid the foundation stone for construction of 494 new tenements at the precise spot where the old houses had been destroyed. The construction progressed at a snail's pace. With the change of government again in 1980, the houses, which had been finished in 1979, were allotted to some displaced families only in 1982. Among those fortunate enough to be given accommodation in Turkman Gate was the family of Sanjida.

For others, the trauma of the Turkman Gate demolitions is still not over. The memory of the nights of terror are still fresh in the minds of those who have not yet been rehabilitated by the authorities, although almost ten years have gone by since the demolitions. Some of the people of Turkman Gate, who unitedly fought back the onslaught of the demolitions with grit (some even falling prey to bullets of the police) during the operations, are still in the lurch. As many as 300 families, displaced during the demolitions, are living today in buildings in Ranjit Nagar and Mata Sundari Road which have been declared as "dangerous and uninhabitable" by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

Knowing full well that all displaced persons have not been rehabilitated, the DDA has only recently auctioned four plots of land within the Turkman Gate complex for construction of commercial buildings. The commercialisation of Turkman Gate—the original idea which inspired the demolitions—will become a reality soon. There are conflicting reports of the price fetched by the DDA. According to Manjit Singh, director (slum development), two plots each have been sold to Pragati Builders and Peerless General Finance Ltd for a sum of Rs eight crores. A rumour in Turkman Gate has it that the land was sold for Rs 9.3 crores).

Turkman Gate derives its name from Turkmanistan, the Soviet Central Asian Republic. The history of the development or demolition of the Turkman Gate area dates back to 1926 when the Delhi-Ajmeri Gate scheme, which had the blessings of Gandhiji was mooted. The scheme, which envisaged the planned development of Shajahanabad, the walled city, was subsequently encorporated into the Delhi development scheme in 1940, according to which, Shajahanabad was to be decongested without uprooting its people. However, with extensive commercialisation of areas close to Turkman Gate, a change in the land-use from residential to commercial was proposed,



Bulldozers demolishing constructions at the Turkman Gate during the Emergency

even though such a change was a violation of the DDA's master plan. The residents of Turkman Gate, who were victims of the demolitions, were neither squatters nor illegal occupants of the land. They had been shifted there from Dojana House in the Jama Masjid area in 1960 and settled in transit camps at the periphery of Asaf Ali Road. The presence of the transit camp and other houses later became an eyesore for the DDA and its envisaged plan of putting up a 50-storeyed structure in the Turkman Gate area.

The imposition of Emergency only hastened the demolition process in Delhi. The DDA had already launched its "squatter plan" of 1975-76 which it declared was the biggest peace time plan in any metropolitan area in the world. As soon as the Emergency was imposed on 26 June 1975, Kalan Mahal, where Shahjehan had lived when the Red Fort was being built, was razed to the ground. On 22 November, 506 shops around the Jama Masjid and other 480 in neighbouring areas were demolished with bulldozers. On 12 December, in Khan Khana Street, near Jama Masjid, 150 houses were reduced to rubble by crowbars and bulldozers.

The Operation Demolition, in the Turkman Gate area, however, was more brutal, more callous, more terrible than any previous demolitions in Delhi. The tension in the areas was heightened by the forced sterilisation programme which was being carried out near Jama Masjid under the supervision of Ruksana Sultana. On the morning of 19 April, the first day of the demolition, a large crowd of women had held a demonstration outside the family planning camp. Seeing that the situation was volatile, the vice chairman of the DDA, Jagmohan, gave orders for the demolition and sent an urgent letter (No pa/vc dem dt 7-4-76) to the DIG, police, P.S. Bhinder to arrange for armed enforcements during the demolition operations.

Bashruddin Mangoo recalls the night the bulldozers arrived without warning, like monsters in a peaceful night. "*Log tho patheron me dab gayen* (People were crushed with the stones)." Others recollect the days when the demolitions and killings were let loose in the simultaneous action lasting two weeks. Human bodies lay strewn among piles of rubble and smashed household goods. A part of a mosque and dargah Gaiz Illahi near Turkman Gate were damaged. As the devastation of houses and property continued, the crowds swelled. Police had to resort to tear-gassing to check rioting mobs.

According to police records, six persons were killed. However, according to Inder Mohan, a socia

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worker who is active in the area and president of the Peoples' Union of Civil Liberties, at least 200 persons were killed either during, or immediately after, the demolitions in Trilokpuri and Nandnagari, where the refugees were taken. In his book *The Judgement* on the Emergency and the horrors of Turkman Gate, Kuldip Nayar mentioned the number of persons killed during the operations as 150. The real number of those who died will never be known.

Nearly a decade has gone by since the Turkman Gate demolitions. A short visit to the area revealed that not only is it in a state of utter neglect, but the DDA and other authorities have given up the matter of further rehabilitation of displaced persons as a dead issue. For this, some officials place the blame squarely on the shoulders of the present residents of Turkman Gate. Said an official, Manjit Singh, "We have rehabilitated all the bona fide residents of Turkman Gate. Only those persons who do not have proof of their occupation have been left out. Besides, some families are using the present accommodation for industrial purposes while others have sold the houses for huge profits."

The occupants themselves complain of the unhygienic and appalling state of the civic amenities in the locality. Said Bismillah, who had been shifted from the Ranjit Nagar camp only a few months ago, "*Hamare purane ghar isse tho ache the. Yeh to maut ghar hain.* (Our houses which were demolished were better than these. These are just houses of death)." To illustrate the poor construction of the houses, she simply has to extend a hand and break off a piece of plaster from the wall. The DDA has obviously not constructed the 497 tenements at Turkman Gate with an eye on the quality of the buildings.

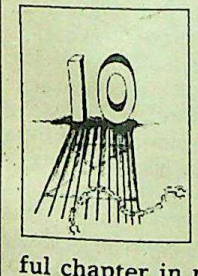
Even today there are lessons to be learnt from the Turkman Gate incident of 1976. The 200-odd Muslim families living in the Ranjit Nagar and other camps are victims of the catastrophic demolitions even to this day. While others have settled down, albeit to an uncomfortable existence, they still have to be rehabilitated. According to Mohammed Shafi Rehman, general secretary of the Turkman Gate Action Committee, several cases are being fought in courts for those persons to be provided with alternative accommodation. According to him, the same residents who had resisted the demolitions with defiance and valour, are up in arms against the proposed commercialisation of the area.

The DDA's secret plans, in spite of all opposition to turn the area into a large multi-storeyed concrete jungle of commercial complexes, is vehemently resented by the residents. But there is precious little they can do about the construction process which is progressing at a rapid pace. DDA officials claim they have already spent more than Rs 4 crores for the rehabilitation of Turkman Gate victims. They have already earned approximately Rs 9 crores, and are proposing to auction more land in the periphery of Turkman Gate. Continual suffering and misery of the victims of Turkman Gate have gone unheeded. The DDA still insists that what was done during Operation Demolition was for the "beautification" of Delhi and for the betterment of the residents. They continue to echo the words of Jagmohan, the architect of the Turkman Gate demolitions, in his book on the Emergency—*The Island of Truth*: "What was done (in Turkman Gate) was a development and not a demolition. It was a dam, not a doom."

Ritu Sarin, New Delhi

Where Are They Now?

The Emergency brought many into the limelight while hustling others into oblivion



There was a time when they kept the nation under their heels, their hands clapped shut on its voice—these men and women of the Emergency. While some call them the villains of a shameful chapter in recent history, others insist they were the "heroes who rescued the country just in time." But indisputably, they were the people who summoned the darkest hours of independent India, mauling basic human rights. The most Draconian of laws were enforced and excesses were committed so that they could continue to remain in power which was threatened by the historic judgement of the Allahabad High Court on 12 June 1975 and by the popular agitation spreading across the country like wild fire.

There were all sorts of people. Hungry usurpers of power, opportunists who jumped on to the power bandwagon for their very selfish ends, eager courtiers ready to execute any order that would please their masters, helpless ones caught up in the cesspool of the power game and even those who were out to prove that they could change India the way they wanted to.

Ashok Vahie

Vidya Charan Shukla

There was Mrs Indira Gandhi, desperate to hold on to the reins of control, her son Sanjay Gandhi who thought he could create a disciplined nation by surrendering people. And there were his cohorts—Jagmohan, Navin Chawla, Jagdish Tytler, Arjun Dass, Kamal Nath, Rukhsana Sultana, Ambika Soni et al—ready to toe his line. Men like Jagjivan Ram and Dev Kant Barooah were overtaken by the situation and did not have the courage to stand up against it. They were swept into it and were a part of the dictatorship for almost all the while that it lasted. And there were others like Vidya Charan Shukla and Bansi Lal whose main tool of functioning was repression. Yashpal Kapoor and R.K. Dhawan, the back-room boys of Mrs Gandhi, managed the show to please "Madam." There were also the Dhirendra Brahmacharis who used their proximity to the power-centre to get all that they wanted.

Where are these *dramatis personae* of the Emergency today? What

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are they doing? Some faded away with the Emergency, some sought shelter in other political set-ups and became critics of those days, others through sheer political will and manoeuvring have worked their way back into power.

Bansi Lal, the minister for railways, has slowly clawed his way back after having been in oblivion for many years after the debacle of 1977. He was one of Sanjay Gandhi's closest aides during the Emergency, first as the chief minister of Haryana and then as the defence minister, a post to which he was elevated in December 1975. A man who had the reputation of getting things done at any cost was a great asset to the centre during the Emergency. What was more, the brazen Haryanvi chief minister was a loyal servant of his political masters. It is also said that he was brought in as the defence minister so that Sanjay Gandhi could get a West German defence-transport deal sanctioned for his pet Maruti project in Gurgaon. After all, it was Bansi Lal who had earlier helped Sanjay Gandhi to set up his factory in Haryana. Also Bansi Lal with his brash ways was suited for the politics in vogue during the Emergency. Today, ten years after the Emergency, Bansi Lal is said to have sobered down but his present position, one suspects, is due only to the reputation that he gained during the Emergency—the man who could get things done.

Vidya Charan Shukla, the glamour-loving information and broadcasting minister, who was given this portfolio after I.K. Gujral was found wanting in the imposition of press censorship, is another one who seems to have successfully buried his past deeds. Tall, bespectacled and greying, Shukla is today the president of the Indian Olympic Association, a far cry from the position he held during the Emergency. As minister of information and broadcasting he held the entire film industry at ransom. Those who were not obliging enough found their films rotting in cans, those who kowtowed to him got through without any hitch. Such was Shukla's behaviour that it led Srikant Verma, the present general secretary of the Congress(I) to remark: "The way V.C. Shukla indulged in the affairs of the industry will always be remembered. He tried to reduce artists to court jesters and our stars to court dancers." Shukla had built up quite a colourful reputation for himself—the minister who took most pleasure in the company of famous actresses, throwing lavish parties for them and accompanying them abroad,. But he had another more dangerous side. He was also the man who terminated the jobs or ordered the arrest of mediamen who did not submit to his wishes.

Rukhsana: the Emergency Sultana

Dev Kant Barooah, the cigar-smoking, Shakespeare-quoting Congress president of the Emergency days has now decided to take a back seat, keeping himself away from the rough and tumble of politics. A member of the Congress(S) he now lives a quiet life with his books in Delhi, waiting for parliamentary elections to be held in his home state, Assam. He looks back on the Emergency and whatever he did then, with mixed feelings but who can forget his famous quip, "India is Indira, Indira is India". Barooah, with his experience in politics and his shrewd ways, was one of Mrs Gandhi's main political managers. He had first "directed" the Communist Party of India, in a Churchillian vein, to "fight fascism along with the Congress in every town, village, street and alley." It was Barooah who tried to give the Emergency a veneer of political respectability.

The firebrand president of the Indian Youth Congress in those days, Ambika Soni, has also turned away from Congress(I) and, like Barooah is hardly leading an active life in the Congress(S). She is today a leader without a following and possibly without the will for political work. She spends a part of her time in Czechoslovakia where her husband is the Indian ambassador. She stood in the last Lok Sabha elections from Meerut and lost her deposit. In 1980 she had a similar fate in Chandigarh. For her this is a big comedown from the days of the Emergency when she led the Youth Congress. Mrs Indira Gandhi had complimented her organisation in Guwahati, for having "stolen the thunder" of the parent party. Soni was, by her own admission, "on top of the world" at the time. The fall came only months later when the Emergency had to be called off. The lady who had made "five million authentic members of the Youth Congress," was on her way to "creating a new revolution." She called Sanjay Gandhi the "man who symbolises and reflects the yearnings and aspirations of the youth in the country" but later was the first person to denounce him as an extra-constitutional centre of power. Since the Emergency was also the source of Ambika Soni's influence the bubble soon burst.

One leader who has held steadfast to his position despite the fact that he was one of the major political props of the Emergency is Jagjivan Ram, whose timely resignation from the Congress on 2 February, 1977 catalysed the public movement against Mrs Indira Gandhi and her partymen. Curiously enough, it was Jagjivan Ram who had tabled the resolution for the Emergency in Parliament with the words: "All opposition parties except the CPI are attempting to subvert democracy, coerce the government and bring about disturbances...like the undemocratic methods used by Jayaprakash Narain in whipping up disturbances in Bihar and Gujarat. The great character of the Prime Minister is that she always takes timely action." Jagjivan Ram, by resigning from the Congress and forming, with Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna—the Congress chief minister of Uttar Pradesh ousted during the Emergency—the Congress for Democracy (CFD), took timely action. He went on to become one of the bigwigs of the Janata government but after its disgraceful demise, has been mostly sitting at home, troubled by ill-health. Having been cast into political wilderness, his hopes of becoming the Prime Minister of the country are dying a slow death.

Another powerful minister of the Emergency days now leads a life crippled with physical problems. Om Mehta, the then minister of state for home affairs, often called "Home Mehta," is struck with Parkinson's disease. Mehta was one of a select coterie of people that included Mrs Gandhi,Sanjay Gandhi, Bansi Lal and R.K.Dhawan, who had laid down the initial plan for Emergency. Later, he was part of the equally select and powerful group unofficially known as the Emergency council. Though K. Brahmanand Reddi was the union home minister, Mehta was the de facto boss of the ministry. He attended all the cabinet meetings to aid and advise Mrs Gandhi. It was on Mehta's

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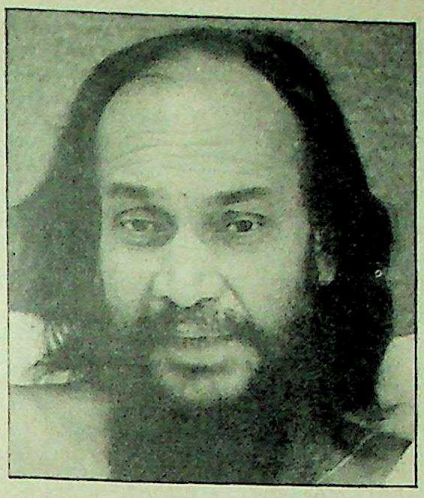
orders that the regulations for political prisoners were tightened and their treatment made harsher. Every important task was dealt by the ever agile "Home Mehta". He enjoyed the confidence of the Gandhi household, had direct access to the Prime Minister and Sanjay Gandhi and geared up the repressive machinery of the state. After the Emergency he too faded away and for the past few years has been working, mostly from his government bungalow, as an adviser to the Parliament.

Of those who benefited most from the Emergency, was Dhirendra Brahmachari. The wily Maithili Brahmin from Chanpura village in north Bihar who had used his yogic powers and walked into the house of the first family of Indian politics at the time of Jawaharlal Nehru only tightened his grip when Mrs Gandhi became Prime Minister. From being her yoga teacher, he went on to control her politics. During the Emergency Brahmachari saw his real chance: he inaugurated his sprawling "Aparna Ashram" in the hills of Mantalai and then got Bansi Lal to sanction a special helipad for his personal use at a nearby spot. Down in Delhi he established his International Yoga Centre which was as luxuriously built as the "Aparna Ashram." Nobody could say "No" to Dhirendra Brahmachari. They all knew it could spell disaster for them. Brahmachari has now fallen from grace. He is no longer has the influence he once had in the Prime Minister's house. But his lavish lifestyle continues and the wealth he accumulated during the Emergency, his estates, remain untouched. If anything, he is better off, having established an ultra-modern studio on the outskirts of Delhi which he rents out to private film-makers

Yashpal Kapoor was another insider of the then Prime Minister's residence. He had risen from being one of the many assistants in Jawaharlal Nehru's residence, to become Mrs Gandhi's hatchet-man in the late Sixties. Among his major tasks was the management of the elections of Mrs Gandhi from Rae Bareili, something that he did with great elan and success. He would simply go to Lucknow, book himself a room there and accomplish whatever task was entrusted to him, whether it was pulling down the ministry in the state or ensuring victory for the Congress in the elections. Today, when he does not have a state to lord over and none of the influence that he exercised, Yashpal Kapoor in his own inimitable way is steering the *National Herald*, a Delhi daily.

It was Yashpal Kapoor who had



Dhirendra Brahmachari

introduced his nephew Rajendra Kumar Dhawan, to Mrs Gandhi. Like his uncle, Dhawan too had risen up the rungs and by the time Emergency was declared he was part of the inner caucus at 1, Safdarjung Road. A confidant of Mrs Gandhi, he claimed to be with her all the time. "I take no holidays," he used to say, "not even on Holi and Diwali." Mrs Gandhi's man-Friday did all types of jobs during the Emergency. He was consulted on all major issues and was yet another unchallenged centre of authority. Dhawan never lost the faith of Mrs Indira Gandhi. It is only after her assassination that he was shunted out of the Prime Minister's office. Without a job, the once powerful special assistant to the former Prime Minister now sits quietly at home.

One person whose influence Dhawan could not stand during the Emergency was that of the glamorous cheerleader of the Sanjay brigade, Rukhsana Sultana sahiba. The lady wanted to create new records in the number of sterilisations which earned her the name of "*nasbandi* fiend." A socialite and Sanjay-devotee, Rukhsana Sultana is most known for her work in the Muslim-dominated Turkman Gate area of old Delhi. People there still curse her, ten years after their houses had been bulldozed.

Rukhsana Sultana, through her direct access to Sanjay Gandhi, threw her weight around with impunity. High officials addressed her as "Rukhsana Sultana Sahibaji;" the then Lt - Governor of Delhi, Krishan Chand, opened the car doors for her; Jagmohan, the vice chairman of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), always was ready to translate her dictates into action. Rukhsana was a woman who brooked no opposition—and her complete control is what people like Dhawan resented. Besides forcing *nasbandi* on people and having entire colonies razed, Rukhsana also ran a small boutique and jewellery shop exotically named *Dur-e-Shehwar* at her residence in Narendra Place. She does not live there anymore, neither does the shop exist. The great empress of Delhi's walled city during the Emergency has now shifted bag and baggage to Bombay where she runs her business. However, most of her time is spent in chaperoning her daughter, Amrita Singh, a film star in Bombay.

Always at Rukhsana's beck and call was a debonair young IAS officer called Navin Chawla, also a Doon school chum of Sanjay Gandhi. He had been appointed secretary to the Lt - Governor Krishan Chand and wielded more power than the Lt – Governor himself. And why not? Was it not Sanjay Gandhi and Navin Chawla who "interviewed" Krishan Chand before he was appointed Lt – Governor of Delhi? Chawla, who was till recently a director in the labour ministry, is now in Bangkok on an International Labour Organisation (ILO) assignment which is due to expire on 30 June 1985.

The Emergency had provided an opportunity to many others to shoot up on the political horizon. Jagmohan, the then vice chairman of the DDA was another man who could get things done. He has never looked back since he got into the good books of the Nehru-Gandhi family during the Emergency. After having held several important posts including the Lt - Governorship of Delhi, he is now the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. Kamal Nath, a Calcutta businessman till 1975, grew tall garlanding Sanjay Gandhi. Today he is a Member of Parliament even though his influence eroded with the exit of his mentor. Arjun Dass (he was inducted into power by Sanjay Gandhi after they became friends, Dass having repaired Sanjay's punctured car) came to be known as the "third son of Mrs Gandhi" during the Emergency. He is now a successful auto workshop owner, and a decisive factor in Delhi politics even though he does not hold a political office. He was, and probably still is, an errand boy of the ruling family. He humbly stuck to his task and got the returns. Jagdish Tytler, was a *mohalla*-level activist during the Emergency but today is a respectable Member of Parliament and joint secretary of the AICC(I). He has, like the others, the Emergency to thank for his present position. They all have their roots in the dark days.

Sankarshan Thakur, New Delhi

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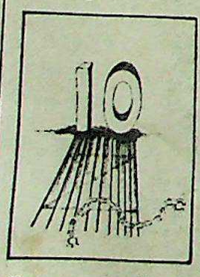
'Opposition Parties Have Become Shops'

Raj Narain told SUNDAY

It is often said that had there been no Raj Narain perhaps there would have been no Emergency. It was his successful challenge to Mrs Gandhi's election from Rae Bareili in 1975 that provided the immediate provocation. While Raj Narain and the entire opposition celebrated their victory in the Allahabad High Court, Mrs Gandhi retaliated by clamping down the Emergency on the country. But there is a world of difference between the Raj Narain of 1975 and the Raj Narain of today. That Raj Narain was a crusader, possessed almost by the zeal to achieve what he wanted to. And when he finally did, he had his beard shaved off on the banks of the Ganges at Varanasi. Then came power, bitter infighting, collapse into infamy and rejection The man who had defeated Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1977 was cast aside in 1980. Since then Raj Narain has never won an election. He has, however, changed loyalties like clothes and been controversial as only he can be. His political behaviour has taken its toll: Raj Narain has been reduced to being a party president without a following.

He spoke excitedly to SUNDAY *on 12 June, the tenth anniversary of the judgment passed against Mrs Gandhi by Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court. Excerpts:*



Q: When did you first know the Emergency was coming?

A: We were not given the time to realise (that the Emergency was being imposed). We did not have a hint. Some people did keep telling us that lists of those who were to be arrested were being prepared by the government but we never really cared. We had launched a fight, we were determined to take it to the end. On 25 June we had a massive public meeting at the Ram Lila grounds in which several opposition leaders including Jayaprakash Narain were present. After that all of us met for sometime to decide the future course of action. JP was authorised to take whatever decision he wanted to. He said that the judgment of the High Court was not an ordinary thing and that the opposition had to do something about it. He said that if Mrs Gandhi did not resign by 29 June, a civil disobedience movement would be launched. Then we dispersed. Late that night, the son of one of JP's associates rang me up from the Gandhi Peace Foundation, where he was staying, and said that JP had been arrested and the entire building had been surrounded by the police. I immediately telephoned Morarji Desai and asked him to accompany me to the Gandhi Peace Foundation but he said: '*Raj Narainji aap jaaiye, main nahin jaa paoonga* (You go, I will not be able to accompany you).' I called for a taxi but it just would not come and when I stepped out to look for one myself, I saw that my house too had been surrounded. I asked the policemen what the matter was and they said they had orders to arrest me. We all learnt of the imposition of the Emergency only after having been arrested.

Q: Why did Mrs Gandhi do this? What did she fear?

A: She knew she was no more the Prime Minister; her election had been set aside. She was desperate and she knew how angry the people of the country were. If she did not do anything drastic, the people would have entered her house and thrown her out physically. She thought she could crush us all, and the people of India, by imposing the Emergency and she did it.

Q: How responsible were you for this?

A: *Main hi to tha* (it was only because of me)! On 12 June 1975, the Allahabad High Court passed its historic judgement on my election petition. That became the root of all problems. In jail, people cursed me saying I was responsible for their arrests. As soon as the news came, JP rang me up from Patna and asked me to read out the judgement. I did so and JP said that this is the land of Buddha and Gandhi. Now that the High Court has given its judgement, Mrs Gandhi should no longer be the Prime Minister. JP still had those hopes for her.

Q: So you went ahead with your meeting plans?

A: Yes, but the sabotaging had begun. JP could not reach Delhi on 23 June. They first kept saying that the flight from Patna had been delayed and ultimately the flight did not come at all. JP phoned again from Patna saying he would be reaching by train. So on 25 June we had the meeting and almost immediately after, we were all in jail. Emergency had been imposed.

Q: You all formed the Janata government after fighting the authoritarianism of the Emergency. Why did you break it?

A: There were several shades of opinion in the Janata Party. So many parties had joined to make one, so naturally, there was some push and pull. The Jana Sangh and the Congress(O) were rightists, favouring the capitalists. Then there were a lot of socialists who said they could not tolerate the tilt towards capitalists. Tensions arose. Then during the communal riots in Aligarh and Jamshedpur, I openly said that the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) had been behind them. When I went to Aligarh, every street, every brick bore testimony to that. When the press asked me, I told them the truth. Besides, people in the Janata Party became very jealous of me. My popularity caused a lot of heartburn among my colleagues. Wherever I went, people shouted slogans like "*Bharat ka karter, Raj Narain Zindabad.*" Even when I was with Morarji Desai, they would raise slogans only in my favour, so they all got together to isolate me.

Q: Some allege that you conspired with Sanjay Gandhi to break the Janata...

A: What fools are they? They do not understand politics, or else how could they say such things? Can I ever do such a thing?

Q: How is the situation now?

A: Today, the situation is even worse. This is an undeclared Emergency. What is worse, there are no political leaders except the Socialists. All the opposition parties have become shops.

Interviewed by Sankarshan Thakur, New Delhi.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

SPECIAL REPORT

The Discovery of America

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi charmed America, reports Ashis Ray from Washington

It is not easy to deal with the United States—this came home to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in his "discovery" of America. Though it would, perhaps, be fair to say that he succeeded in persuading President Ronald Reagan and his administration out of several of their prejudices against India, thus ushering in a new era in Indo-US economic collaboration.

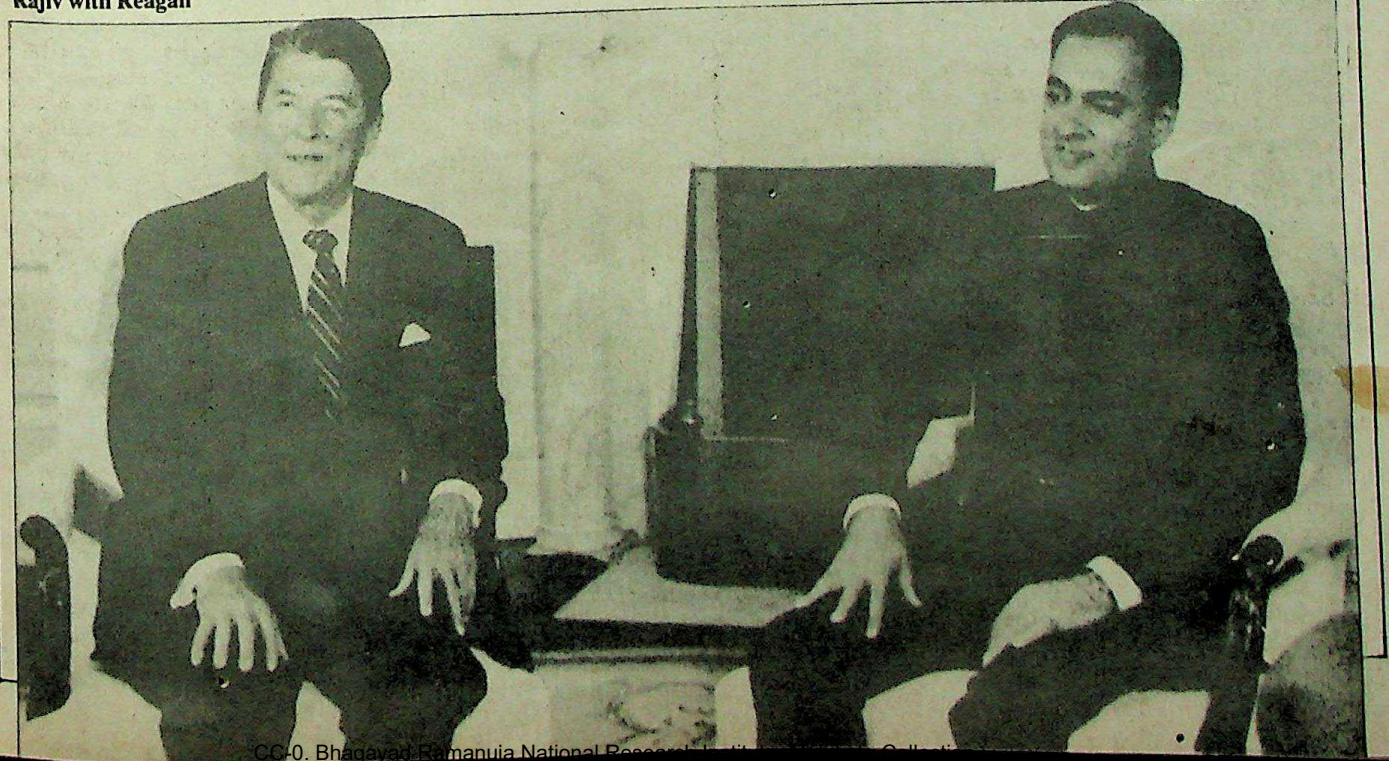
It was billed, as might have been in one of Mr Reagan's Hollywood bashes, as "a getting to know each other visit." In the event, according to the American President himself, the two leaders "hit it off." But this was the result of a conscious decision on the part of the chief executives concerned to ignore their considerable political differences and get on with discussions on trade, transfer of US technology in previously prohibited areas, paving the way for an increased American investment in India. The United States is already India's biggest trade partner.

Only last month, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) busted a Sikh extremist plot to assassinate Mr Gandhi. Indeed, dozens of Khalistanis were pouring into Washington D.C. around the time the Indian PM's special aircraft was landing at Andrews Air Force base, a domain of VIPs. The aim of these extremists was to demonstrate near the White House, the abode of American presidents, at the time of Mr Gandhi's arrival there for the formal welcome. The shouting of slogans could be heard in the distant background, as the colourful ceremony on the south lawns of the presidential estate unfolded itself. Americans, some say, lack the refinement of the French, but their pomp and pageantry is no less resonant. In his speech, Mr Reagan generated "vibes" straightaway by respectfully recognising India's non-aligned position. Many a previous US head of state, including the current occupant of the White House, have found it hard to stomach India's independence. This was, therefore, a notable resignation to reality.

On the vexed issue of Pakistan, neither India nor the USA broke new ground. "You can and must put pressure on Pakistan to stop its nuclear programme," Mr Gandhi told his hosts at the official talks following the White House welcome. The response: We have firm reports that Pakistan's uranium enrichment efforts have not reached weapons-producing levels. Mr Gandhi pressed on: What about the sale of sophisticated arms, which can only be used against India, to Pakistan? The USA's stand on the matter has been that these supplies have been necessitated by the circumstances in Afghanistan. The American secretary of state, George Shultz, added a new and unconvincing argument to this: This support is aimed at diverting Pakistan from its nuclear designs.

Though somewhat contradictory, the Americans at least provided an answer on this. They had none when the PM pointed out that the sea-skimming missiles recently given to India's neighbour cannot, surely, be

Rajiv with Reagan



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used in the mountains of Afghanistan. But of course, Mr Gandhi secured a crucial undertaking from Mr Reagan. The latter specifically underlined that "The United States will not undermine India's unity." This was particularly relevant in view of New Delhi's long suspicion that the notorious Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was involved in destabilising the country, including creating dissent in Punjab. It remains to be seen, however, if this promise is really carried out.

Speeding from one function to another in his sleek, black, bullet-proof limousine, the Prime Minister finally ended up, on the third day of his visit, at the joint session of senators and representatives—his next big engagement. Here he excited the Congressmen, as they are called, with a pronouncement on Afghanistan which was seen as a "shift" by official circles in the American capital: "We stand for a political settlement in Afghanistan that insures sovereignty, integrity, independence and non-aliged status..." He stated, however, that if there was any significance in his address, it lay in what the PM did not say—which refers to the American role vis-a-vis the Mujahedeens.

It is just possible that Mr Gandhi was carrying a brief from the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, for it was also reliably understood that President Reagan expressed interest in the Indian leader's talks in their private meeting prior to the official talks. Indeed, in what was supposed to be a background briefing for media editors, Mr Gandhi uttered a desire to "do something concrete" to resolve the Afghan situation. But interspersed with his placatory sentences were a few jarring notes, which did not go down badly with the liberals like Edward Kennedy and Patrick Moynihan who were present in the house, but, perceptibly, did not please the hawks one bit. He hit out at the American attempt to militarise space—the Star Wars, as it is nicknamed. He also spoke acidly about the reduction of American contributions to the International Development Agency, an affiliate of the World Bank. Citing the United States' previous commitment to this body, he declared, "Recent years have seen a sad erosion in this commitment." But on his own admission, the PM did not get the time to discuss the US withdrawal from UNESCO, as he had promised to do in Paris after his speech to the organisation.

And so it was on to the official inauguration of the 18-month Indian cultural extravaganza, "The Year of India." It was more on the lines of the festivities in London three years ago than the show in Paris, with a *Jugalbandi* by sitarist Ravi Shankar and sarodmaestro Ali Akbar Khan. There was also the father-and-son combination of Alla Rakha and Zakir Hussain on the *tabla*, the highlight of the concert at the John F. Kennedy centre, attended by almost 2,500 people paying upto as much as 1,000 dollars per head. The hectic schedule was, by now, catching up with the otherwise energetic Prime Minister. So, he must have been happy to at last relax a little bit, and proudly went on clapping at the end of the show like an enthralled schoolboy. But he was too tired to stay on at the reception that followed. The same morning, Mrs Nancy Reagan, chairperson of the US Advisory Committee, had taken him to the wonderful *Aditi* exhibition at the Smithsonian Institute. The evening's hospitality belonged to vice president George Bush, who took the PM to his home state of Texas for an inspection of high-tech, which is, incidentally one of Mr Gandhi's obsessions.

But the big splash that the media were waiting for — a thaw in the 20-year American freeze on arms supplies to India—did not come about. Indeed, the PM virtually poured cold water over this subject by saying that the conditions of safeguards being insisted upon by the Americans were "unacceptable to us." However, it is worth observing that the recent memorandum of understanding on the transfer of advanced US technology could incorporate access to knowledge in defensive areas like surveillance and electronic equipment. For the time being, though, one has to be satisfied with the announcement of an agreement on computers in the near future. A major deal on telecommunications also appears to be in the offing among other things. But what strikes one as specially significant is the distinct possibility of cooperation between the Indian public sector and the American private sector in agriculture, where the Americans are, undoubtedly, the world leaders.

Mr Reagan remarked at the White House banquet in honour of Mr Gandhi that the latter was only "a few years younger than him." This was meant to be a joke. But the truth is Rajiv Gandhi is growing up rapidly as a politician, and proof of this maturity was his superb handling of the international press at the National Press Club in Washington. As a close friend of his put it, "He is a transformed person." And Americans were most impressed.

"French people don't know India. This is unbelievable," remarked a French lady journalist standing beside me in the restaurant halfway up the famous tower built by Gustave Eiffel almost a century ago. We were gazing down in astonishment at the 200,000 Parisians revelling in the Indian style *mela* in the Trocadero Gardens.

Less visibly, but with equal spontaneity, the French government headed by the socialist President, Francois Mitterrand, exuberantly welcomed the new Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. Indeed, from the moment Mr Gandhi stepped out of his Air India Boeing 707, christened *Annapurna*, until his departure for Algiers it was a red carpet welcome all the way. Besides, the exchanges between the present pilot of Indian affairs and Monsieur Mitterrand and his Prime Minister, Laurent Fabius, went well enough for the last mentioned to stress at a winding-up press conference that there was "a broad convergence of views" between the two countries on all important international issues. And, the views on the world economic situation were described as "very close, *if* not identical."

Unlike the public enthusiasm for the two-day open-air *mela* at the inauguration of the "Year of India" in France, the intimacy at the political and fiscal levels was not unexpected. The only really outstanding issue between the two nations was the unattractiveness of French credits available to India, which were going largely unutilised. On this, Monsieur Fabius promised to take "positive" action, without elaborating on the measures. As is well known, Mr Gandhi's visit took place against the backdrop of the alleged French connection in the January spy scandal. But President Mitterrand had successfully defused the potential damage to Indo-French relations by the time the Indian Prime Minister arrived. In their initial tête-a-tête at the Elyseé Palace, the official residence of French presidents, Monsieur Mitterrand welcomed the 40-year-old Rajiv Gandhi by saying he had the honour of meeting Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi in the past and now it was his privilege to acquaint himself with a third generation of "Nehru" prime ministers.

Despite being socialists, the French ruling party is quite stridently opposed to Moscow and the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

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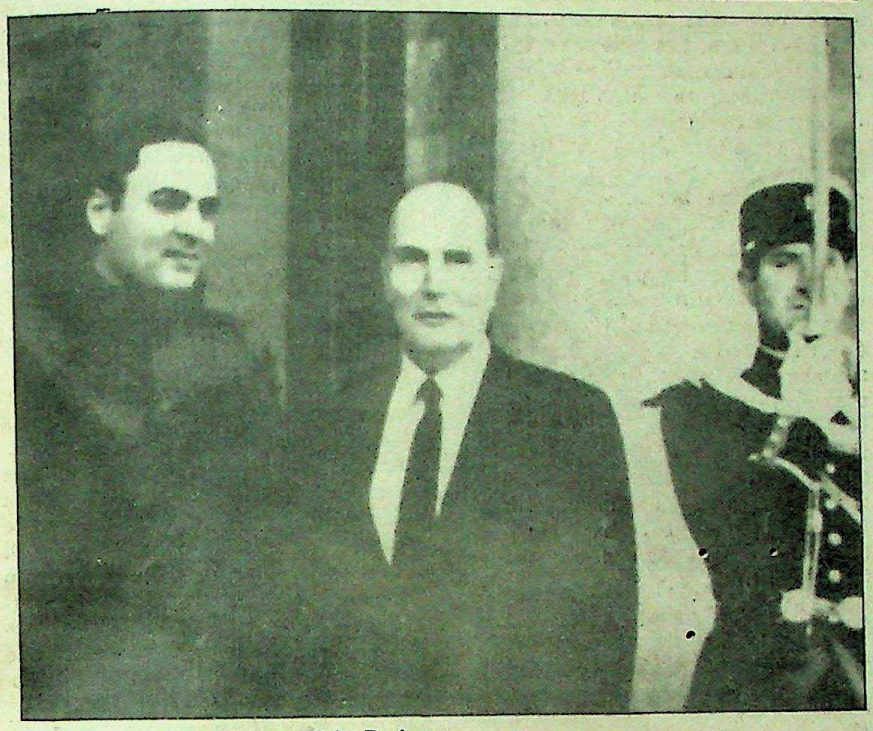
The New Bonhomie



Rajiv Gandhi and Mitterrand in Paris

Monsieur Mitterrand raised this topic during his talks with Mr Gandhi. Although the two countries differed in their evaluation of this issue, the French leader was pleased with Mr Gandhi's insistence that India was not in favour of the Russian presence in Afghanistan, as much as she was against foreign presence in and pressures on any nation. Mr Mitterrand also appreciated India's desire for a peaceful and political solution to the problem and its wish to see the emergence of Afghanistan as an independent and non-aligned country. In turn, Mr Gandhi referred to last month's statement by the French ambassador in Pakistan, suggesting that French assistance to Pakistan's nuclear programme was not a closed chapter. On this, President Mitterrand gave an assurance that no further help to Pakistan for its "enrichment" efforts was being contemplated. This guarantee, in fact, is said to have followed a comment by Mr Gandhi that he was finding it very difficult to resist pressures in India to manufacture nuclear weapons, in view of Pakistan's reported plans to do so.

The dialogue with Prime Minister Fabius got underway at a stylish dinner at the Quay d'Orsay, the French foreign office. Amidst shimmering chandeliers and gilded tapestry on the walls and ceilings, the two youthful politicians—Fabius is of the same age as his Indian counterpart—proclaimed their intentions in no uncertain manner. Unlike some other countries, the French do not indulge in frivolity at banquets, and indeed, often utilise such functions to issue important policy statements. This spirit, in fact, permeated into the official talks the next day, which dwelt mainly on bilateral ties, especially economic links. A meeting of 30 Indian industrialists with 150 French captains of industry had preceded this formal discussion and in a way had set the tone for increased cooperation all around. "It would be a folly," one of the visiting businessmen told the French, "if you seek to make a quick buck from the liberalisations announced by the Indian government." He added, "There must be a long term commitment, and at the same time partnership in third world countries."

But while Mr Gandhi and his entourage traded general impressions with Monsieur Fabius and his team, a separate and very significant dialogue was taking place between defence minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and his counterpart, Charles Hernu. An official spokesman for the Indian delegation confirmed that these two gentlemen had dealt with an additional supply of Mirage 2000s, Airbuses, and helicopters—Dauphins and Superpumas. But reliable sources disclosed that the French light combat aircraft, the Alphajet, Exocet missiles and the latest version of 155 mm guns had also figured in the talks. Sources reveal that negotiations in these three undisclosed items are at a relatively early stage, while talks on the others are "in the final stages."

Over the years, French foreign policy towards Asia has been dictated by commercial considerations. Paris looked upon China as the big market and went out of its way to woo the communist government, only to end up disappointed—with a series of allegedly broken promises and cancelled contracts from Beijing. Around the time Mrs Gandhi was reassessing her economic dependence on the Soviet Union, after her return to power in 1980, the French were looking askance at India for a new alliance. President Giscard d'Estang made the first move by visiting India five years ago, but it was not until Mrs Gandhi visited the French capital in November 1981 that solidarity was truly established. The last round of summitry, therefore, has merely built on the foundation laid earlier in the decade. If anything, France has moved closer to the developing nations, seeing herself as a possible bridge between the first and the third worlds.

As Mr Gandhi candidly summed up at the end of his five-day stay in Paris, the "tremendous understanding" reached between France and India in the course of his visit was the real achievement and everything else will "grow out of this." "Plenty of contracts" on defence are expected in the weeks and months ahead. Indeed, a three-tier mutual fascination seems to characterise Indo-French relations at present—the bonhomie on the government-to-government plane, growing intimacy between the respective industrialists, and last but not the least, the people-to-people interaction, as demonstrated by the incredible attendance at the *mela* and the heightened interest in the many cultural events to follow. It's a love affair.

Ashis Ray

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SPECIAL REPORT

The Border War

Assam and Nagaland policemen trade bullets to settle territorial disputes

While the three-day virtual "war" between policemen of the Congress(I)-ruled states of Assam and Nagaland along the 16 kilometre Merapani sector of the inter state border has sent shock waves throughout the country, the fallout of the disaster was particularly demoralising in Assam. Public feeling against the government's failure to meet the exigencies of the situation and the dismal performance of the Assam police is running high in the state. On Friday a 12-hour bandh was called by AASU in the state to mourn the death of the policemen killed in action. It was also a protest against the government's inability to protect the lives and property of its citizens. According to official sources in Dispur, 28 policemen and 11 civilians were killed. Fifty-three Assam policemen are reported missing. Many of the missing are expected to be dead and more bodies will probably be recovered.

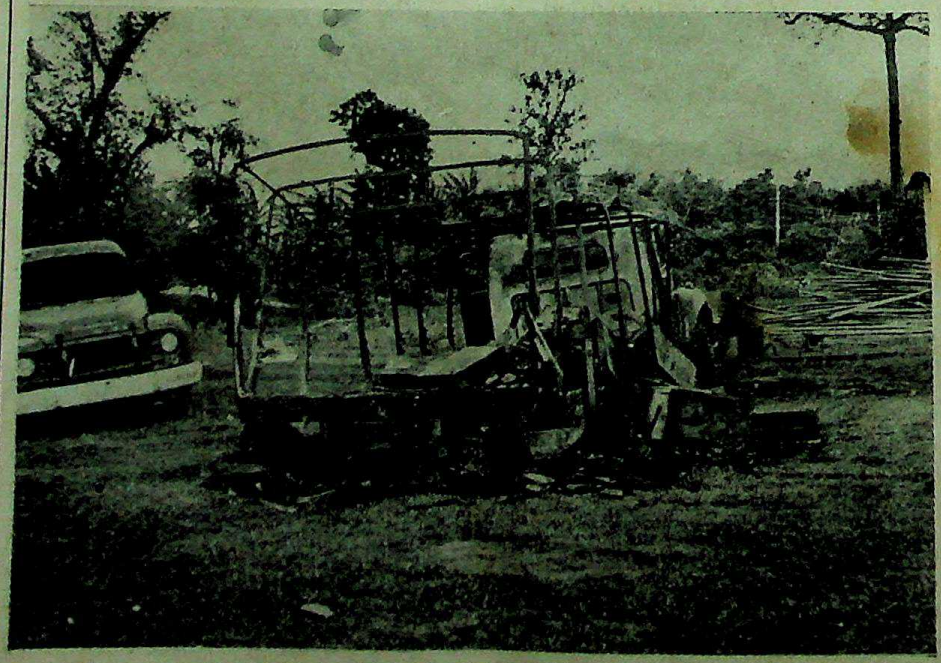
When this correspondent visited the Merapani area five days after the firing had ceased, the area resembled a war front. Deserted bunkers and trenches had been dug all along the border. The stench of carcasses was overpowering, while bodies of the dead were strewn all around. For the first few days after the confrontation the Assam Rifles, which has moved into the area, did not allow anybody including the press to visit the actual site of the battle. The front was said to be strewn with grenades and detonators which were being defused by the Assam Rifles. The Merapani police station has been completely destroyed. The market place and all other houses too have been burnt down. Altogether nearly 500 houses on the Assam side of the border were set on fire. According to the villagers living in the border areas, the Assam police was taken by surprise and was unprepared for the well-planned "invasion."The Nagaland Armed Police (NAP) overran the entire sector and recovered a large quantity of arms left behind by the fleeing Assam policemen.

The standard excuse being given by the Assam police today is that they were not prepared to deal with the "preplanned invasion by the NAP." Gyanananda Sharma Pathak, the director general of Assam police, said: "My men were naturally not prepared for war. Nowhere in the country is the police force mentally prepared to go to war against their counterparts in neighbouring states. My men fought bravely and laid down their lives but in the wake of such a massive invasion, were largely outnumbered and there was little that they could do." But the question being asked is: why were they unprepared?

Naga villagers, often with the support of the Nagaland Armed Police in Chokma, have been encroaching on Assam forest reserves. For the last two years they have been intimidating villagers and forcibly harvesting crops of people living on the Assam side. While over 80 such incidents have been reported each year during 1983 and 1984, over 80 incidents of unprovoked attacks have occurred in the last few months this year. On 27 February seven former tea garden workers were kidnapped from the Abfyapur reserve and killed by Naga villagers. A few days later villagers of Dagaon were attacked and killed by armed Nagas. Again between April and 3 June, just before the actual flare-up, there were seven incidents of unprovoked firing by Nagas on civilians living in the Merapani sector, in which one villager was killed. The Assam police noted that the NAP was digging trenches and bunkers opposite the Merapani police station.

Taking note of the preparations made by the NAP, the Assam police also posted a few men on the Merapani foothills, during the last week of May. The situation had been gradually deteriorating since 20 April, when the Nagaland police started to construct a fence with iron pillars along the compound of the veterinary hospital in violation of the 1979 agreement signed by the two state governments. The Assam authorities claim that the fence was being built on Assamese territory. The Assam police subsequently seized the material. The deputy commissioner of the adjoining Nagaland district of Wokha personally came to the Merapani police station and tried to forcibly take back the fencing material. Meanwhile, the sub-inspector of Assam police accidentally pulled the trigger of his gun while the Wokha deputy commissioner was in the Merapani police station. Though no one was injured, this was regarded by the Nagaland government as an affront.

The final assault came when the



Burnt down vans of the Assam police after the armed conflict on 4 June

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Assam team including the upper Assam commissioner, the IGP (border) and the DIG (eastern range) were in Chumukidima in Nagaland, discussing with the NAP and the central observer of the home ministry, the means of defusing the tension. News of heavy firing in the sector was received late in the evening, and the two teams of police officials immediately left to call a halt to the fighting. The Nagaland officials turned down Assam's suggestion that the officials of both the sides should go together to the area. The Nagaland officials, however, assured that they would reach the affected area at about the same time as the Assam team preferring to go through Kohima and Wokha.

When DIG Samant reached Merapani, he asked his men to immediately cease hostilities, but there was no response from the NAP, nor was there any sign of the senior officials who had promised to be on the scene. White flags were put up and an announcement made through the loudspeaker by the DIG but to no avail. A vehicle which was sent to pick up the dead bodies was fired on by the NAP. Even after the formal announcement of a ceasefire on 7 June at Imphal by the Assam and Nagaland chief ministers, the NAP continued to loot and destroy property and kill civilians. In flagrant violation of the Imphal accord, some members of the Naga Students Federation (NSF), had been touring the sensitive border areas in a Nagaland police vehicle (NLP 1549). This has thrown up some interesting clues. The NSF delegation was in possession of strategic documents showing the deployment of the Assam police in the Merapani sector. The arrested students included the chairman, action committee of the NSF, Neighulo Krome, vice president Changko Monyak, general secretary Alem Jamir, speaker Ashukeho and auditor Kaka Zhimuni. Alen Jamir has reportedly met the Nagaland chief minister prior to his coming to Jorhat to tour the border areas. Immediately after their arrest there was tremendous pressure from Nagaland for their release. Chief minister S.C. Jamir himself contacted Hiteswar Saikia on the phone asking for his intervention to release the students.

In Assam, chief minister Hiteswar Saikia is facing an embarrassing situation. While public opinion in the state is vehemently critical of the Assam government's weak and vacillatory border policy, chief minister Saikia, as the chairman of the North Eastern Congress(I) Coordination Committee, cannot afford to take a belligerent attitude towards a fellow Congress(I) chief minister.

The Assam police outpost at Merapani after the attack

When hostilities first began, Mr Saikia took pains to ensure that he did not issue any controversial statements and even told the union minister of state for home, Mrs Ram Dulari Sinha, and the Nagaland chief minister that if the report of the Sunderam Commission was not acceptable to Nagaland, Assam was willing to open up the entire boundary question again.

The Assam police at the moment is thoroughly demoralised over the deaths of so many of its personnel and public criticism against the force. In fact, the government turned down the request of the police association to allow their delegation to visit the Merapani sector and find out the reasons for the disaster. The Nagaland-Assam dispute over the boundary issue has persisted for many years. Basically it boils down to the fact that Nagaland has never accepted the 1925 notification which has formed the basis of the inter-state boundary between Assam and Nagaland. Nagaland was once a part of the composite state of Assam and formed the Naga Hills district of the state. When Nagaland became a state in 1960, the district boundaries fixed by the British by the 1925 notification was converted into the inter-state boundary. However, right from then Nagaland had told the centre that they were not prepared to accept the British demarcation. When the Sunderam commission studied the boundary question, it more or less went by the 1925 notification. The then Nagaland chief minister, Mr Vizol, openly said that the Sunderam Commission report was not acceptable to his state. They claimed that before the coming of the British the Ahom ruler of Assam had also acknowledged their right to the land they were claiming. Nagaland has claimed roughly 40,000 sq metres of Assam's territory. In fact this has been an age-old claim of the Nagas

Chief minister Jamir has been under great pressure at home to put forward Nagaland's claim to a certain portion of land in Assam and tribal superiority over the plainsmen. When the two chief ministers were directed by the home ministry to meet and call for an immediate stop to the fighting, the original venue was to be Guwahati. Members of the Nagaland cabinet seem to have protested vehemently against their chief minister travelling to meet Mr Saikia. Finally, following threats of resignation by some of the Naga ministers, the venue had to be shifted to Imphal.

The recent flare-up on the Merapani border has been an embarrassment for both the Assam and Nagaland Congress(I) chief ministers. Mr Jamir and Mr Saikia are both under pressure at home to take a tough line against each other. However, as Congress(I) chief ministers they will definitely be pulled up by the Prime Minister if they allow this to get the better of their judgement. On the one hand they will have to placate the party high command and promise to sort out their differences amicably, and on the other they cannot but adopt a tough posture at home to placate the hawks.

Seema Guha, Guwahati

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CORRUPTION

Kashmir's Dishonest Bureaucrats

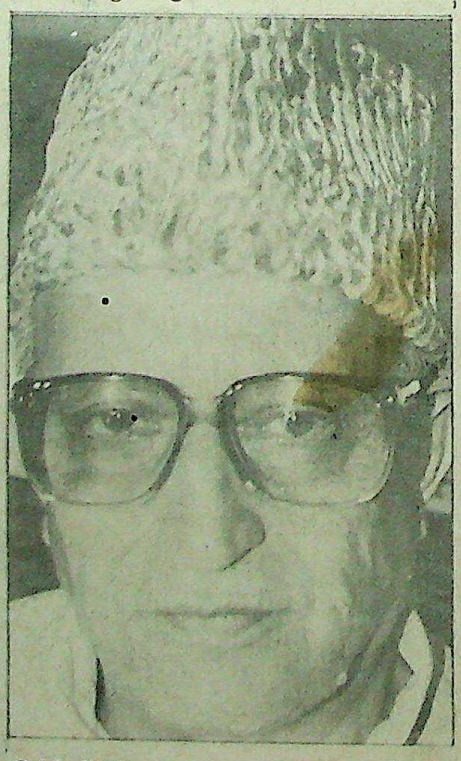
The ruling party is using corrupt officials for its own self interest

A scandal-a-day is the most apt way to describe what has been happening in Jammu and Kashmir in recent months. While the melting pot of Kashmir politics boils over with daily news of the imminent collapse of the alliance between the Congress(I) and the ruling National Conference (Khalida), the ruling party collaborates with the bureaucracy to loot the state with impunity. There seems to be no authority to take them to task or even to check them. So open is their corruption that they have begun to be known as the administration whose only "aim is to loot the state exchequer." The inherent weaknesses of the G. M. Shah government have led to a situation in which it is in no position to manage the party and the bureaucracy properly. Instead, the caucus controlling the government is using the bureaucracy to further its own selfish interests.

The extent to which corruption has permeated into the bureaucracy is evident from the functioning of the Jammu and Kashmir State Finance Corporation (JKSFC) reported earlier in this magazine (see SUNDAY, 16-22 June 1985). Sheikh Mohi-ud-din, the corporation's managing director has received able support in his dubious deal from the general manager R. K. Sadhu. It is alleged that since the arrival of the Gulshah government, Sadhu has made several irregular appointments and promotions in the JKSFC. Officials of the corporation have accused Sadhu and Sheikh Mohi-ud-din of promoting certain officers against whom cases of misappropriation of funds are being investigated. They have named three officers, P. L. Kachru, M. L. Kaul and R. L. Bhat, who have been recently promoted despite the fact that "the board of directors of the corporation after receiving explanatory letters from the offices of both the former chief minister and the union finance minister, constituted a sub-committee to investigate the matter thoroughly." There is a list of 22 other officials who were promoted to permanent positions within a couple of months of their being taken on as staff on training for six months. According to the memorandum prepared by corporation employees, they are the "henchmen" of Mohi-ud-din and R. K. Sadhu.

Another senior official accused of corruption is S. A. Hameed, director of the Jammu and Kashmir Fire Services. Officials of the fire services pleaded with the state government for his ouster, but in vain. Finally they wrote to the Prime Minister listing a number of charges including embezzlement of funds. But it seems Hameed's influence goes beyond Kashmir. Months after the letter had been sent to the Prime Minister, Hameed continues to work in the fire services' headquarters. Some of the allegations made against Hameed and some other officials of the department are:

- The purchase of gun metal gate valves from M/s Beer Engineering Works Jalandhar, the cost of which was inflated from Rs 70,229.85 paise to Rs 72,400. Though a bill had been submitted for the former amount, it was passed for a sum of Rs 72,400.
- The purchase of two jet-boats of Russian make from the Jammu and Kashmir Tourist Development Corporation though special fire-fighting boats had already been purchased from abroad. These Russian jet-boats, it is maintained, are not suited to fire-fighting and are more useful for transport. What is more, even a year after their purchase they have not been put to any use.
- Hydrants worth lakhs of rupees were bought some years ago but because they could not be used by the fire services, they have all gone to waste.
- Expensive wireless communication sets, walkie-talkie instruments, breathing apparatus and even fire tenders are lying idle in the huge fire services compound.
- In the course of one year, Hameed made out tour bills worth Rs 33,000 which comes to about Rs 100 a day. He made trips by air even when there was no need for him to do so.



G.M. Shah

The minister for estates and fire services, Jagjivan Lal, after personally looking into the affairs of the fire services headquarters in the first week of April, came to the conclusion that "some cases of corruption" against Hameed and other officials "had been proved correct." But the government took no action. The State Vigilance Commission has also, during its investigations, unearthed several irregularities in the Jammu and Kashmir Fire Services. In one case they found that two turn-table ladders imported from West Germany at a cost of about Rs 80 lakhs were no more than "showpieces" and had allegedly fetched the officials who negotiated the deal about Rs five lakhs. The investigating authorities estimate that fire service officials have made more than Rs 30 lakhs by way of commission for the purchase of various instruments for "use" by the firemen.

Besides, Hameed had also altered the date of his birth from 28 May 1935 to 28 May 1939 in the records to gain four years in government service. Consequently, the date of his joining government service was also changed from 18 April 1955 to 18 April 1958. Despite all this and the efforts of the fire service employees, Hameed is firmly in the saddle. The very fact that the Jammu and Kashmir estates and fire services minister, Jagjivan Lal, admitted that cases of corruption had been proved and yet could do nothing about it, is an indication of the way the state is being run today.

Sankarshan Thakur, Srinagar

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

PUNJAB

Trouble in the Golden Temple

Clash between supporters of Longowal and Joginder Singh

The battle between the moderates led by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and the hard-liners led by Baba Joginder Singh, father of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale ,reached a new level after a pitched battle between students belonging to the hawkish AISSF and the pro-Longowal Akali Dal(Youth)inside the Golden Temple on 9 June.Six persons were seriously injured in the clashes while others sustained minor injuries. The holding of rival conventions between the two factions—both equally well attended,has ruled out the chances of a compromise between Joginder Singh and Longowal in the near future.

The *panthic* convention in the Manji Sahib Hall on 6 June ,organised by the "united"Akali Dal owing allegiance to Baba Joginder Singh was another indication of the power of the militants .This was their first large convention after the "united" Akali Dal was formed and it was organised with the intention of paying homage to the Sikhs killed during the army action in June last year. The eulogisation of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale by each speaker even prompted an observer to claim, "His spirit was very much present at the meeting."The majority of the 10,000 *kesari* turbaned Sikhs present at the meeting were *amritdharis*.Apart from the slogans hailing Bhindranwale,banners and posters were displayed praising Beant Singh and Satwant Singh.

Though the Baba had set the tone, other militant leaders went even further.Surjit Kaur,an Akali leader from Gurudaspur who spoke at the meeting said,"We have killed the lady(Indira Gandhi).Now it is Rajiv's turn" Reacting to such statements a moderate Akali leader said,"Can Rajiv Gandhi ever think of holding talks with Joginder Singh when he is openly allowing his party colleagues to talk about killing him and glorifying his mother's assassination?"

During the convention which lasted over six hours,Sikh youths repeatedly shouted "Khalistan *zindabad*"and slogans against Gurcharan Singh Tohra.Prakash Singh Badal and Longowal.Baba Joginder Singh who presided over the meeting did not address the convention though he was on the stage throughout the meeting.The new party secretary Surat Singh Khalsa,a middle aged school teacher who had quit the government in protest against Operation Bluestar read out the presidential address in Gurmukhi.While the speakers addresed the gathering in clearly militant tones, the ten resolutions apart from the ones hailing the actions of Beant and Satwant Singh were of a routine nature.

Top Akali leaders including Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Ujjagar Singh Sekhon, Prakash Singh Majitha, Ranjit Singh Brahmpura and Harcharan Singh also attended the convention.With the media giving the event full publicity,it did look as if the convention would help Joginder Singh to pose a serious challenge to the leadership of Longowal, Tohra and Badal.

According to sources,the senior leaders of the Akali Dal(Longowal) were initially uncertain but determined to make their "show"on 9 June equally impressive.When Longowal arrived to preside over the *Saheedi Samagam* convention,organised to mark his resumption of office as the Akali Dal president, he was virtually mobbed at the main entrance of the SGPC office inside the Golden Temple complex.A large crowd of 15,000 (slightly larger than the one on 6 June)was waiting to authorise him to restore the honour and dignity of the Sikhs.The proceedings soon got under way with the audience listening attentively. However, midway through the meeting trouble began when Harbans Singh Ghuman.an MLA from Gurudaspur district indirectly criticised the leadership of Baba Joginder Singh which incited about 20 AISSF workers and supporters of the Baba.They first raised slogans of "Bhindranwale *zindabad* from the balcony overlooking the dais. The slogans soon grew louder and the shouts of "Akali Dal*zindabad* by Longowal's supporters failed to drown them totally.

The Akali Dal (Longowal) had organised over 500 *prabandhaks* to control the crowd. The burly *prabandhaks,* armed with *lathis,* attacked the trouble-makers, beating them severely till they fled. As the turbans of some of the youths came off during the scuffle, the hefty Akali Dal volunteers pulled their hair and

An extremist being beaten up by Longowal's men

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Math.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

AISSF supporters shouting pro-Khalistani slogans

struck them viciously, injuring at least six youths.

Some of the bleeding youths escaped from the gallery to the safety of the AISSF office behind the hall and a short while later, a group of youths armed with iron rods, emerged from the AISSF office. But they were prevented from causing any serious damage by senior leaders. The youths then threw stones, bulbs and leaflets carrying slogans against the three *gaddars* (traitors)—Longowal, Badal and Tohra. "*Shaheedi de katil* (killers of martyrs) *murdabad. Dilli ke teen yaar,* (The three friends of Delhi) Badal, Tohra, Longowal," proclaimed the leaflets.

Each of the interruptions lasted around ten to 15 minutes, leaving the crowds increasingly restive and agitated. Finally, it was Tohra who succeeded in pacifying the crowd with an emotional speech describing the desecration of the Golden Temple and the Akal Takht and the November riots. The other speakers, Surjit Singh Barnala, Badal and Longowal also accused the government of treating Sikhs as second-class citizens and repressing them through "black laws." They all justified the Anandpur Sahib resolution and criticised the government for dubbing the resolution as secessionist. They also ruled out the possiblity of talks with the government.

The disturbances occurred despite the security measures taken by the local administration and the barbed wire fence around the Manji Saheb. Though the local army commander denied that army personnel were helping the police and para-military forces, army trucks and jeeps were also stationed at certain vantage points.

Sanjeev Gaur, Amritsar

GUJARAT

Mob Fury

Communal riots continue

"We can control violence, we can control mobs, but we cannot control passions," said an army officer after communal riots had erupted again in Ahmedabad. On 9 June, eight persons including three women were burnt alive in a house in Dariyapur during a communal clash. The tragedy had occurred even though troops were patrolling the walled city and an indefinite curfew was in force.

Only 24 hours before the incident, the army had lifted the curfew in some areas and was planning a slow withdrawal as the situation was returning to normal. But the sudden resurgence caught the state government on the wrong foot. To make matters worse, the anti-reservationists spurned offers of a judicial probe headed either by a Supreme Court or a High Court judge into the violence of the past four months, the offer to cancel the proposed 18 per cent hike in reservations for the socially and educationally backward classes (SEBC), and make the existing ten per cent quota for these groups subject to a national consensus.

The second round of talks between the state government and the anti-reservationists on 31 May had raised hopes of a settlement. The differences had narrowed down with the agitators abandoning their demands for a total abolition of reservations and the government relenting from its stand of not ordering a judicial probe into the recent violence. The second round of talks, however, ended with the agitators wanting the government to act first and the Solanki government insisting on the agitators to withdraw the stir first.

On 7 June, communal riots broke out again in Kalupur and Dariyapur leaving ten persons dead. For the first time, the rioters fought the troops and at some places women blocked the roads. The troubles started almost simultaneously in several areas giving credence to the belief that the violence was preplanned. One of the worst incidents, however, occurred on 9 June when a mob attacked some houses in Dariyapur's Dabgarwad area, throwing burning rags into the houses. While armed forces rushed in to restore order, a little further away rioters armed with sharp weapons, locked in a family of eight in a house in Dabgarwad and set it on fire.

Even as communal violence rocked the city, the cabinet had been discussing the ultimatum given by the Nagrik Sangathan, a citizens forum which had asked a day earlier that the government should act unilaterally. The chief minister quickly responded to the plea. The forum which included prominent citizens such as two former Chief Justices of the High Court, M.N. Miyabhoy and B.J. Divan, the poet Umashankar Joshi, and a number of others had said that the government did not institute a judicial probe, the forum would do so. The government was given 36 hours to decide but Mr Solanki did it in just one day.

Although government officials insisted that there was nothing new in the three-point unilateral announcement by the chief minister, it was a comedown for Solanki. When the second round of talks with the stir leaders ended on 31 May, the chief minister had said the government was working on a package deal that would include concessions to the anti-reservationists simultaneously with the withdrawal of the three and a half months old stir. The decision of the government on 9 June was an open retreat from this stand, probably because of the worsening situation in the state.

Tushar Bhatt, Ahmedabad

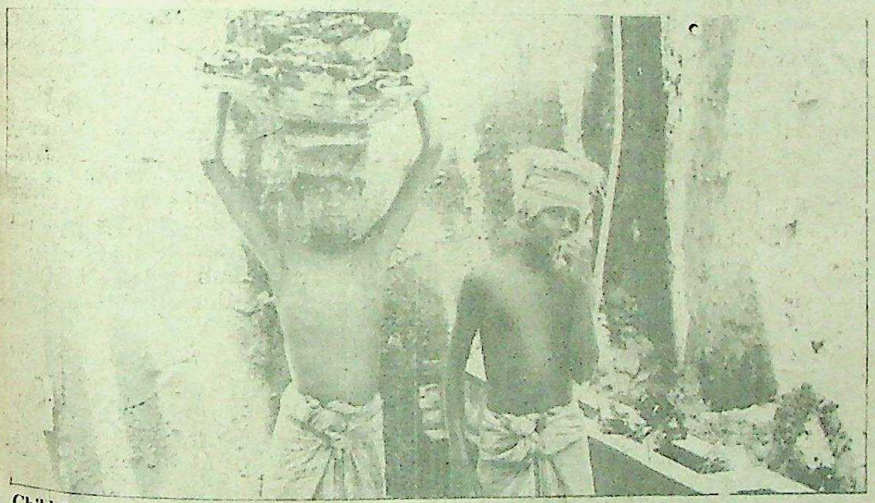
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

WEST BENGAL

Bonded Labour in Calcutta Metro

Sub-contractors accused of malpractices

Even as doubts persist about whether the country's first underground railway project in Calcutta would be completed by 1990, it has become the centre of another major controversy. In a report published last month, the Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) has charged the Metro Rail authorities and its prime contractors of not only violating the Minimum Wages Act, but also of using bonded labour. Two APDR officials—Venkat Ramaswamy, a college lecturer and Sandip Bandopadhyay, a school teacher—have spent more than four months investigating the conditions under which labourers are working on the Metro Rail project. Their report indicts the Metro authorities on a number of counts, including that of the exploitation of labour.



Child labourers at a construction site in Calcutta

The report states that both skilled and unskilled workers in general receive far less than the stipulated minimum wages. "The system of wage payment is usually as follows: Rs 4-5 is paid each day as *khoraki* (wages), the balance is cleared at the end of the month. This balance, however, sometimes accumulates up to four months. The workers keep accounts of the amounts due to them but the sub-contractors have the final say as to the actual amount owing.

Says Ramaswamy, "There is no dearth of specific cases. Take the Park Street settlement for example. Hashi Singh Munda was being paid Rs 10 daily by Shibprasad Biswas, a sub-contractor, while she should have got Rs 14.99. The sub-contractor was working for a public sector firm, the National Building Construction Corporation (NBCC). Junay Singh, another worker, hasn't been paid Rs 150 by the sub-contractor; Shriram Yadav and Budhuram Munda have each a due of Rs 350. In fact, this contractor attempted to abscond without payment in November 1984 but his workers apprehended him at Sealdah station. As it stands, no action was taken against him by the NBCC."

According to Bandopadhyay, "The impression one got after speaking to the workers and the sub-contractors in this area was that every agent in the work hierarchy kept a sum for himself and parcelled out the work to others. With the obvious result that at the end of the line, the petty contractor got a small bit of work done and made his profit by squeezing out the worker's minimum wages." This system operates right under the nose of the prime contractors, who have parcelled out the work but do not intervene to ensure that the sub-contractors follow the various labour laws.

Citing examples of underpayment, the report says: "At the crossing of Jatindra Mohan and Bhupen Bose Avenue, a group of workers from Balasore, Orissa, work under Hiralal Modi (sub-contractor to NPCC) for Rs 10 per day. At the crossing of Jawaharlal Nehru Road and Lenin Sarani, in central Calcutta a group from 24-Parganas working for Build India under Aziz Mollah, are paid Rs 12 per day.

Ramaswamy has also charged that the Metro sub-contractors are using bonded labour. According to him, "The construction has engaged a large number of *dadan* workers. Under this system, a worker is paid some money (*dadan*), particularly during the lean agricultural period, on condition that he will work for a specified period. Investigations by SUNDAY confirmed the existence of this system. Usually, a prime contractor who has a direct contract gives a sub-contract to another person for "earth-cutting." The sub-contractor approaches a commission agent, who in turn asks a *dafadar* or a *sardar* to fetch labourers from villages. The *dafadar* pays the labourers a fixed sum in advance, brings them to the site and sends them back after their term ends. They are made to work ten to 12 hours every day and paid a nominal daily allowance.

Under the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, be it totally or partly forced labour, exacting services without wages or for nominal wages, the advancing of loans with a view to extracting bonded labour for a definite or an indefinite period and compelling any person to render any form of forced labour under an earlier agreement have been abolished. Says Ramaswamy, "Legally speaking, the *dadan* system is a clear case of bondage and it is valid to point out here. According to the interpretation of the term forced labour in the Supreme Court's Asiad Case (1982) judgement, non-payment of minimum wage would amount to forced labour."

The APDR report cites numerous cases of *dadan* workers who are being brought mainly from Malda, Murshidabad and 24-Parganas districts of West Bengal. Rashid from Dhulian, Murshidabad, said that working hours were from 8 am to 8 pm: He had himself been engaged for 20 days on a *dadan* of Rs 90 plus an allowance of Rs 4 per day. Nirapada Mondal from Basanti, in 24-Parganas, working at the Park Street section, is being paid Rs 50 for a month plus a daily wage of Rs 5.

"One can make calculations basing upon the largest concentration of *dadan* workers ie. in the Kalighat-Bhowanipore stretch. The maximum workers receive here is: Rs 250 as *dadan*, Rs 150 as wages and Rs 50 for fares. At the present minimum wage rate of Rs 14.99 per eight hour day, the overtime rate of one and half times the basic rate for work exceeding 8 hours a day (they work for at least 12 hours) and the same rate for work on the four off-days in the month, the amount the workers should receive, works out to around Rs 850 per month. Thus the workers are being cheated to the tune of Rs 400 every month," said Ramaswamy.

A Special Correspondent, Calcutta

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

KARNATAKA

"I was Among the Nearest and Dearest to Mrs Gandhi"

Gundu Rao told SUNDAY

R. Gundu Rao is a journalists' delight. If the former Karnataka chief minister were to be given a sobriquet, it could well be, "The fastest mouth in Indian politics." His quips have led to mirth and misunderstanding. They are sometimes indiscreet like: "Journalists should jump into the Arabian Sea" or innovative, like: "All is fair in war, love and politics." Quite easily, he is one of the most interesting characters in Indian politics.

Gundu Rao has sobered down. He finds himself in a paradoxical situation: he is a member of the Congress Working Committee (CWC), the highest decision making body of the Congress(I) but he is not a major force in state politics.

He remains frank, candid and brash. At a recent party meeting he is believed to have told Rajiv Gandhi: "You may not have time to meet us as Prime Minister of the country, but as the Congress(I) president, it is your duty to listen to us." He spoke to SUNDAY about the "injustice and humiliation" meted out to him. Excerpts from the interview:

Q *What is your position in the Congress(I) today?*

A: Even today, I am one of the 12 members of the Congress Working Committee, which is the highest authority in the Congress(I). So that way, my position is strong. But because of some misunderstanding or misinformation before the Assembly elections, my relationship (with the party high command) was not so good. The very fact that they denied a ticket to me was a psychological setback. Again, in the Lok Sabha elections I campaigned and the Congress(I) won. In the Assembly elections , I was asked not to campaign and we lost. So politically, I am strong.

Q: Are you saying, that you were responsible for the Congress(I) victory in December?

A: I am not solely responsible. There were other reasons too. But my hectic campaigning was one of the reasons.

Q: But in March the high command did not recognise your claim for leadership?

A: Very much. They did not realise my potentiality, my loyalty, my sincerity.

Q: At a recent party meeting, you brought up the matter...

A: Yes, I brought the whole thing to the notice of the president. He heard me...gave me sufficient time. I explained the whole thing to the CWC, many of whom did not know the truth.

Q: You have criticised Karunakaran in the past and you did it again at the meeting. Since no reprimand came, does it mean your stand is vindicated?

A: Yes. Now everyone knows the second line leaders in charge of Karnataka (Karunakaran, Antony etc.) bungled. They misled and misreported to the leadership.

Q: Are you happy with the choice of the KPCC(I) president?

A: Yes, I am. You see the PCC(I) presidentship is not smooth sailing. (There are) always a lot of groups and groupism...

Q: You admit there are groups in the Congress(I)?

A: Yes, let us accept it. That is the main reason for the debacle in the Assembly elections. Some people say there are no groups; I am not one of them. There are groups and groups.

Q: One reason why everyone believes you are back in favour is that you occupied a prominent position on the dais during the AICCC..

A: Obviously, one reason is I am a CWC member. The other is that my personality is such that I am hard to miss (guffaws)...

Q: What do you think of the Janata Party win in the elections?

A: The Janata Party won because of the wrong selection of candidates by the Congress(I). Many Congress(I) candidates did not belong to the Congress(I), many others were unknown. Campaigning was absolutely zero. The Congress(I) campaign managers talked of getting 180 seats without even touring the state...

Q: What do you think of R.K. Hegde as a leader?

A: As an administrator, he is not able. His administrative grip is very poor. He is facing a lot of internal bickerings.

Q: So you don't think that the Janata victory was deserving or that Hegde is a popular leader?

A: Where is the yardstick to gauge popularity? Where was the opposition to Hegde? Who were his opponents? You see, there is a football match. One team is strong. The other team does not have a captain or a goalkeeper. The voter cannot make out who is playing fullback or centre. So I don't give any importance to the March elections.

Q: You think it would have made a difference if you had campaigned?

A: Yes, if Hegde speaks in a place one day, there should be a Congress(I) speech the next day. In December, I went neck and neck with him. Can you believe it? This time in a place like Mysore the Congress(I) did not hold a single meeting. All (we had were) five star press conferences by outsiders saying we will get 180-190 seats.

Q: Do you agree that there is a change in the culture of the present government as compared to the government you headed?

A: Why should you compare my administration with another? My chapter is over, I say. I lost. Now it is for me to compare. Now you put in a better performance. Gundu Rao is an old story. Yes, Gundu Rao was going in a helicopter. So what? People are talking of the electronic age. Tomorrow, if a speedier vehicle comes, go in that. Today, I do not require any of it because I am not in authority. I am not holding the post.

When I constructed my Krishna office, everyone criticised (me). Today they are all using it. Today, because of so many big buildings and halls, Delhi is important and many international conferences are held

Gundu Rao — Durgaprasad

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MOE

there. It was so in Geneva also.

Q: Do you think Congressmen are forgetting Mrs Indira Gandhi?

A: I don't think that is possible. She kept the country together and she revived the Congress. How can a Congressman every forget her?

Q: Then is the Congress leadership forgetting her?

A: No, in every speech he (presumably, Rajiv Gandhi) remembers her. In the AICC meeting her photos were everywhere. Each Congressman who spoke on the dais mentioned her.

Q: It appears you had a better equation with Mrs Gandhi than the present leader.

A: We are yet to see that. My relationship with Indira Gandhi was totally different from that with the present leadership, because I was with her even in her most difficult days. I was among the closest and the nearest and dearest to her. After Sanjay's death, when Rajiv entered politics, his career was launched from Bangalore during my period. During the Youth Congress convention, even Sanjay started off from Bangalore. But it takes some time. She had seen from 1969 how hard I worked for the party. She suffered two set backs and she saw how I stood by her. My sincerity and ability will be known only when the party faces a crisis. I wish the party does not face a crisis, but my loyalty and commitment will be exhibited only during a crisis.

Q: What is the difference between Rajiv Gandhi and Mrs Gandhi?

A: You see, he is a young man with his own way of thinking. So some differences may be there. We will know in one or two years. It is too early to say.

Q: Incidentally, were you specifically asked not to campaign for the Assembly elections?

A: Well, the first thing is that they denied me a ticket. Then of the 149 or so names we had unanimously recommended, they changed 91. Then there was the Karunakaran speech and the press conference by high command observers. They said don't call him (Gundu Rao) for the campaign. So I kept quiet. I am not like other politicians who when denied tickets quit the party. I have got abundant patience. I will wait. I am committed. If I don't get a ticket, fine. I am asked not to campaign, fine...I get that much rest.

Q: So there is no chance of your quitting the party or starting a new...

A: No, no question at all. I am with the Congress(I). I am not like those leaders who leave the party, start another when there is no hope of coming back to the Congress.

Q: Is that an oblique reference to Bangarappa?

A: I am referring to people all over the country. It happens in many states. It is not a healthy tradition for democracy. See, a person like Sharad Pawar. Why should he come back to the Congress(I)? I want to know. He did not leave the Congress because of his principles. He left because Mrs Gandhi did not make him chief minister. He then joined some other party and became chief minister. Then he formed some other party and abused Indira Gandhi, abused Sanjay Gandhi, abused Rajiv Gandhi and now he wants to come back to the Congress. In my view, once you leave a party, it is better to retire from politics than to come back to the same party.

Q: So what do you think should be done?

A: People who come back should be put on probation for five years. No office, no power. Otherwise, where is the sanctity of the party. Anyone can leave today and come back tomorrow.

Q: In spite of everything, your opponents still agree you are a popular leader in the Congress(I). What is the secret?

A: The secret is my sincerity and frankness. I place facts before the people as it is. I don't have polished ways and don't do politicking. I don't serve sugar coated pills.

Interviewed by Chidanand Rajghatta, Bangalore

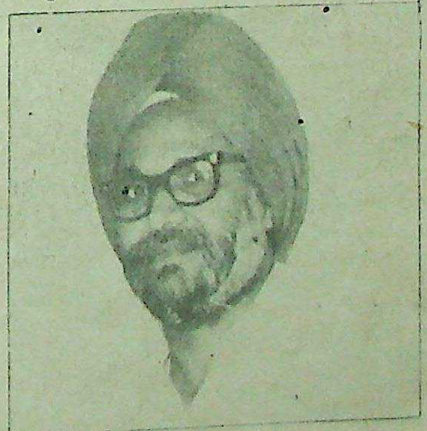
MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION

The Trial: The End of Act I

A prolonged court case appears likely

If the four-week long proceedings of the Indira Gandhi assassination case are any indication, then the murder trial being conducted inside the Tihar Jail, is going to be a long-drawn battle. According to present reports, the trial is likely to go on for at least a year. Before the first session of the case ended, no serious deliberations had been taken up but the stage is now set for the prosecution witnesses to be presented before court and for detailed cross-examination to commence. Charges against the three accused persons are to be framed on 8 July, when the court meets again after a four-week break and evidence will be recorded from 9 July. A brief of the proceedings so far:

On 17 May the additional sessions and district judge, Mahesh Chandra adjourned the court since the accused Balbir Singh had not appointed a defence counsel. Applications were presented by the wife of the accused Kehar Singh, alleging that the arrest of her son, Rajinder Singh under the National security Act was a contempt of court. R. S. Soghi, counsel for Satwant Singh filed an application alleging that "the document called the chargesheet did not stand the test of a public document." On 20 May, the court was adjourned again since a lawyer for Balbir Singh had still not been engaged. The defence counsel raised a number of objections about the facilities provided to the three accused during the trial and the presence of armed guards inside the court.



Kehar Singh

The special judge dismissed the contempt petition filed by Jasbir Kaur, wife of Kehar Singh on 28 May. The judge in his order said that the subject of the arrest of Rajinder Singh would be placed before the Advisory Board (under the National Security Act). The court took up a petition filed by the counsel for Balbir Singh and Kehar Singh, P. P. Grover, for holding an open trial in the case. "The present court is a jail within a jail" he argued. "Some extraneous authority is dictating the orders" said Grover. The plea for an open court trial was taken up by counsel for Satwant Singh, P. N. Lekhi the next day. Challenging the order of the High Court in directing the special judge to hold the trial in Tihar Jail, Lekhi argued: "Lest the borders contract to your doorstep, the court should open its doors to the public."

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

On 30 May the special judge, reserved his ruling for an open court trial till 5 June. Attention of the court was drawn to the medical state of the prime accused, Satwant Singh. His counsel demanded that another medical check-up be carried out because of a bullet still lodged in his spine.

The special judge dismissed the application of Kehar Singh for an open trial on 5 June. The judge, in his 12-page order said: "To my mind, trial in jail would not and cannot have any demoralising effect upon withnesses or affect their veracity and truthfulness." Rejecting the argument of the defence counsel that the "trial in jail would lead to miscarriage of justice," he said that provisions under Section 9(6) of the CRPC were based on sound public policy and had been made with a view to furthering the ends of justice."

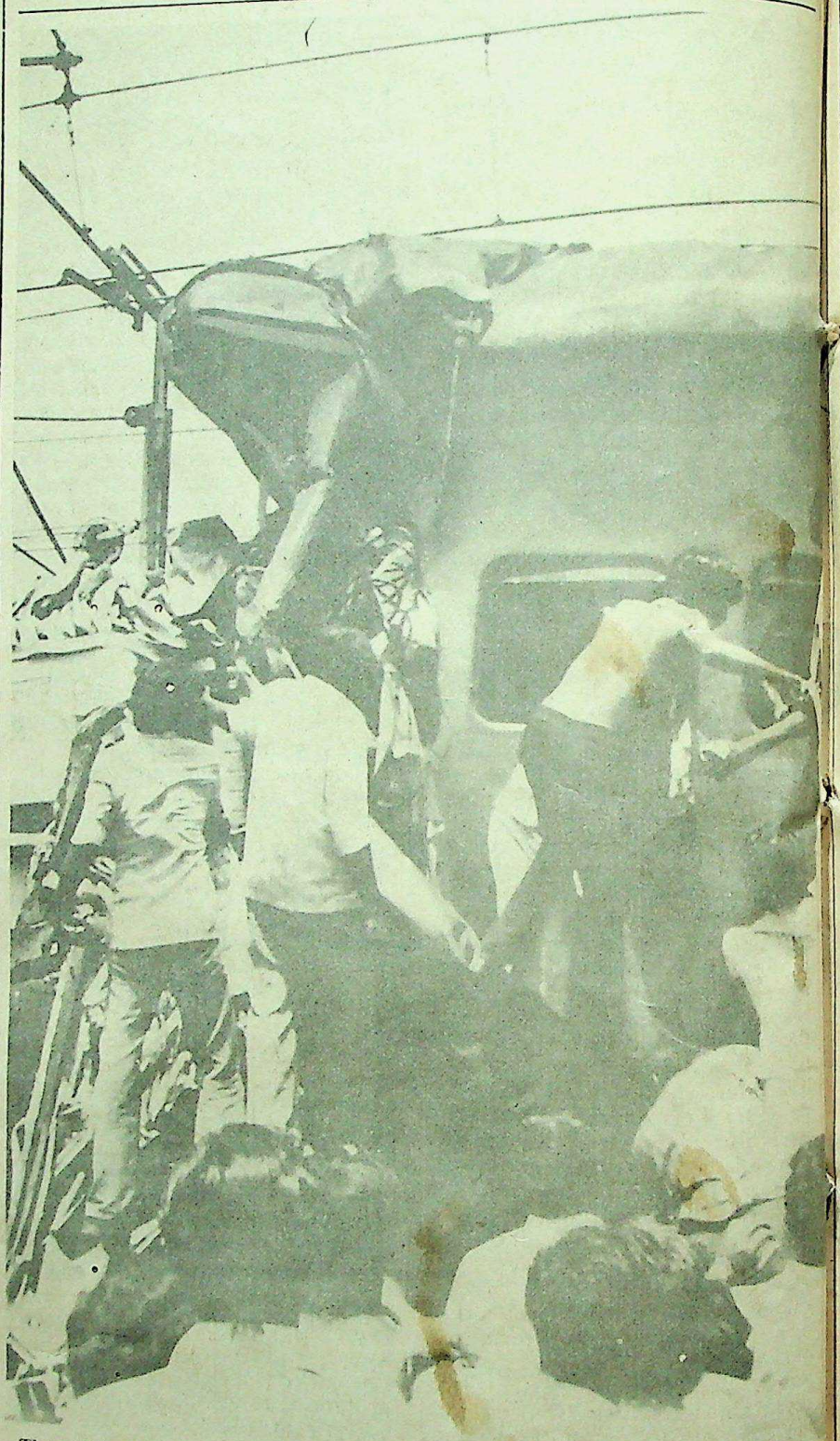
Recording of evidence against Satwant Singh, Kehar Singh and Balbir Singh began the next day. The prosecution declared they had enough evidence against the accused to prove their involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. The list of evidence was placed before the court by chief special prosecutor, K. L. Arora who stressed that there was no doubt in the design and deliberations of the conspiracy to kill Indira Gandhi. Names of five eye-witnesses to the assassination and three other prosecution witnesses were read to the court.

On 10 June Mahesh Chandra reserved till the following day his orders on framing of charges against the three accused for the assassination. In a two-hour long argument, P. P. Grover submitted that there was no conspiracy in the murder committed by either Kehar Singh or Balbir Singh. "It is a flight of imagination of the prosecution that his clients had hatched the conspiracy to kill her. They were first arrested and the evidence cooked up later" he alleged.

On the last day of hearing (11 June), the special judge contended that a *prima facie* case did exist against Satwant Singh, the alleged surviving assassin of Mrs Indira Gandhi. Mahesh Chandra delivered his 29-page order framing all the three accused in the murder. He placed on record as "uncalled for and irrelevant" the references made by the defence counsel on the circumstantial evidence collected by the prosecution in the case. The actual charges against the accused will be heard on 8 July, when the proceedings will continue.

Ritu Sarin, New Delhi

Disaster!



The collision between the Bilaspur-bound 138-Up Chattisgarh Express and a goods train at Raja ki Mandi near Agra Cantonment in UP on 13 June left 37 persons including a number of women and children dead and 50 others seriously injured. The final toll is likely to go up further as rescue operations were continuing at the time of going to press. Among the casualties were a large number of army personnel and their families.

The accident which occurred at 10.30 am when the trains collided head on, led to the derailment of the engine, the parcel van and two bogies of the Chattisgarh Express. Local residents, however, complained that the rescue squad comprising a medical team and a welding unit reached the spot four hours after the incident. The photograph by Kalakunj shows the rescue squad helping the survivors.

Research Institute. Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

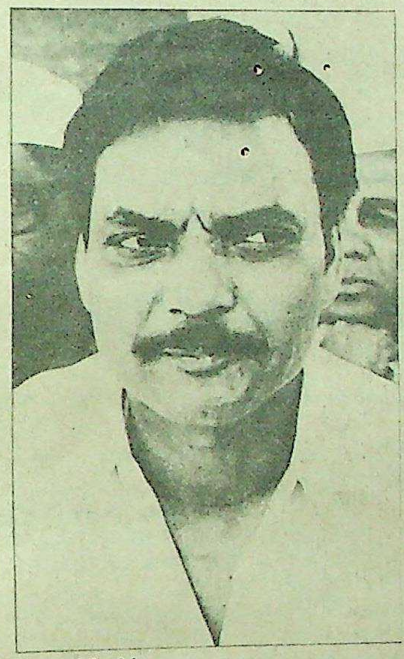
"There is Widespread Discontent Among Farmers"

Peasant leader Sharad Joshi told SUNDAY

The Shetkari Sanghatana is preparing for a "novel form of agitation" from 1 July. Sharad Joshi, the spokesman of the Indian farmer said: "There is widespread discontent among the farmers in Maharashtra. But it is difficult at this moment for farmers to manifest this dissatisfaction. In 1980-85 we managed to bring things to a head with our influence. During the recent elections we exercised our clout successfully. We attained several technical concessions... (But) Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is still having a honeymoon with the Indian people. People are afraid of uttering a word against him. The next phase of the agitation, therefore, will come when this psychological fear is over. We are currently taking stock of the scene. In fact, during the elections Rajiv Gandhi made a poll-eve-promise of changing the Agricultural Prices Commission (APC) to the Commission of Agricultural Costs and Prices. He made this announcement thrice in Maharashtra at Shahdeo, Malegaon and Kopargaon and he said the revised terms would be made known in four months. That deadline is 22 June. Meanwhile, we have sent him three communications on this issue of a change in the APC. We sent him a complete document and said we would like to meet him to explain our stand, yet not one of these communications was replied to. So now we will wait till 22 June and from 1 July, we will declare a novel form of agitation. This agitation will not break the spirit of the honeymoon but it will make the bridegroom look ridiculous."

Sharad Joshi added that their demands were clearly outlined: The new commission should remove all lacunae in the cost of calculations. It should also, organise a number of model farms all over the country in order to demonstrate that various agricultural crops can effectively be produced within the costs postulated by the commission. The commission cannot be allowed to fool the farmers with mere statistics as has been done over the last 18 years. Mr Joshi said that until 1981 the state governments were allowed a certain degree of majoration over and above the prices fixed by the central government. This practice was quite reasonable in view of agricultural productivity varying from region to region. Even the National Agricultural Commission (set up in 1976) had supported this provision. But mysteriously this system was suddenly done away with sometime in 1981.

"The Shetkari Sanghatana invited Rajiv Gandhi to have a dialogue with our organisation on this issue," said Joshi. "For instance the method through which the APC arrives at its cost of calculations suffers from obvious lacunae. It studies the cost of production data put at its disposal and calculates the per hectare costs. The random



Sharad Joshi

sample consists of a very large proportion of sub optimally exploited farms. The fertiliser doses, the use of pesticides in such farms is below the desired level. The averages of costs calculated on the basis of such a sample do not constitute an internally consistent whole or represent any integrated farm existing in real life. If out of a sample of 7,000 hectares, insecticides were used only in 500 hectares the average cost of insecticide spraying arrived at by dividing the costs in 500 hectares by 7,000 would be misleading. Prices fixed on the basis of such averages would discourage the farmer from taking recourse to improved techniques or increasing productivity. The difficulty has been eliminated in a number of European countries by adopting the synthetic model method." Mr Joshi explained: "Under this method an internally consistent and integrated model is built on the basis of selective utilisation of the empirical data. The level of inputs and efficiency presumed in the model is revised from time to time in view of the actual situation in the country as also of the policy decisions of the government on the subject. The calculations made by the APC are known to suffer from a number of inaccuracies. A number of major elements of cost are obviously omitted as the APC is said to ignore the cost of arranging inputs, the expenses incurred for repairing equipment, the cost of transport of the produce from the field to the procurement centre, *mandi* or the processing factory. It also ignores the risk factor and these shortcomings of the APC have been admitted by the agricultural minister Rao Birendra Singh on 28 December 1981 at the 35th annual conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics. The APC also ignores expenditure for development of water resources, as also the need to set aside adequate reserve funds for depreciation, price fluctuations and development and research.

While refusing to divulge the programme of the proposed farmer's agitation, Sharad Joshi told SUNDAY, "Resorting to traditional forms of agitation will get us nothing. For instance, the leftist movements failed because they retaliated everytime they were provoked. You must hit when you wish, and not when the other party wants you to hit. Moreover, the cause for which one is agitating must have mass appeal, like for instance the row over sugarcane prices or a ban on export of onions. By 1980 standards, the situation today is ripe. The carry forward stocks of sugar are going to be low by November and prices of sugar could go up to Rs ten per kilogram. Of course, the government will crush the cane growers by importing sugar. This will anger the farmer. We, of course, will have to wait and watch the growing discontent."

Interviewed by Olga Tellis, Bombay

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

GUJARAT

Donor from Death Row

A murderer gives away his kidneys.

With tears in his eyes and his voice choked with emotion, the 32-year-old patient, Rishikumar Mittal, needing a kidney transplant, said: "Shashikant Parmar may be a murderer in the eyes of the others. But to me, he is an angel." Parmar, sentenced to death for murder, sat nearby staring at the ceiling after voluntarily agreeing to donate a kidney to save Mittal's life. This has been described by the social workers as a gesture by condemned people to be helpful to fellow beings before they are hanged.

Parmar (35), aided by the Sadvichar Parivar of Ahmedabad, a volunteer social service organisation, had to fight a court battle before winning the right to donate his kidney. The administration, bound by rules and regulations, had fretted over the request because a condemned prisoner has to be hanged in health and the kidney donation they claimed could affect the prisoner.

A worker at a fishing plant at Veraval and a trade union organiser, Parmar has confessed to killing three members of his lawyer's family in 1980. Two years earlier, Parmar had been dismissed for alleged trade union activities and had moved the labour court but he lost the case. He suspected that his lawyer had not fought the case properly and one day in October 1980 he went to the lawyer's house with some accomplices. He did not find the lawyer at home but murdered three members of the lawyer's family. Parmar was sentenced to death by the sessions court in 1981. His appeal was later turned down by the Supreme Court.

Haribhai Panchal of the Sadvichar Parivar told SUNDAY that the Parivar workers who work among prisoners met Parmar. They knew of people with kidney disorders who could not afford to buy a kidney. The Parivar took Nila Patel who had donated a kidney for her ailing brother to prisoners at the Sabarmati jail to motivate prisoners. Parmar was among those who pledged to give a kidney before being hanged, and after death, his eyes and body.

Although Parmar was willing, the government was not. It took a long time before doctors could persuade the bureaucrats that the removal of one kidney would not endanger the life of a person. The permission of the High Court was also obtained.

Kalpesh Dudhia

Parmar(left) and Mittal

Then, a patient with Parmar's blood group (O positive) and matching tissues had to be found or else the kidney is rejected by the receiving body. Mittal, the son of a cloth merchant in Haryana had the right blood group and tissues.

As the two were being wheeled into the operating theatre at the New Civil Hospital in Ahmedabad on 24 May, Parmar refused to comment. He had even objected to being photographed as he did not want any publicity for himself. The murderer is a changed man and has spurned all offers of monetary rewards. Parmar's plea for mercy has been rejected by the President. A versatile man with machines, he had asked the Parivar for tracing paper and drawing materials to design windmills.

The Sadvichar Parivar works among prisoners and helps to conduct relief and rescue operations during natural calamities. For years on *rakhi* day, they get women to go to prisons to tie *rakhis* on convicts. In fact, many hardened criminals have promised to give up crime after being released. The Parivar workers hope that Shashikant Parmar's example will be followed by other condemned prisoners. "Parmar," said Mr Panchal, "may have committed murders in a fit of anger, but he has tried to give a fresh lease of life to someone whom he did not know even before he was going to mount the gallows. Who are we to call Parmar a criminal?"

Tushar Bhatt, Ahmedabad

DELHI

A Capital Project

Move to develop Delhi and its satellite towns

The National Capital Region (NCR) plan, first proposed in 1968 got off the drawing board stage in June, when the Prime Minister addressed the first ever NCR board meeting in New Delhi. The 21-member board (constituted by a Presidential ordinance in October 1984) gave clear-cut guidelines for the development of Delhi and its satellite towns. The slow implementation of the plan had been due to the lack of legal sanction and the reluctance of the member states—Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan to implement the plan. The NCR plan is to be completed by 2010 AD and the central investment for the plan will be about 2,000 crores

A comparitive study of the growth of other large cities like New York, Tokyo, Paris, Moscow and London was undertaken by town planners, architects and sociologists. For the planned development of Delhi and its satellite towns, it was proposed that the NCR board coordinate development activities in the union territory of Delhi, two districts (Bulandshahr and Meerut) of Uttar Pradesh, three districts (Gurgaon, Rohtak and Sonepat) and two *tehsils* (Panipat and Karnal) of Haryana and five *tehsils* (Alwar, Behror, Kishngarh, Mandawar and Tihara) of Rajasthan. The high-powered board established for the development of the entire region consists of chief ministers of the three states, the Lt. Governor of Delhi, the chief executive councillor and mayor of the union territory of Delhi and a member of the Planning Commission. The chairman of the board is the union minister for works and housing, Abdul Ghafoor. The need for developing the region was reiterated by the Prime Minister during the meeting. Delhi, he said, was facing tremendous population pressure, arising mainly from the influx of people from these northern states. In 1961, when the master plan was prepared, it estimated that the population of Delhi would be around 50 lakhs in 1981. But by 1973, the population had gone up to 53 lakhs. If the present growth rate continues, Delhi's population will ex-

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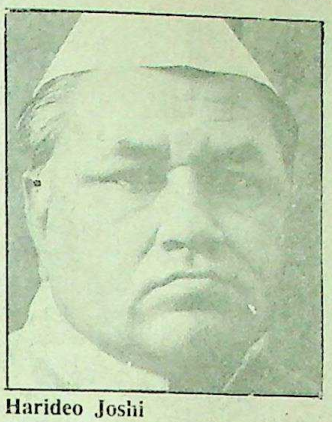
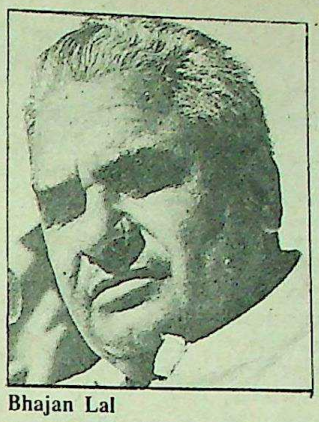
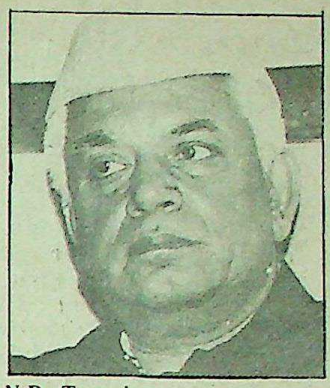
Rajiv Gandhi Ashok Vahie


Harideo Joshi


Bhajan Lal


N.D. Tewari

ceed two crores by 2000 AD, unless the population is dispersed into the satellite towns. The NCR plan aims at creating infrastructural facilities in the ring towns so that the influx of population into Delhi is arrested.

The chief ministers of the three member states, N.D. Tewari of Uttar Pradesh, Bhajan Lal of Haryana and Harideo Joshi of Rajasthan, said that the initial pattern of financing the NCR plan be altered. They said that the states should invest only 25 per cent of the finance required for the implementation of the plan, with the rest being provided through central assistance. The UP chief minister, N.D. Tewari suggested that Rs 2,000 crores be allocated by the government for the NCR programme for the current year. However, the board approved non-planned expenditure of Rs 19 lakhs and a planned expenditure of Rs four crores. With the initial outlays, the plans have reached the implementation stage.

The realisation of the NCR plan, according to experts, is the only way to save the capital and its hinterland from overcrowding. According to the vice chairman of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Prem Kumar, the success of the NCR plan would assist the DDA in its task of developing the capital. The secretary of the ministry of works and housing said that new townships might be built around Delhi to check the influx of population. He also disclosed that some central government offices in Delhi would be shifted to Ghaziabad, in Uttar Pradesh, where a 1,000 acre area has already been developed for the purpose. Private architects will soon be requisitioned by the ministry to finalise the NCR projects covering all three member states.

It has been suggested by town planners that certain modifications in the NCR plan proposals are necessary for its success. The area of development, now marked as a 70-mile ring around Delhi, should cover only those satellite towns which are beyond the 90 km range. It is argued that the development of Faridabad and Ghaziabad, in Uttar Pradesh, has increased the demand for housing since the working population of these towns commute to the capital daily. The chief ministers of the member states however, demanded that with the planned development of Delhi, the infrastructural imbalances in the planning of towns and districts adjoining the capital should be removed.

Ritu Sarin, New Delhi

COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Cutting Out Controls

The union government plans to modernise the mills

The union government has finally recognised the need to modernise the ailing textile industry. Announcing its new policy, Chandrashekhar Singh, minister of state for textiles, said that the controls which had hampered the industry for so long had become irrelevant and unnecessary with the passage of time. Such controls are proposed to be either eliminated or phased out or modified. Crucial to this new approach has been a restructuring of the entire textile industry, which in spite of increasing demands, had in 1983 over 200 sick units on its rolls.

Unlike the March 1981 policy, which even the government now openly admits was a failure, the new approach outlined by Singh concentrates on a "fuller flexibility in the manufacture of fibres." The abolition of rigid divisions between cotton and man-made fibre or yarn and the removal of curbs on expansion will lead to more production. The power looms, the organised sector and the handloom manufacturers can now produce polyester fibre, polyester filament yarns, polyester staple fibre or any other fibre. The government has discarded the fibre-specific policy that had led to a strong growth in the powerloom sector and caused widespread sickness in the organised mill and handloom sector.

The government has realised that consumer preference all the world over has shifted towards cotton fibres. The new policy statement contains the government's intention to provide synthetics at cheaper prices and fiscal duties on materials previously considered luxury items and thus subjected to high taxation will be progressively reduced.

The government has decided to treat sick units on a case-to-case basis. Sick units are to be closed down, a prospect that has not appealed to many. Madhu Dandavate, leader of the Janata Party has publicly stated, "The closing of the economically unviable mills is bound to worsen the unemployment problem." Indeed, with the stress on technological upgradation which is estimated to cut down production costs by practising economies of scale, it is evident that it will be a case of the survival of the fittest.

In the case of potentially viable units, a 'rehabilitation package' will be introduced, consisting of additional balancing equipment, replacement of obsolescent machinery, change of product-mix, new productivity norms, an improved marketing strategy and strengthening of management. Financial aid via a soft loan scheme will also be made available.

While agreeing that cotton would continue to be the main raw material of the textile industry the statement specified that the role and the func-

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

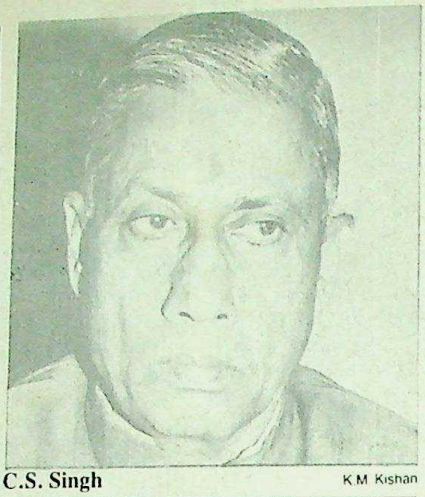
tion of the Cotton Corporation of India (CCI) would be reformulated to include price stabilisation operations. In the past, CCI has suffered heavily in supporting growers of long and extra long staple cotton, but now encouragement will probably be given to the mill industry to produce short and medium staple varieties, thus reducing the chances of losses.

Such wide, ranging changes have led to jubilation in the industry. Hailing it as 'dynamic and result, oriented'" the Indian Cotton Mills Federation (ICMF) said that the textile industry should be able to enter the dawn of a new era. Pratap Bhogilal, president of the Indian Merchants Chamber (IMC), viewed the new policy as administering oxygen to the industry. In the wake of these announcements, textile shares, in particular Jagajit Cottons, J.J. Synthetics, Century Spinning and Reliance Textiles, registered impressive gains.

Nevertheless, while the broad policy framework has been lauded by the industry, a few uncertainties remain. While the governmenthas enunciated the policy for a period of five years, the implementation is yet to begin. The textile trade is virtually at a standstill, awaiting a reduction in levies and inputs. The government's promise to permit the liberal import of textile machinery at international prices has led many mills to stall their purchases, till the duty rates are slashed. In fact, the Northern India Cotton Textile Mills Association (NICTMA) stated that though the "industry was full of hope, there is no indication how these expectations are going to be implemented and how soon." To assuage the industry's fears, Chandrashekhar Singh has indicated that the process of implementation of the new textile policy and specific details on fiscal levies will be announced within a month. Furthermore, duties will now be levied at the yarn stage to preempt any chances of tax evasion.

The speedy implementation of the policy, will, in fact, ensure the success of these measures. Some doubts, especially for the workers, still remain. Though assurances have been given that if retrenchment takes place "the interests of the workers will be fully protected," rationalisation and modernisation of this archaic industry will result in the laying off of workers. The fact is recognised by the President of the Maharashtra Girni Kamgar Union (MFKU), Datta Samant who plans to observe a protest day on 17 June, against the government's "anti-labour" textile policy. Most of the workers over the age of 45 will not be able to learn the new techniques of modern production—a thought that is certainly going to haunt many mill employees. To ensure the success of this far-reaching policy, the government will have to face many contradictions. An injudicious mix of indigenous and imported machinery, of cotton and man-made fibre, of modernisation and consequent unemployment, could well mean that this 'dynamic' policy will lead to major problems.

Mekhla Chandra, New Delhi



C.S. Singh K.M. Kishan

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Spy Swap

Agents exchanged in Germany

On the non-descript Glienicke Bruecke (Bridge) joining East and West Berlin, the biggest exchange of spies between the East and the West bloc took place recently. The released Western agents were greeted by Richard Burt, the US ambassador-designate to Bonn while Mr Vogel, a senior East bloc official met the spies released by the United States.

Some officials in Bonn dubbed the exchange as "quantity for quality" since the families of most of those released by the East bloc will join them in the West. American officials refused to say whether all the 25 persons were spies or political prisoners, but said that the deal had taken three years to negotiate. Western bloc officials had also tried to secure the release of two Soviet dissidents—Dr Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel Prize winner and Dr Anatoly Shcharansky but were unsuccessful.

Past deals have included the return to the East bloc of East German architect Remminger who stole a rocket from an army base, dismantled it and posted it in several parcels directly to Moscow. Another well-remembered direct exchange was in 1962, when Rudolf Abel, the leader of the group of scientists who stole the US atom bomb secrets and passed them on to the USSR was exchanged for Gary Powers, the American U2 spy plane pilot.

While the present deal serves to illustrate the Soviet Union's attempts to reassure its agents in the West that if captured their country will do a lot to get them back. It also proves, once again that a large number of spies of both camps operate in Germany. West Germany is said to have the highest number of agents per square mile because of its strategic location.

The Germans have their own methods of exchanging people. West Germans regularly pay for the release of political prisoners or spies in East Germany. In October 1981, Gunter Guillaume, the East German spy who caused the downfall of Chancellor Willy Brandt was exchanged with five other agents for 30 West Germans sentenced in the East. It was reported that Bonn had also paid the equivalent of Rs 3,00,000 on the understanding that approximately 3,000 relations of East Germans already living in the West would be released.

In order to facilitate such exchanges which began in 1962, the West German law which required every criminal act against the state to be prosecuted was ended by the Bundestag (the West German Parliament) in 1968. This allowed the government to waive prosecution processes if it was detrimental to the greater interests of the Republic. This led to a spate of exchanges of spies. But even today, only the bigger and more sensational are publicised.

However, involvement in such exchanges has brought trouble to Egon Franke, a former West German minister. Franke, who was minister for inter-German affairs (under whose jurisdiction these exchanges fall) between 1969 and 1982 has been charged with breach of trust involving public funds. More than Rs 20 million are unaccounted for. The former minister, who will go on trial from 12 August has said on several occasions that it was not possible to keep systematic accounts. As the trial draws nearer, people will reassess this system of buying people free from the Eastern bloc, a necessity ever since East Germany put up the wall along its borders, preventing its citizens from leaving the country.

Kanta Talukdar, Bonn

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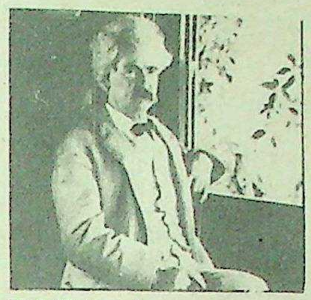
Funding: Tattva Heritage

Man Who Shook the World

While the predictions of an Indian seismologist were dismissed in India as humbug, the world acclaimed them as unique. N.K. Agarwal, a civil engineer who is well-versed in the Hindu scriptures, had recently forecast earthquakes in densely populated areas of Tokyo and parts of Turkey, Mexico, China and Italy between April and May this year. On 27 and 28 March, two strong earthquakes were recorded in the Sea of Okhotsk and Kurile Islands, near Japan. These were the last

N. K. Agarwal

of a series of accurate predictions by Agarwal, who holds a master's degree in engineering from Canada. Earlier, he had predicted earthquakes in the Philippines, Chile, Turkey, Mexico, Yugoslavia and Indonesia. He has claimed a 60 per cent success rate ever since he initiated his uncanny prediction theory in the mid-Seventies. Laments he: "Mine is a unique and original research which has been acknowledged by seismologists around the world. It is a pity the Indian government has called my work 'nonsense.' My research is a juxtaposition of modern physics and the *tantra shastra* and the study of *shakti* or energy with the help of mysticism." If that sounds mystifying in India, it is not, ironically, in other countries.



Hal Halbrook

The Twain Meet

Mark Twain has arrived in New Delhi. The famous American humorist is playing to the galleries, with his distinctive grey hair and spotless white shirt—courtesy Hal Halbrook. The actor, a veteran of Hollywood who featured in *All the President's Men*, among other films, has come to India with his scintillating one-man show *Mark Twain Tonight* that promises to keep the crowds in splits for several evenings. Halbrook's show, commemorating Twain on the occasion of his 150th birth anniversary, came to India after a successful run in the US. In fact, it has become one of the longest running shows in theatre history, and has evoked a renewed interest in the author's classics, *Huckleberry Finn, The Adventures of Tom Sawyer and Life on the Mississipi.* Halbrook keeps editing and adding to his material on Twain every year. He has come up with many innovations on Twain, with 1500 live shows and 12 hours of mime behind him. Audiences in India keenly await his entertaining performances.

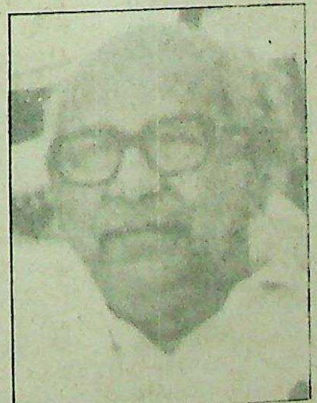
Manna Dey Enthrals

In his sixties, bald and bespectacled, he is still the man he was decades ago when he practised singing for hours and sang for the crowds. He braved a drizzle, walked through the waiting crowd, climbed up the rostrum outside the *Ananda Bazar Patrika's* offices on Prafulla Sarkar Street, Calcutta, and began adjusting the microphone, oblivious of the announcer's compliments. Manna Dey was one of the guests at a function held to celebrate the end of the historic 50-day strike that crippled the working of the Ananda Bazar one year ago. The maestro, known for his deft renderings of classical songs and *bhajans*, has just completed recording

Manna Dey

Sujit Ghosh

four songs of his uncle K.C. Dey, and has also sung ten songs for his first-ever Puja album—which promises to be a treat for his countless Calcutta fans. Now he "looks forward to better movies and better songs." On Kishore Kumar's announced retirement: "He's a great singer... If he's mentally prepared for retirement, then it is a different thing."



R. L. Bhatia

Out Of Danger

Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, a popular Congress(I) leader in Punjab and the general secretary of the All India Congress Committee, was welcomed back to the party headquarters in New Delhi with a sense of relief. Bhatia had been the unfortunate victim of a terrorist attack on his residence in Amritsar on 18 April 1985. The ruthless extremists, in an attempt on his life had pumped three bullets into him. The day after the attack, three suspects were rounded up from the Golden Temple complex. Though the former Member of Parliament was declared out of danger almost immediately, his ill-health had been a cause of concern to senior party leaders. The fact that Mr Bhatia has recovered completely and rejoined office is a happy event.

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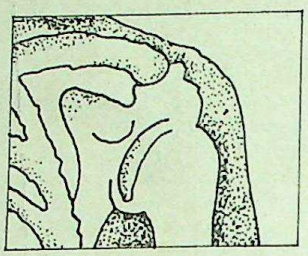
Combating Limb Trouble

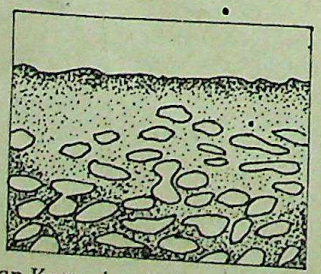


A new high-frequency surgical technique is said to help combat phantom pains or pain felt in limbs the patient no longer has. Devised by Prof. Wolfhard Winkelmuller of Hanover Medical College, the high-frequency lesion is based on the finding that phantom pains originate at the points where nerves formerly coming from the severed limbs reach the spinal column. They are triggered by overexcitement of nerve cells in the dorsal horn. These cells are destroyed by high-frequency electric impulses administered during surgery. The operation is reported to be particularly effective for people who are bound to the wheelchair after an accident.

Plant to the Rescue of Malaria

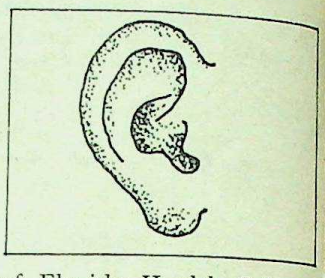
A plant growing in many parts of the world has yielded a substance which may prove effective against malaria. Dr Daniel L. Klayman of the division of experimental therapeutics at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research in Washington is carrying out research on *artemisia annua*, a common plant sometimes grown for its aromatic oil and related to tarragon and absinthe. The derivative of *artemisia annua*—dubbed *artemisinin*—is unusual for a plant compound, he said, because it has a peroxide unit which provides an important part of the activity. According to Klayman, the compound's apparent ability to oxidise part of the parasite starts new ways of thinking about new drug designs. An important use for the new drug is against cerebral malaria, an often fatal variety characterised by coma and by large numbers of parasites in the patient's blood. This is good news for parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, where cerebral malaria has increased and where *falciparum*, the parasite that causes the most serious form of malaria, has become more resistant to traditional medications.

A Powerful Anti-cancer Agent



A rare natural substance that apparently is able to destroy cancer cells without harm to normal tissues will be tested in humans for the first time this year. The substance is called the tumour necrosis factor. It was discovered ten years ago by researchers at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Centre, and is thought to be a key part of the body's natural defences. Cancer scientists and spokesmen for biotechnology companies say their main hope is that the tumour necrosis factor will prove to be a powerful anti-cancer agent with low toxicity. Conventional cancer chemotherapy is often almost as damaging to natural tissue as it is to the cancer.

An Effective Implant



A ceramic substitute for natural bone, called Bioglass, has been used for the first time to repair the middle ears of human patients. Implants of Bioglass in the ears of 16 patients resulted in good to excellent improvement in hearing, said Dr Gerald Merwin of the University of Florida Health Science Centre. As the substance resists rejection by living organisms and bonds with natural tissue it has found widespread use in bone implants particularly in repairs of hip and thigh bones.

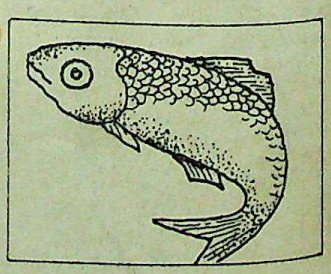
Dangerous for the Liver

For those suffering from a liver disease or from a weakened immune system, raw seafood can be dangerous: it could lead to fatal blood poisoning. Infections by a common salt-water bacterium from eating contaminated raw oysters or from wounds inflicted while handling seafood can also cause arthritis, seizures, low blood pressure, anorexia (lack of appetite) and vomiting. The bacterium, *vibrio vulnificus*, is common in the coastal waters, especially in the Gulf of Mexico.

Towards Better Skin Grafting

The agony for victims of severe burns is that the suffering caused by the injury is perhaps overshadowed by the painful skin grafts necessary for recovery. However, surgeons in England are now able to provide their patients with better prospects, through the technique of growing replacement skin in the laboratory. The new technique involves taking a postage-stamp size of donor skin from the patient, breaking it up into its constituent cells and growing them on a mat of treated fibroplast cells from the deeper dermis of the skin.

The Occasional Trouble-maker



Many people, especially the Japanese, eat 'Sushi'—seasoned cold rice topped with or wrapped around raw fish—which has no ill effects. But occasionally, there is trouble. Doctors at Japan's Kyushu University have treated many raw fish eaters for larval infections. The larvae, about an inch long, attach themselves to the stomach lining, causing severe pain and nausea. Unless they are coughed up or pass out of the body naturally, they must be removed with forceps, located at the end of a long tube called an endoscope, which is passed into the digestive tract through the mouth.

Illustrations: Prabir Sen

Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage

BEGINNING 23 JUNE 1985 BY AMRITLAL

ARIES (15 April—14 May) This is a week of mixed fortunes. Be prepared for setbacks on the professional front. Some of you may come in for severe criticism from your employers for inefficiency. Businessmen should be wary of deception. This is a good week for love and marriage negotiations. Some of you may inherit property but do not be extravagant. Keep a sharp eye on your health.
Good dates: 23, 25 and 28.
Lucky numbers: 3, 6 and 7.
Favourable direction: South.

TAURUS (15 May—14 June) A lucky week lies ahead of you. Those in profession will make steady headway and businessmen will clinch profitable deals. Monetary gains through unexpected sources are indicated. Friends, relatives and family members will contribute to your happiness. Lovers may go ahead with marriage plans. But do not neglect your health and diet.
Good dates: 24, 26 and 27.
Lucky numbers: 4, 5 and 8.
Favourable direction: North-east.

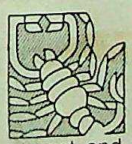
GEMINI (15 June—14 July) Social engagements will keep you occupied for most of the week but avoid mixing business with pleasure. Businessmen should devote more time to their business: take the advice of friends and relatives before taking a crucial decision. At home your wife or one of your relatives may suddenly fall sick. Avoid undertaking pleasure trips.
Good dates: 23, 25 and 26.
Lucky numbers: 5, 6 and 9.
Favourable direction: West.

CANCER (15 July—14 August) The week begins on a bright note for you. A pleasure trip is in the offing, and love and marriage are well signified. Businessmen will continue to be successful in their ventures and professionals are likely to get transferred to a better place. Some of you might even win a lottery or gain through inheritance. You will tide over your family problems but guard your health.
Good dates: 24, 27 and 29.
Lucky numbers: 2, 3 and 5.
Favourable direction: South-west.

LEO (15 August—14 September) If you have legal problems concerning property, this is the right time to pursue them. Do not get frustrated at the slow pace of progress on all fronts. Professionals and businessmen are advised to exercise caution in all their dealings. New opportunities are in the offing for students and creative artists. This period is also favourable for love.
Good dates: 27, 28 and 29.
Lucky numbers: 1, 2 and 4.
Favourable direction: North-west.

VIRGO (15 September—14 October) This week you will get an opportunity to change your career, but do not take hasty decisions and consult your elders before finalising plans. Financial and job prospects are bright. This is the opportune time to carry out marriage negotiations and the domestic front will be inspiring. However, do not overstrain yourself. A letter will bring good tidings.
Good dates: 23, 24 and 25.
Lucky numbers: 7, 8 and 9.
Favourable direction: East.

LIBRA (15 October—14 November) The stars foretell a bleak period when enemies will be active. One of your close friends will be working to embarrass you. The economic front is equally disheartening and you may have to borrow money to tide over the period. Lovers are advised to avoid adventurous plans. Take care of your diet as your health will steadily deteriorate.
Good dates: 26, 28 and 29.
Lucky numbers: 3, 4 and 5.
Favourable direction: North.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) The stars are particularly favourable to businessmen this week: push your efforts to the utmost and do not hesitate to undertake risky ventures. Things are not so bright for those in service and you may incur the displeasure of your superiors. However, this is a good phase for matrimonial negotiations.
Good dates: 24, 26 and 28.
Lucky numbers: 2, 6 and 9.
Favourable direction: West.

SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) This is not a good week to solve legal problems. Postpone all important plans. Businessmen are advised not to take hasty decisions and politicians should be cautious while dealing with the masses. However, this is a good period for those in love and intending to get married. This is also a favourable time for those employed in the public sector.
Good dates: 27, 28 and 29.
Lucky numbers: 1, 6 and 7.
Favourable direction: South-east.

CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) For those in service, a promotion or a posting to a better place is in the offing. Businessmen will be able to repay most of their debts. Prospects are also bright for gamblers and speculators. Lovers can go ahead with marriage plans. However, your children will be a source of worry to you this week and you should guard your health.
Good dates: 25, 27 and 28.
Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 8.
Favourable direction: West.

AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) This is a favourable period for students: do not fritter away the opportunities that come your way. Businessmen can materialise expansion plans and professionals will get the opportunity they were looking for. However, things are not all that bright on the home front and you should avoid unnecessary arguments.
Good dates: 23, 26 and 29.
Lucky numbers: 3, 5 and 9.
Favourable direction: North.

PISCES (15 March—14 April) Domestic problems will bother you this week but do not neglect your work. There are chances that you may incur the wrath of your superior. Social engagements will keep you occupied and you will have to spend a lot of money. Your health will improve but guard against deception. A favourable week for romance. A letter will bring pleasant tidings.
Good dates: 23, 25 and 26.
Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 7.
Favourable direction: East.

For those born between 15 June and 14 July

You do not possess a balanced personality. You will do well if you check your violent fluctuations of mood. At times you are full of optimism, but then suddenly you are dejected. You always wish for the good, but sometimes end up feeling impotent. The moods are, however, not of long duration as your inner nature is too active and there is too great a longing for the unknown. Your personality casts a charming impact on strangers. Women born during this period are hardworking and they make good housewives.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

VARIETY

CHESS

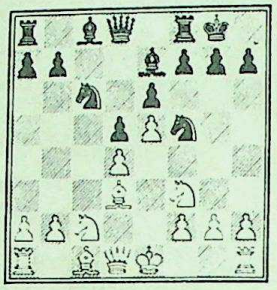
An evenly contested Hastings Premier was won this year by Soviet grandmaster Evgenny Sveshnikov. The result met with an uncommonly lukewarm reception from commentators, who were disappointed with the quality of the competition.

Certainly the overall calibre and reputation of the field were not in the grand tradition of Hastings, possibly reflecting the uncertainties which have been hanging over the long-term future of the tournament. It seems absurd that the most famous chess venue in the world should find itself in such straits, especially at a time when English chess has reached new peaks. What is needed is a new image, with a new sense of realism and resolve. Until we have these Hastings will not be regarded as a premier event by those who alone can make it a premier event – the invited players.

White: E. Sveshnikov. Black: I. Farago. French Defence. Hastings 1984 5.

1 P–K4	P–K3	2 P–Q4	P–Q4
3 P–K5	P–QB4	4 P–QB3	N–QB3
5 N–B3	KN–K2	6 N–R3!	PxP

Farago (Black)



Sveshnikov (White) to move

7 PxP	N–B4	8 N–B2	B–K2
9 B–Q3	0–0?		

An amazing decision. One could understand 9 P–B3 10 P–KN4 PxP 11 PxN P–K5 or even the flamboyant 9 . . . P–KN4, but to castle looks like sheer suicide.

DIAGRAM

10 P–KN4	N–R5	11 NxN	BxN
12 P–N5!			

Of course. White gives up a pawn for an easy attack.

12 . . .	BxP	13 Q–R5	P–KR3
14 R–KN	BxB	15 RxB	P–B4

The only chance. If 15 . . . K–R1 16 K–K2, threatening RxP followed by R–N1+, is immediately decisive.

16 QxRP	R–B2	17 K–K2	Q–N3
18 Q–R4	B–Q2	19 R–N5!	

The new attack with R–R5 is unstoppable.

19 . . .	QxNP	20 K–Q2	N–K2
21 R–R5	N–N3	22 Q–N3	N–B1
23 Q–R3	R–K2		

Or 23 . . . N–N3 24 R–KN1.

24 R–R8+	K–B2	25 R–N1	

Preventing the king's escape. If 25 . . . K–K1 26 RxN+ and Q–R8+.

25 . . .	B–R5	26 Q–R5+	P–N3
27 RxP	Resigns.		

On 27 . . . NxR 28 Q–R7 is mate.

MICHAEL STEAN

BRIDGE

Oswald Jacoby, a master of many games and puzzles, died last year, and the magazines were full of his achievements. So let us look back.

It was Christmas Eve – not in the workhouse, but at the Waldorf Astoria, where in 1931 the historic Lenz-Culbertson match had reached its halfway stage. The Culbertsons had a lead of 14,425 points, but tensions were still high and at the very start of the session an extraordinary incident occurred.

Dealer North. None vul., N–S 60

	♠ Q J ♥ J 2 ♦ Q 10 7 5 ♣ A Q 6 3 2	
♠ 8 7 4 ♥ 9 6 4 3 ♦ 9 3 2 ♣ K 10 5	N W E S	♠ K 10 6 ♥ A Q 10 8 ♦ J 6 4 ♣ J 9 7
	♠ A 9 5 3 2 ♥ K 7 5 ♦ A K 8 ♣ 8 4	

The bidding on the scoresheet read as follows, but this, as they say, was not the full story:

South	*West*	*North*	*East*
Jacoby	Culbertson	Lenz	Lightner
—	—	No	1NT
dble	No	2♣	No
2♠	No	No	No

It was actually West's turn to deal, but somehow Lenz got hold of the cards and dealt. When Jacoby doubled the opening 1NT, Lenz asked for a review of the bidding.

'I passed', Ely volunteered, 'you passed, Teddy bid. . .'

'But you didn't deal', exclaimed Lenz, and at this point the referee took over. He ruled that since Lightner had illegally been informed that Culbertson lacked opening values, he (Lightner) was debarred from any rescue operations. So, if Lenz had not bid his fatuous Two Clubs, Lightner would have been about five down in 1NT doubled, which in those jolly times would have cost 1000.

Jacoby later withdrew from the enterprise. His successor, Commander Liggett, had a good run and several thousand points were recovered.

TERENCE REESE

QUIZ

QUESTIONS

1. In astronomy, what is either spiral, elliptical or irregular?
2. Name the temple dedicated to Vishnu in Cambodia which was abandoned around 1500 AD but was rediscovered in 1858 by a French naturalist, Henri Mouhout.
3. Which island is called the key to the Mediterranean?
4. What do the following have in common: Albert Schweitzer, Dag Hammarskjold, Dr Martin Luther King, Anwar Sadat and Mother Teresa?
5. The first synthetic gene was a duplicate of a gene in a yeast cell. Who synthesised the gene?
6. How does the mineral armalcolite, found in lunar rocks, get its name?
7. What are *tsunamis*?
8. Name the American President who was shot by Leon Czolgosz on 6 September 1901?
9. About 80 per cent of the world's diamond business is controlled by a South African company. Name it.
10. Which French king introduced the custom of the "bed of justice," a ceremonial appearance of the monarch in bed before the French Parliament?
11. Name the flightless bird, found in Mauritius, which has become extinct since the 1860s.

ANSWERS

1. A galaxy.
2. Angkor Vat.
3. Gibraltar.
4. They have all been awarded the Nobel prize for peace.
5. Dr Hargovind Khorana.
6. It was named after the three astronauts aboard the Apollo-11—Neil Armstrong, Adwin Aldrin and Michael Collins.
7. They are huge waves which are caused by earthquakes or undersea volcanic activity. *Tsunamis*, which are a regular feature in Japan, often wipe out entire villages.
8. William Mckinley.
9. De Beers Consolidated Mines.
10. Louis XVI.
11. The dodo.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and

THIS INDIA

Illustration: Debashis Deb

SAMALKOT: It was a red-letter day for a number of residents of G. Medipadu, near here, as fortune smiled on them for all their "trespasses." They reside near the railway tracks and for want of toilet facilities, they are habituated to easing along the tracks day in day out. There was nothing to be ashamed of this track record for men and women there have reconciled themselves to the reality that they had to make the best of the bad bargain. Recently as usual, they went in groups and to their utter surprise, currency notes of diverse denominations like Rs 100, Rs 50 and Rs 10 were all there scattered as if meant to be picked up by them. Mammon made them forget themselves for a while. Imagine the total collection: it was Rs 15,000—*Indian Express* (Y. Venkateswara Rao, Hyderabad)

DELHI: It is a measure of the prosperity among the Meenas of Sawai Madhopur district that helicopters are hired to reach the bride's place with the *barat* over distances ranging between 10 km and 20 km. Dowries of over one lakh do not raise eyebrows any more. Sometimes the copter stipulation leads to funny developments. A girl was married to the elder son of a prosperous Meena of Rajaur-Atewa village. The latter was promised Rs 60,000 as dowry if he arranged a helicopter for the bride's trip to the in-laws' house. Half of the amount was spent on the betrothal. The helicopter condition could not be met. Result: the bride's father not only refused to let his daughter go but declined to pay up the balance. Came negotiations and the bride's father agreed to marry his second daughter in the same family and give a dowry of Rs 1.40 lakhs, with the helicopter condition kept intact. The groom's father this time hired a helicopter from a Bombay firm. One day before the marriage the elder girl was taken to her husband's hamlet with the remaining Rs 30,000 of the dowry in the chopper. The next day, the younger groom went in the helicopter to the bride's village, though the rest of the party made do with trucks and tractor-trolleys—*The Times of India* (Rajiv Mallik, New Delhi)

JAIPUR: The corruption in the state revenue department is assuming new dimensions. Now officers have started asking for bribes in writing. A case of this nature has come to light in which a tehsildar had asked for hush money of Rs 1,000 from a *patwari* working under him in writing. In December 1983, the district magistrate of Ganganagar had sanctioned Rs. 8,000 for the maintenance of the offices of the *patwari* in Sadulshahar tehsil. The tehsildar sanctioned Rs. 2,500 each for Kararwal and Sadulshahar block and Rs 1,000 for Lalgarh Jatan. He reserved Rs 2,000 for the maintenance of the tehsil though the money was meant for the upkeep of offices of the *patwaris*. When the *patwaris* received the sanctioned amounts, the tehsildar took Rs 500 from one of them promising to return it later. But the tehsildar neither returned the money nor sanctioned the bill. Recently the *patwari* received a letter from the tehsildar asking for Rs 1,000 for passing the bill of the same amount. He threatened the *patwari* of dire consequences if he failed to comply with the demand. The letter is dated 26 March with the tehsildar's stamp and signature—*Rajasthan Patrika* (Tarlok Singh Chhabra, Chandigarh)

NEW DELHI: During question hour, Rajya Sabha chairman R. Venkataraman inadvertently called upon "Kapil Dev" to put his question. The chairman, however, immediately rectified the mistake and asked Mr Kapil Verma of the Congress(I) to take the floor. Amid peals of laughter, the chairman said the name perhaps came to his mind because of his love of cricket—*The Tribune* (S. S. Jaiswal, Patiala)

MADRAS: Ever heard of a coconut tree with seedlings on its top unlike the usual coconuts? Such a tree exists in Valianadu, Trivandrum. The tree, belonging to Mr Mohammed Hussain, a progressive farmer, goes on sprouting seedlings at the top, and so far he has not been able to find any use for it. —*Indian Express* (M. Govindarajan, Madras)

WITHOUT COMMENT

(Parliament) is now like Lions Club where you get your family and friends together—Cho Ramaswamy in *The Telegraph*

It was a dream come true. After many years, I felt happy and fulfilled—Shivajirao Patil-Nilangekar, on being elected CM of Maharashtra, in *The Sunday Observer*

The government is dubbing the Sikhs as separatists. The truth is that the government is the real terrorist, secessionist and separatist—Sant Longowal in *The Telegraph*

It took 16 long years for me to be something in Indian films; why cannot you give me even 16 months for improving the conditions of Allahabad?—Amitabh Bachchan in *The Statesman*

India is an old country but a young nation...I am young, and I too have a dream. I dream of an India—strong, independent, self-reliant and in the front rank of the nations of the world in the service of mankind—Rajiv Gandhi, addressing the joint meeting of the United States Congress

I am not like R. K. Karanjia or Girilal Jain. I don't broadcast my own opinions. I am just the voice of the BBC—nothing more—Mark Tully, BBC's Delhi bureau chief, in *Imprint*

Beauty like evil is in the eyes of the beholder and where I see beauty and present it, others see evil—Raj Kapoor, on being accused of exploiting women on screen, in *The Sunday Observer*

Bombay is a scream—Naseeruddin Shah in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

prize Rs 30 for the entry given first

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

TEASERS

BY SHAMLU DUDEJA AND CHAMPAK BASU

Cryptocross

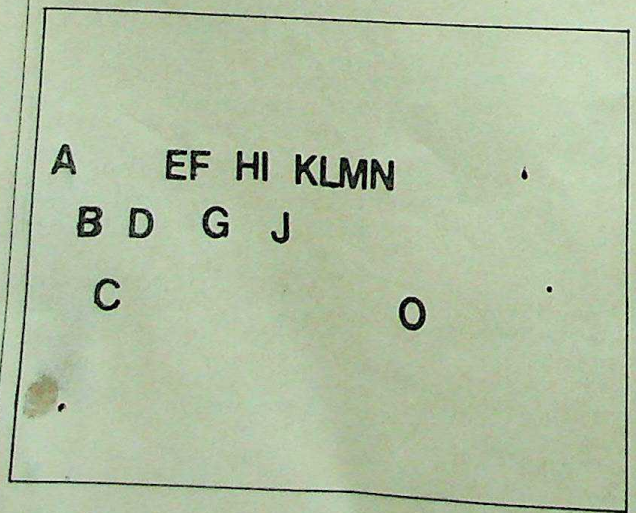
16	■	25	■	4	■	3	■	11	6	6	8	23
5	12	6	4	10	1	6	11	■	21	■	5	■
22	■	9	■	7	■	10	■	19	26	12	12	6
6	19	11	26	23	18	4	10	■	4	■	12	■
11	■	4	■	6	■	13	■	14	12	4	7	19
■	23	■	23	■	15	6	6	■	7	■	18	■
23	19	4	14	12	6	■	9	4	23	4	12	19
■	11	■	7	■	1	4	9	■	6	■	6	■
20	4	26	12	19	■	12	■	19	■	23	■	14
■	14	■	12	■	23	3	5	5	19	2	12	17
4	14	14	4	17	■	5	■	24	■	5	■	11
■	6	■	13	■	4	10	19	7	10	5	1	6
6	1	13	6	1	■	1	■	18	■	19	■	13

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
					E						L	

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
									S			

Each number in the main grid represents a letter. The same number always represents the same letter. Three letters have been given to help you make a start. Can you now substitute the rest to complete the grid?

Letter Lines



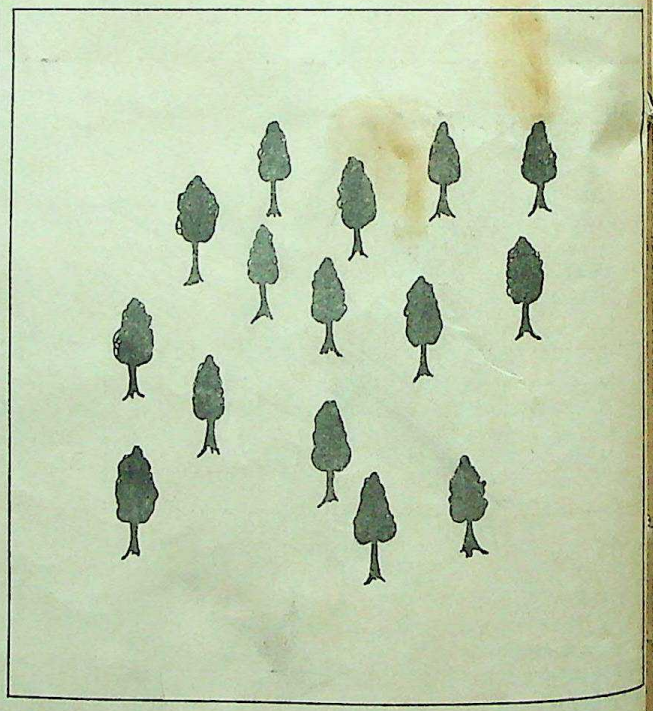
Put the rest of the alphabet in its proper place.

What's in a Word?

Here are some words with brackets between them. Can you fit a letter in the brackets which will convert the words to the left and right of the brackets into other words. When completed the letters in the bracket also form a word. The letter in the bracket replaces the third letter in each of the existing words. What is the word that can be read downwards?

B R A G ( ) S T A R
P A S T ( ) S I C K
M O R E ( ) B A L E
B A L L ( ) T A L L
C L I P ( ) P E L T
B I R D ( ) L A C K

Figure it Out



Draw three straight lines so that this orchard can be divided into five parts with each part containing three trees.

What's in a Word?

What do the following two words have in common?

NYCTALOPIA and **CLEAVE**

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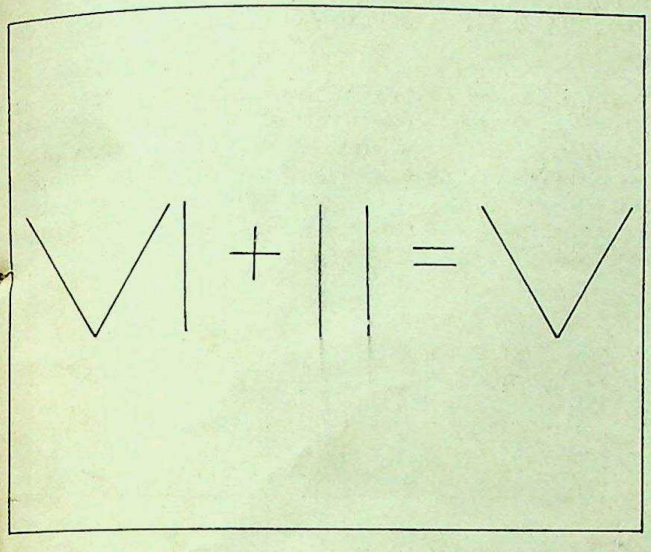
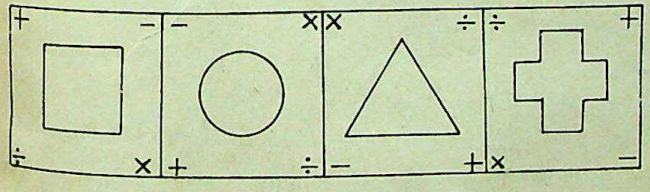
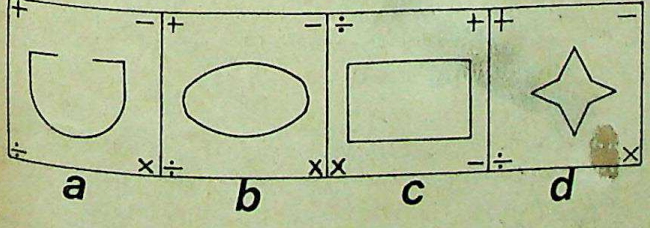
Quick Think



As you can see from the equation, six plus two equals five, which is patently wrong. Can you correct the equation by moving just one line?

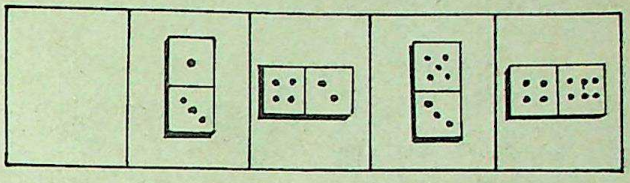
Witsharpener





Which figure in the botton row should appear next in the top row?

Mindbender

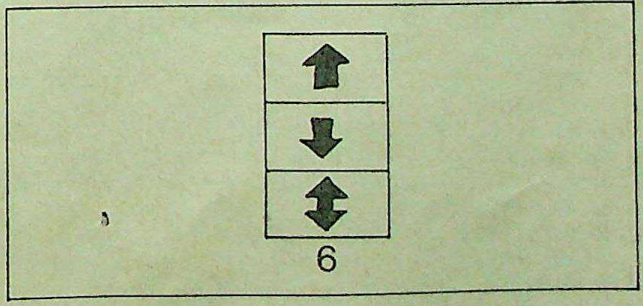


How quickly can you find the missing domino?

Solutions to last week's Teasers:
Word Play:

R	A	T	I	O	N	A	L	L	Y
O		E	N		O			O	
M	E	N			C	H	A	N	T
A		D	I	E	I	I	N	G	
N		E		R	U	T		I	
C	A	R	E	E	R			T	
E			E		N	E	X	U	S
S	O	U	R		A			D	O
	F		I		L	I	N	E	R
A	F	T	E	R		N	O	S	E

Eye Wash: This pair of scissors will never cut because it cannot close
Blankagrams:



Wit Sharpener: The order from left to right is: Miss Sports, Miss Blousy, Miss Chuni, Miss Black, Miss Zig Zag
What's in a Word:
Smart—Trams
Peels—Sleep
Timber—Remit
Revel—Lever
Start—Tarts
Loops—Spool
Quick Think: 2+2÷4×9=9
Word Power: All the words: Eats, A, Feast, Draft, Steak, A Bake, Sake and Tea are kangaroo words from the word Breakfast

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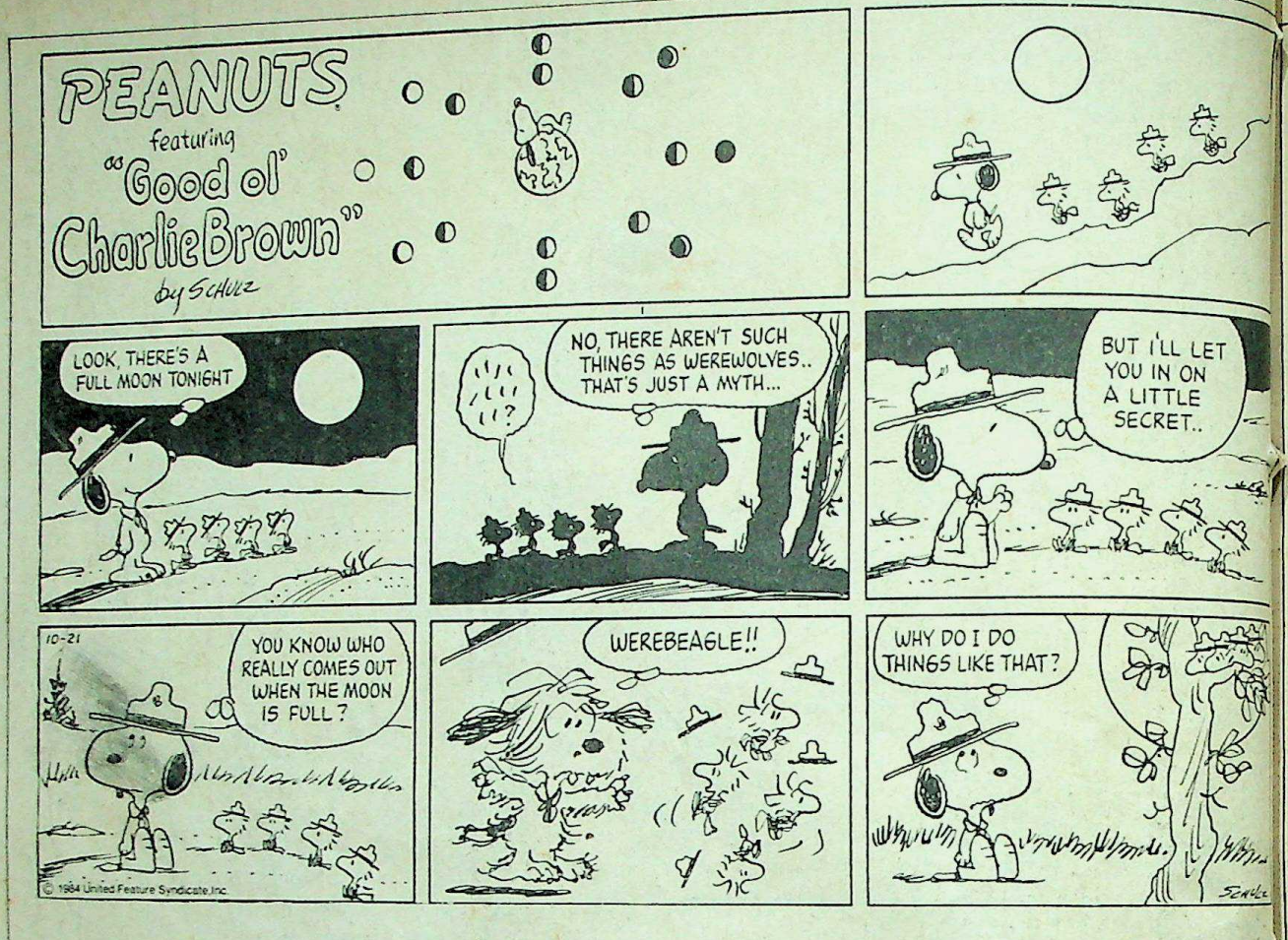
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.



SCIENCE

House Arrest: Electronic Style

Keeping people under lock and key is the surest way of knowing what they are doing and where they are doing it. It is also notoriously expensive. It costs up to £430 a week to accommodate a prisoner in Britain. Worse, a jail is often a university for crime. Now technology can offer a cheaper—and possibly more humane—alternative electronic house arrest.

he idea of an "offenders' tag," an electronic beacon which monitors a person's movements, is not new. In 1965, an electronic surveillance system was introduced to keep tabs on selected mental patients in Boston. But until very recently the approach had never been used in jails. For one thing, such devices used to be bulky. Besides, tagging people with the sort of monitor fitted to dairy cows could be construed as an Orwellian invasion of privacy, or even as cruel and unusual punishment.

Two firms in America think they have hit on compromises. One is offered by Controlled Activities in Tavernier, Florida; the other (which is being marketed by the computer firm Control Data) by National Incarceration Monitor and Control Services in Boulder, Colorado. Both think that courts will regard electronically-enforced house arrest as an alternative to prison for non-violent criminals. For example, a court could allow an offender to go to work, but keep him home in the evenings and at weekends. The object is not surveillance but punishment: tagging offers a way to curtail liberty without imprisonment.

The systems both work by attaching a waterproof radiotransponder to the offender's ankle. At random intervals the transponder is silently paged by a highfrequency pulse sent via a unit attached to the offender's telephone. Only if he is within about 150 feet of it will his electronic leg-iron send back a coded signal. A computer at county hall or the local police station keeps a record of absences from the prescribed area or raises an alarm.

Control Data says that 40 per cent of America's 800,000 prisoners and 1.2m probationers and people on parole could be candidates. Even if it is right, it will have to fight for a share in the market with a number of other firms. At about $1.3m for a 100-offender system, Control Data's system costs 10 times as much as its rival. It is, though, more sophisticated. The band which holds the transponder in place contains wires that detect attempts to tamper with it and raise an alarm, though this only works within range of the base unit. It is also a little more compact, though a little heavier. It is connected at the other end to a mini-computer programmed to record and display violations in a variety of ways. The company claims that over the system's probable lifetime, the costs work out at only about $2,000 per person per year.

Both systems need acceptance by state authorities. County jails in Florida are trying out the Controlled Activities system (it has already been imposed on 35 felons), while Control Data's version has caught the eyes of authorities in Michigan.

By arrangement with **The Economist**

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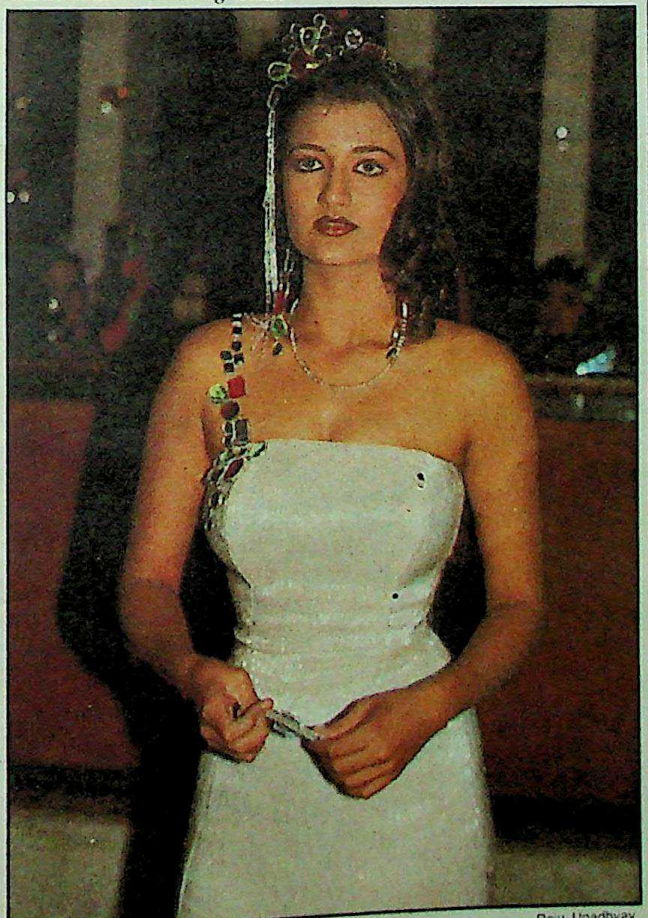
Funding: Tattva Heritage and ...

Rajesh Khanna has been a very happy man ever since he met *Tina Munim* somewhere in Mauritius. They are now living together. Will they get married? "Yes, we will, we are only waiting for my divorce to come through," says Rajesh. And after they marry they plan to move into newly renovated "Ashirvaad," the house that Rajesh built. The dark clouds due to misunderstandings with *Dimple* have now been replaced by the blue skies of Kashmir, where Rajesh and Tina recently mingled work with pleasure for a month. However, he still feels a tingle in his heart for his two daughters, "I hope she (Dimple) brings them up in the best possible way," says Rajesh.

Filmdom was rife with stories of *Smita Patil's* pregnancy. Rumour also had it that *Raj Babbar's* wife, *Nadira*, had given the long-awaited permission and Smita was soon to be united with the man in her life. Indignant Smita says that such stories not only disturb and hurt Raj and her, but their close ones as well. And anyway, "I am not one of those who would hide a thing like pregnancy. I think it is a beautiful thing to happen to a woman," states Smita bravely! Whether Raj and Smita will eventually get married is anybody's guess, but in the mean time they continue to sign one film after another, without a thought for when and how they will complete so many films.

Bad luck seems to be stalking *Sarika* since she walked out of her mother's house. Only recently she had to move out of her sixth paying guest accommodation because of ill-treatment by her landlady. She is now living alone in another flat and awaiting some good roles which could help her buy her own apartment.

Tina Munim: wedding bells?



Raju Upadhyay

Sarika: house-hunting

Shatrughan Sinha seems to have suffered a major setback. Before he made *Kalka* in the coal mines of Dhanbad he was a confident man and one of the more saleable actors. The lakhs of rupees spent on *Kalka* seem to have gone down the pits, since the movie has been a flop. Shatrughan's great plans as a producer appear to have come to nought and he vows never to make an art film again. Production aside, at the moment even his acting career is at stake as producers and directors refuse to take him seriously. Shatrughan is in the midst of a grim battle to establish himself as an actor once more.

Vinod Khanna has lost faith in the visions of his *Bhagwan, Acharya Rajneesh*. He is disgusted and disillusioned by the changes that have come about in the *Hare Krishna* cult and is considering coming back to Hindi films. However, he still seems to be in the grip of the supernatural for, according to a producer, he is waiting for an auspicious time to rejoin films.

• • •

The invitation was meant to humiliate *Sunjay Dutt*. The producers had signed him up after a number of leading men including *Jackie Shroff* had refused the offer. But soon came the stunning invitation for the *muharat*. "The drug addict of yesterday is a career addict of today," it said. Sunjay has not only turned down the offer but is also a very dejected man these days.

When it comes to versatility there are few who can match *Nedumudi Venu*, actor par excellence, story writer, poet, and stage artiste, all rolled in one. In character portrayal, be it comic or tragic, Venu has few parallels in Indian cinema.

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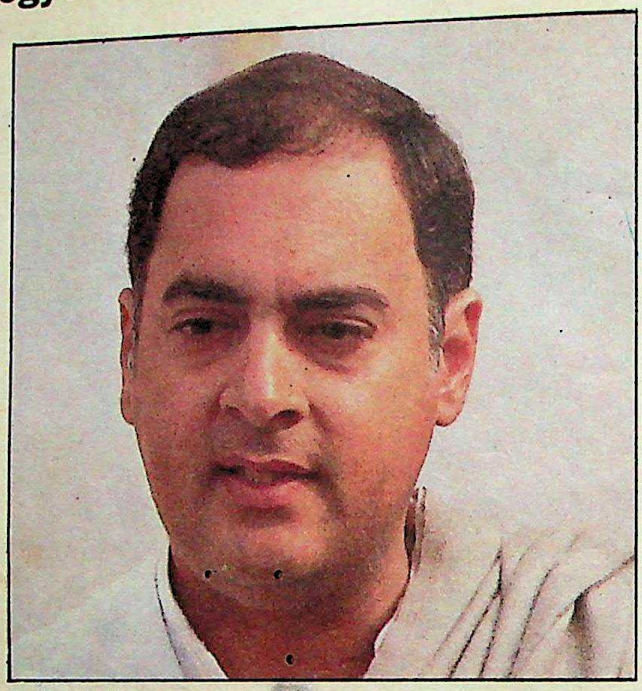
Farewell to Ideology?

All important Congressmen were seen at the technical area of the Delhi airport on the morning of 5 June. For security reasons, only members of the union council of ministers are allowed to go to the tarmac to see off the Prime Minister when he leaves for foreign trips. The other VIPs are allowed to go upto a covered hall, from where they can bid goodbye to the PM. A bullet-proof glass panel ensures that only the person waving can be seen from the tarmac but no slogans can be heard. One wonders if the Prime Minister can make out the faces at the distinguished gathering from the tarmac, but almost everyone present in the hall was seen vigorously waving goodbye, when the engines of Air India's special aircraft, Annapurna, started revolving. This correspondent overheard a senior Congress(I) MP, known for his leftist leanings, comment to a group of politicians around him, "I wish the PM comes back from America only with transfer of technology and there is no transfer of ideology." A young MP standing nearby replied, "Is there any ideology in the party? Why should you be worried?"



Rajiv Gandhi

House of Ladies?

Rajya Sabha has so f... been referred to a... the "House of Elders." With the advent of young... members in 1984, wh... were all in their early thir... ties, this connotation be... came irrelevant. Now the... Upper House of India... Parliament can be refer... red to as the "House o... Ladies", considering tha... two important functiona... ies, the deputy chairma... and the minister of stat... for parliamentary affair... incharge of the House, ar... women. Najma Heptulla... the presiding officer an... Margaret Alva, the mini... ter, are popular amon... most members. But ther... seems to be a special affi... ity among the wome... members. The AIADM... member and Tamil film... star, Jayalalitha, was see... overactive when Margare... Alva visited Madras dur... ing the end of May. Jayal... litha's staff were seen ru... ning around.

Better Than Satellites?

Indian Airlines has realised to its dismay that the microwave link of the telephone department is a better channel of communication than the satellite, Insat 1B. The introduction of computers in the airlines' booking apparatus necessitated the hiring of communication channels. While between Delhi-Bombay, Delhi-Madras, Delhi-Bangalore, Delhi-Hyderabad and Delhi-Calcutta high speed microwave channels of the telephone department have been hired, the links between the capital and Bombay, Calcutta and Madras are also being maintained through the Insat 1B. The satellite channel is somewhat slower than the microwave. Hence the computer links are often disrupted.

Triumphant CM

Veerbhadra Singh, the Himachal Pradesh chief minister, has emerged as the only triumphant Congress(I) chief minister in recent months. While J. B. Patnaik of Orissa could not make his party retain in the by-elections one of the Assembly seats he had won in the regular elections, other chief ministers in northern states could not provide good results in the elections held in their states. In the case of Veerbhadra Singh, with the completion of elections in the areas which were snowbound at the time of state elections, the Congress(I) has managed to win more than five-sixth majority in the Assembly. The ruling party now has 58 seats in a House of 68. This is in sharp contrast to the results of the elections held in 1980 during the chief ministership of Ram Lal. The Congress(I) had to woo independents to be able to form a government in Ram Lal's days. In Veerbhadra Singh's regime, not only have the independents been wiped out, but even a veteran like Th... kur Sain Negi, forme... Vidhan Sabha Speake... has been humbled. Th... veteran leader lost to th... state Youth Congress pre... ident, Ved Raj Negi, in th... elections held in May a... Kinnaur, which was snow... bound at the time of th... regular elections... Himachal Pradesh at pr... sent does not have a... minister in the centre. Th... victory of Sukh Ram fro... Mandi to the Lok Sabh... may see the vacuum be... filled. Sukh Ram was th... seniormost minister in th... Himachal cabinet in th... Ram Lal and Veerbhadr... Singh regimes. At on... stage, in the days of Ra... Lal, Sukh Ram was e... trusted with departmen... which together control... 55 per cent of the state... budget.

Sondeep Shankar

Veerbhadra Singh

D. E. Nizamuddin

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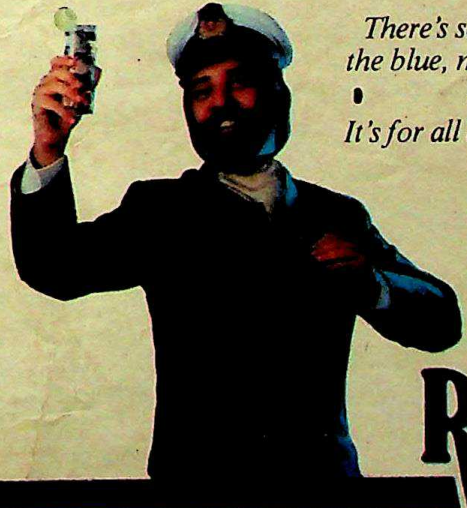
Blue Ahoy!



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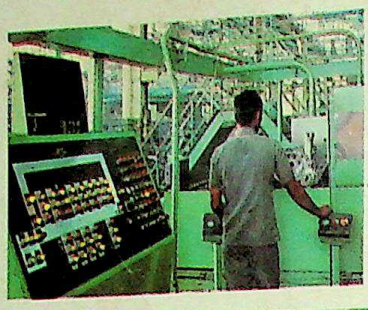

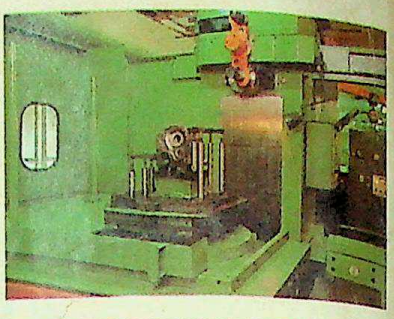
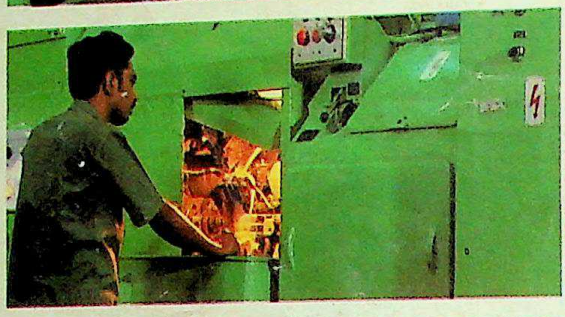

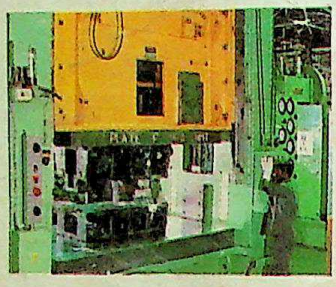
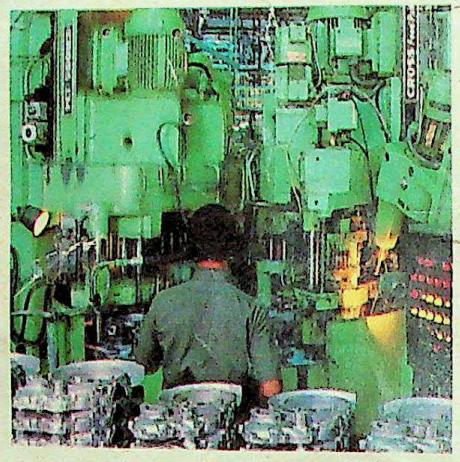
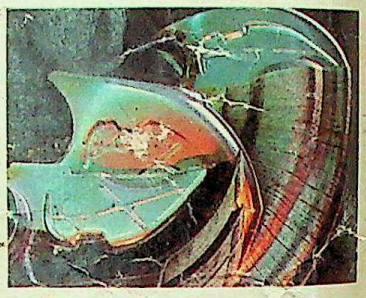

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Assam: What Next ?

SUNDAY

THE DEATH OF A SAINT

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal

(1932—1985)

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1 — 7 SEPTEMBER 1985

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CONTENTS

COVER STORY 8

Death of a Saint

The peace moves in Punjab received a setback with the assassination of Sant Longowal by terrorists 27 days after the Punjab accord was signed. Will the murder usher in another phase of violence in the state? Khushwant Singh, Janardan Thakur, NikhilChakravartty and Inder Gujral examine the implications of the murder and its effect on the elections in Punjab and on-the-spot reports by SUNDAY correspondents.

SUNDAY SPECIAL 22

Prem Nazir: The Fallen Star

The super-star of Kerala who has acted in over 600 films suddenly finds producers and directors neglecting him. A report from Binoo John. Also an interview with Prem Nazir.

SUNDAY SPECIAL 28

***Mantrivani* or *Sarkarvani*?**

Ritu Sarin reports on how efforts are being made to muzzle the popular television programme, *Janvani*.

SUNDAY SPECIAL 32

Talking Over Genocide

Anita Pratap reports on the progress and fate of the Thimphu talks.

SPECIAL REPORT 36

A Marriage on the Rocks

Differences between the Congress(I) and the AIADMK are threatening to break up the alliance of convenience in Tamil Nadu. A report by Anita Pratap.

Page 8

Page 38

Page 22

SPECIAL REPORT 38

Assam: The Next Round

With the signing of the memorandum of settlement and the dissolving of the Assam Assembly, the stage is set for a battle of the ballots. A report from Tooshar Pandit.

BUSINESS/FINANCE 46

No Presents from Clausen

Aid from the World Bank to India is being cut down.

SCIENCE/ TECHNOLOGY 62

Dhruva Goes Critical

A report on the nuclear reactor at the Bhaba Atomic Research Centre which has become operational.

NEWS 48

□ Pakistan Flag on the Sher-e-Kashmir's Grave
□ Unrest in Kanyakumari
□ Minister vs Bureaucrat
□ Of Human Bondage
□ The Battle for Belgaum

COMMENT

Cross-currents Shubhabrata Bhattacharya 4
Gossip Sweet and Sour Khushwant Singh 5
Opinion 6

VARIETY

Khaas Baat 58
Spotlight 59
Sundayweek 65
This India 67
Teasers 70
Chess/Bridge/Quiz 72
Peanuts 73

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Cross-currents

SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA

How secure is the security ring around the VIPs? The assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has shown that the securitymen have not been performing the task assigned to them. The murder was not committed suddenly. The first assassin had failed in his task. The Akali Dal president was recovering from the shock when the second assassin moved in and accomplished the heinous crime. Everyone around the Sant mistook Halwinder Singh, the second assailant, to be the VIP's bodyguard. When he moved towards the target nonchalantly, enquiring, "*Santji kiththe hain* (where is the Sant)?" and asked the crowd to step aside shouting "*Pare hato,*" the Sant's bodyguards could not see through the mischief. After all, the police guards around the Akali leader (and there must also have been intelligence sleuths trailing him) should have known who the securitymen deputed to Sherpur that evening were. But no. The confusion created by the multiplicity of agencies handling sensitive tasks these days is such that vigil around Sant Longowal was lax. After signing the accord, Sant Longowal was the prime target of the forces who do not want normalcy to return to Punjab. If security cover could not be provided to such a man, then the less said about the state of our intelligence and security set-up, the better.

Sant Longowal's was not the first murder in which the assailants posed as securitymen. When Lalit Maken and his wife Gitanjali were done to death at their residence in West Delhi on 31 July, the sten-gun-carrying men who stood in front of their home were mistaken by the visitors and the neighbours to be Maken's securitymen. Over the last few years, sten guns have multiplied in the political circles of this country. Any politician who is assigned a bodyguard takes pride in seeing that his "shadow" is carrying a machine carbine. Initially, when securitymen were provided to VIPs, they were armed with revolvers. The plainclothesmen could be identified rarely. Only on close scrutiny could the bulge on the right side of their body, concealed by clothes, be made out to be the weapon which had been provided for the VIP's protection. Today plainclothesmen carry sten guns. The idea of a plainclothesman is defeated if he can easily be identified. A guard who carries a sten gun appropriately should be in uniform. And to ensure a foolproof system, even uniformed sten gun-carrying guards around VIPs should be given a distinctive laminated identification badge, with their photographs affixed on it, to show that he was authorised to be so armed while accompanying VIPs. A sten gun cannot be made a status symbol. The perils of such infantile fancies should be understood before more damage is done by the extremists.

Overarming of the police has its inherent dangers. An incident which has gone largely unreported highlights this. On the night of 19 August, a Delhi businessman, Anil Kumar Aggarwal, was admitted at the Safdarjang Hospital with severe injuries on his right cheek and the lower portion of the throat. Sub-inspector Balbir Singh of the Civil Lines police station had fired at him, mistaking him to be a car robber. Aggarwal had left a five-star hotel after a hearty meal and was driving to his residence in North Delhi in his dark-green Fiat, number DEH 69. A chocolate-coloured Fiat, registration number DBH 69, had been robbed from a West Delhi colony an hour earlier. Aggarwal's car was air-conditioned and the tinted glasses were rolled up when he drove back home, music blaring from the car's stereo system. Around 10.30 pm, a police officer saw Aggarwal's car near Kashmere Gate and thinking it was the robbed car, started chasing it. An alert was sounded on the police wireless network and after a while another jeep, driven by sub-inspector Balbir Singh, joined the chase. At Alipur Road, the police officer fired at the innocent person and injured him. According to the police, as the police jeep could not overtake the car which was moving at full speed, the officer had to resort to firing with "bonafide intentions." Certainly, there could have been better ways of stopping a car. Hindi movies often show us the various methods which can be employed to stop a speeding vehicle. Many more innocent persons could meet the same fate as Anil Kumar Aggarwal if the incident of 19 August night is dismissed lightly by the police administration.

The Prime Minister while addressing the Indian Police Service probationers at Hyderabad recently had hinted that he was unhappy with the present state of affairs in the security and intelligence set-up. Reforms can come later. To begin with, will the present system be streamlined? The deaths of Mrs Indira Gandhi, Lalit and Gitanjali Maken and Sant Longowal have shown the securitymen in poor light. The image created by the Anil Aggarwal episode is worse.

PUNCHLINE/R.K. LAXMAN

Courtesy R.K. Laxman/The Times of India

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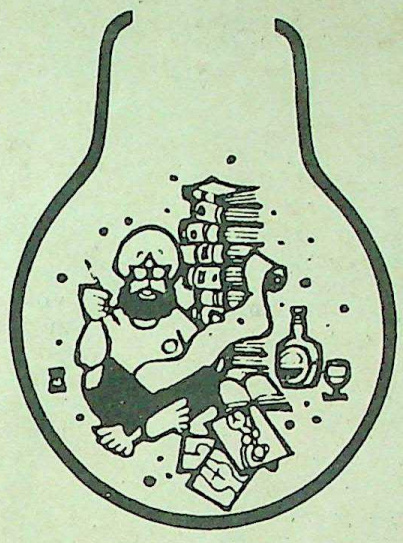
Animal Sixth Sense

Some weeks ago in another column I had written of the uncanny sixth sense that some animals, birds and insects possess: the vulture's ability to spot a carcass from several miles, the dog's ability to sniff dope concealed in the bottom of suitcase, and so on. M.L. Ahuja of Nanakpura, New Delhi, narrates yet another instance taken from the autobiography of the late Sardar Gurbaksh Singh, founder of Preet Nagar (now on our border with Pakistan) and editor of *Preet Lari*. He writes of the railway station master of Quetta which was devastated by an earthquake in 1935. The station master returned home late at night after seeing the last train leave. He was tired and wanted to sleep but his dog got him by his trousers and dragged him out of the house. A few moments later the earth shook. Most of Quetta was reduced to a rubble and thousands of sleeping people killed by the falling of debris. The station master and his dog were among the few who escaped.

Samiron Sarkar of Calcutta has sent me another instance of a cat living in a block of apartments opposite the Lal Bazar police station. The cat had a litter of four kittens. A few days after giving birth to them she spotted an apartment in a block of flats in a neighbourly building occupied by a kind lady. One by one she took her kittens by scruffing their necks and deposited them in a corner of the lady's bedroom. That night a fire broke out in the other building and destroyed the room in which the cat had littered. The incident was reported in all Calcutta's papers.

Canada and the Air India Disaster

One advantage of being a Member of Parliament as well as a columnist is to be able to air views which are ruled out by the presiding officer. I had given notice of special mention on a personal letter written by Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, to Rajiv Gandhi which Mulroney had released to the Canadian press. A clipping was sent to me by an agitated Indian national, K. Sabir, who felt that its publication in Toronto's *Globe & Mail* was a violation of diplomatic propriety. Since it also deals with security measures taken at Canadian and Indian airports and goes out of its way to tender advice to our Prime Minister on matters which are entirely his business, I felt the issue deserved to



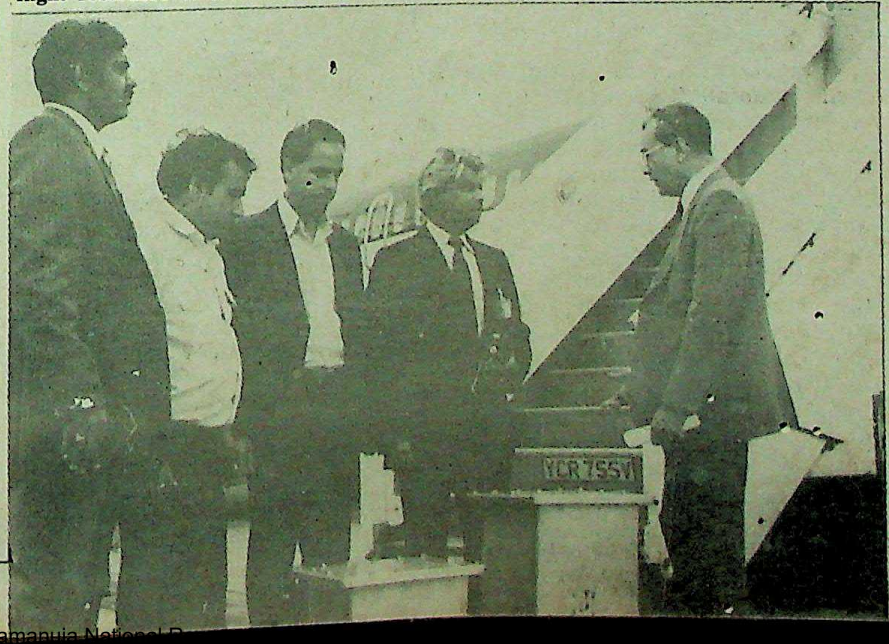
be debated in Parliament. vice-president R. Venkataraman who presides over the Rajya Sabha did not think so. That was his judgement. This is mine.

It may be recalled that the flight of the Air India plane which went down in the sea with 329 people aboard and the Canadian Pacific plane which narrowly escaped disaster emanated from Canada. Explosive devices were planted in them, in one of the three Canadian airports: Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver. Canada is the nerve centre of Indian extremists from where they maintain liaison with their counterparts in Punjab. It is largely in Canada that the buffoonery of Khalistani consulates, passports and currency are to be found and where the megalomaniac Jagjit Singh Chauhan is often seen. It was after the air disaster that Rajiv Gandhi made the perfectly innocuous statement that the government of Canada "was not being stern enough with terrorists earlier" and the *Times of India* described its attitude as "could-not-care-less."

Brian Mulroney took umbrage. Canadians did care; their airport security was "at least as intensive as at airports, in, for example, Bombay and Calcutta," he maintained. "What more did Rajiv expect them to do within the limits of their democratic society?" he asked. "In the absence of constructive advice, condemnation of this country's (Canada's) efforts may strike many Canadians as gratuitious," he added. The Canadian Prime Minister went on to write: "I wish to avoid mutual recriminations as well as interference in India's internal affairs. Clearly however, the terrorism now implanted on Canadian soil has its roots in the unresolved political tensions of the Punjab." In short, he told Rajiv to put his own house in order before pointing the accusing finger at Canada.

Three questions need to be answered. First is about diplomatic propriety. Why did the Canadian Prime Minister release his personal communication to the press? Have diplomatic channels between the two countries broken down? Second, what have the Canadian authorities done so far to apprehend the two men named as possible culprits? Canadian police boast of always getting their man; they have not yet got a clue about these two rascals. And now that Rajiv has in fact put his house in order, what are the Canadian authorities doing to prevent Chauhan and like-minded people from continuing their violent crusade against the Sikh community and India?

Air India officials at Heathrow airport with the two boxes containing the voice and flight recorders of the ill-fated Kanishka



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Shun Terrorism

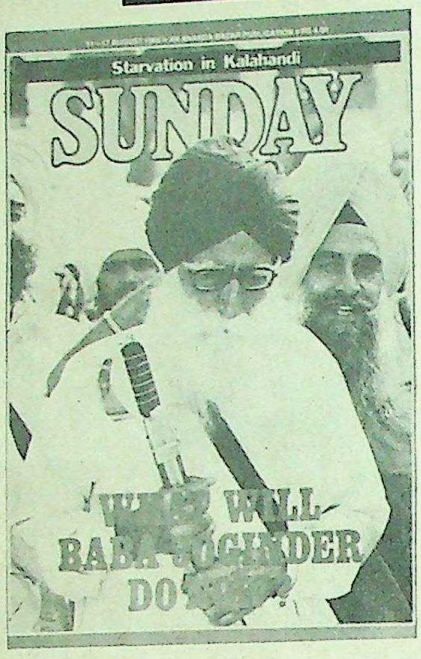
In the cover story *What Will Baba Joginder Do Now?* (11-17 August) Sanjeev Gaur has correctly analysed the present mood of the people of Punjab. Though the majority have supported the accord, a few like Baba Joginder struck a hostile note by adopting a disapproving stand. Baba Joginder Singh should think about the benefits of the accord on the lives of the people of Punjab and stop his followers from committing violent and anti-national activities. The interviews with Baba Joginder Singh, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Arjun Singh and Sant Longowal made interesting reading. I feel Baba Joginder was not right in blaming Rajiv Gandhi for the 1984 November riots. If the Prime Minister had not taken appropriate measures at that time the riots would have continued for a longer period.
Sanjay Chopra, Hoshiarpur (Punjab)

• Baba Joginder did not view the Punjab accord in a favourable light. However, almost all the Sikhs residing outside Punjab in India have welcomed the agreement. Only a few Sikhs from remote villages might be supporting Baba Joginder. The latter should settle all disputes amicably, putting aside religious fanaticism, for the welfare of all Sikhs.
Bhupen Bose, Jamshedpur

• I am doubtful about the ultimate success of the Punjab accord. After the settlement was reached, one thought the Punjab imbroglio would never surface again. But it is disheartening to note that prominent Sikh leaders like Baba Joginder and others have opposed the accord. They should relinquish their fight for supremacy and support the Punjab agreement for the welfare of the common masses.
K. Chidanand Kumar, Bangalore

• It was not correct of Baba Joginder Singh to refer to the Prime Minister as "the son of a Panditani mother and a Parsi father." The Prime Minister should be talked about in a more respectful manner by every responsible citizen of India. So much coverage should not be given to such an irresponsible person whose son followed policies of terrorism.
Mansoor Ahmed, Calcutta

• I.K. Gujral advocates a delayed poll in Punjab to further strengthen the bond of cordiality between the Hindus and the Sikhs. He also pleads for a Hindu-Sikh coalition government as was formed in 1977-1979



during the Janata and the Akali Dal regime. However, he failed to mention specifically that with the reemergence of Indira Gandhi in 1980 the cult of bloodshed and riots began. In fact, it was Mrs Gandhi who was responsible for creating the monster called Bhindranwale.
C.T. Vairavan, Madras

• If Baba Joginder Singh clears his misconceptions regarding government policies, the accord can be more successfully implemented. However, I feel this is not the opportune time to hold elections in the state.
N. Ellango, Tirunelveli (Tamil Nadu)

Buying Peace

Punjab: Peace at Last? (4—10 August) was highly informative. The situation in Punjab, both before and after the accord, was vividly portrayed. Our young Prime Minister has displayed statesmanship of a high order in tackling one of the worst internal problems the country had to face since independence. However, the accord could not have been reached but for the sagacity and courage shown by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.
V. Marinas Fernando, Nazareth (Tamil Nadu)

• The signing of the Punjab accord has raised new hopes of unity, amity and cordial relations among the people of Punjab. Whereas on the one hand the Prime Minister kept his promise of solving the Punjab crisis on a priority basis, on the other hand the moderate Akali leaders took a courageous step by dissociating themselves completely from the extremists. Now, the government, the moderates, the nationalist forces and the Sarbat Khalsa should condemn and take action against all elements of dissension.
Balbir Singh, Patna Saheb

• The whole nation was relieved when the accord was reached between the central government and the Akali leadership. An impasse ended with it and the ushering in of a new era can be foreseen. The accord has been a major breakthrough in the political career of Rajiv Gandhi. The decision to give Chandigarh to Punjab is sagacious.
Tauquir Usman, Gaya

• The accord should be welcomed by one and all. After five years of violence and communal strife in Punjab, there is a sense of relief. It took extraordinary skill and courage on the part of both Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal in settling this crucial problem. Let us hope that peace will be long-lasting.
M. Anwar Azad Ansari, Bhabua

• I found Khushwant Singh's *Punjab Lives Again* really worth reading. I welcome his suggestion to award Bharat Ratnas to Rajiv Gandhi and Arjun Singh. It was shocking to know that Zail Singh was not taken into confidence while solving the Punjab crisis. I quite understand Mr Singh's apprehension of the mischief that can be caused by Prakash Singh Badal and G.S. Tohra. However, his fear of Sikhs losing their identity and "lapsing back into the Hindu fold" is unfounded. History stands testimony to the fact that the people of one community have always tried to safeguard the interest of the other.
A.K. Ghosh, Gumla

• The extremists, surprised at the quick settlement of the Punjab issue, may have been put off balance for a while, but I fear, they will carry out even more nefarious and destructive activities just out of frustration. Of course, these extremists are wholeheartedly supported by foreign conspirators working against India's unity. Not only are the security measures to be tightened, the forces of extremism should be made to realise the utter futility of their strategy.
H.K.L. Gandotra, Kotli Jakolari

• The Punjab accord was an example of brotherly compromise rarely witnessed in India. This agreement of peace will go down in letters of gold in the pages of Indian history.
Amit Sharangi, Rohini (West Bengal)

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A Hell on Earth

I was very upset on reading the special report, *Starvation in Kalahandi* (11—17 August). It was hard to believe that people were selling their children in order to fight starvation. In desperation people were feeding on wild roots and leaves of trees. Youngsters have left home in search of livelihood and have never returned. Kalahandi is a veritable hell on earth.

M. Mohammed Nur Dhabatto, Madras

• Sarada P. Nanda's report was shocking. It was indeed distressing to learn that such misery exists in our country. While going all out to help the drought victims of Ethiopia, the government should not neglect our own people suffering in Kalahandi. I cannot but admire the young MLA Bhakta Charan Das. I only wish our ministers were like him.

Jennifer Ann Vincent, Madras

Starving villagers in Kalahandi

Wise Counsel

Probably for the first time after his retirement, the former Chief Justice Y.V. Chandrachud freely talked about his personal and official life in *"We do not have Enough Good Judges"* (21-27 July). The conversation made us aware of the embarrassing situations in which a judge may find himself in the course of his work. Post-retirement sufferings are not uncommon in India. At least the case of Y.V. Chandrachud, has been brought to the notice of the public.

S. Kalidash, Maikangiri (Orissa)

• Y.V. Chandrachud is absolutely right when he says that a judge should not join politics after retirement, especially a Chief Justice. I only hope that all judges follow his wise opinion. The government, too, should not meddle in the affairs of a Chief Justice.

Dayanand Dubey, Deoghar (Bihar)

Vilifying a Sacred Democratic Institution

I was pained and surprised to go through the comments of Ram Raja Prasad Singh in '*The Bomb Blasts were the Beginning of our Revolution.*' (11-17 August). The conversation with Saumitra Banerjee is full of lies and insinuations and has tried to cast aspersions on the sacred institution of Nepal. The self-styled politician has of late started a vilification campaign against Nepal.

Monarchy is the most sacred institution of the Nepalese people. Besides being a permanent symbol of unity and territorial integrity of the kingdom, this institution has always played a very significant role in consonance with the aspirations of the people. The illustrious monarchs of the Shah dynasty, right from the days of His Late Majesty King Prithivi Narayan Shah, have always kept the interest of the people and the country uppermost in their minds. The unification of many principalities into an integrated and cohesive kingdom of Nepal was done by this great king. The noble successors of the founder of the Shah dynasty have always identified themselves with the national interest.

His Late Majesty King Tribhuvan, the father of the nation, set a unique example by staking his throne and leading the popular revolution of 1951 which freed Nepal from a century-old autocratic rule of the Ranas. The assumption of the people's leadership by the monarch for the restoration of the democratic rights has no parallels in the political history of the world. His Late Majesty King Mahendra, who was instrumental in modernising Nepal, introduced a partyless democratic panchayat system. The system based as it is on the active participation of all the people without any recourse to party squabbles, has proved suitable to the country.

In recent years, the panchayat system has been further democratised in consonance with the wishes of the people. His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev proclaimed the historic national referendum for ascertaining the people's choice of the political system. The panchayat system got a clear-cut mandate of the people. Our system has all the fundamental tenets of democracy like the election of the national legislature (Rastriya Panchayat) on the basis of universal adult franchise, election of the Prime Minister by the House, accountability of the government to the House and the provision of an independent judiciary. Therefore, our people enjoy all the fundamental political rights like in any other democracy in the world.

The interview has also tried to spread canards and lies as regards Nepal's economy. His Majesty's government has given all necessary incentives to the private sector to participate in all development works. We welcome participation even by individuals and enterprises from foreign countries to set up joint industrial ventures in Nepal and full-scale safeguards have been provided to them. The growing interest shown by friendly countries including India to invest in Nepal is a clear testimony to this fact.

As far as the recent bomb blasts leading to the tragic loss of innocent lives and property in Nepal are concerned, these acts are the handiworks of a handful of terrorists who have no love and affection for their country and people. As Nepal is a peace-loving country dedicated to the declaration of Nepal as a zone of peace and pursues a peaceful policy of non-alignment in international affairs, we are very alert regarding the activities of such criminals who are bent upon disturbing peace in our region. His Majesty's government is fully capable of dealing with these terrorists under the rule of the law. The people of Nepal will never forgive terrorists and those supporting terrorism. The recent terrorist acts in some parts of Nepal have been condemned by all including the government of India.

Durga Prakash Panday, Consul General for Nepal, Calcutta

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

COVER STORY

THE DEATH OF A SAINT

The wound will never heal

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal should not be mourned merely as the man who signed the accord with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He was the tallest Sikh leader of his times. He first shot into national prominence ten years ago when he mobilised a massive democratic movement in Punjab against the Emergency. This, combined with the alliance between the Janata and the Akali Dal (which came to power in Punjab in 1977) turned the state into a fortress of anti-Congress forces. The emergence of the powerful trio of Sant Longowal, Prakash Singh Badal (who was then the chief minister) and Gurcharan Singh Tohra (the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee president) was viewed with alarm by the Congress leadership. Certain forces within the Congress built up Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to counter the trio. Agent provocateurs caused the Akali-Nirankari clashes, the killing of Lala Jagat Narain, the build-up of Bhindranwale as the militant leader of the Sikh masses, culminating in his arrest in Chowk Mehta in late 1981 and his subsequent moving into the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar, turning the holy place into a bastion of anti-national and anti-social elements. A train of events was let loose just because the popularity of the Longowal-Badal-Tohra leadership had to be demolished. The behind-the-scenes managers from New Delhi knew that it was not easy to counter the trio given the anti-Congress atmosphere prevalent in Punjab since the mid-Seventies. So, they created a Frankenstein: Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. The soul of this Frankenstein still exists, otherwise there would not havebeen jubilation in the Golden Temple by the supporters of Baba Joginder Singh soon after Longowal's murder (Jagdev Singh Talwandi of the "United" Akali Dal has denied that there was merry-making by his partymen, but from all available accounts it seems that Talwandi being the only senior politician in the Baba Joginder Singh camp, was merely reacting to a situation as a politician should). Interestingly, Atma Singh, who had been used by certain forces earlier during the SGPC elections to break the trio, is today with Baba Joginder Singh.

Sant Longowal's death is not merely a setback to the peace efforts in Punjab but also the beginning of a dangerous phase in the politics of the state. It has been seen, over the years, that Akali leaders seeking a settlement with the Congress and New Delhi have run into rough weather in Sikh politics. Master Tara Singh, it may be recalled, was the most powerful Sikh leader who not only controlled the Akali Dal in a near-dictatorial manner but also held sway over the affairs of the SGPC. His offer of merger with the Congress in 1957 led to his fall from grace. His failure to secure the Punjabi Suba after the much-trumpeted fast-unto-death in 1961, without yielding any significant concessions from New Delhi, sealed his career. He was effectively challenged by his close lieutenant, Sant Fateh Singh, who founded his own Akali Dal in 1962 and mobilised the Jat-Sikh peasantry. It is evident from the history of the Sikh response to the Akali Dal in the post-independence years that whenever the Akali leadership has articulated the demands of the Jat-Sikh peasantry and combined an agitational approach with parliamentary tactics, they have been able to hold their sway over the Sikh mind. The task before the acting president of the Akali Dal, Surjit Singh Barnala, therefore, is not easy.

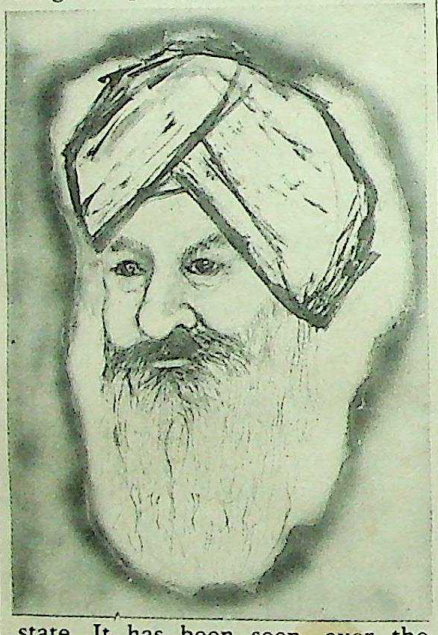

Illustration: Bulbul Sharma

The accord signed on 24 July, while conceding most demands of the Akali Dal, ignored the most vital aspect which is needed for peace in Punjab. After Operation Bluestar and the November riots in Delhi, Patna, Kanpur and Bokaro, the Sikh mind has been obsessed with questions other than Chandigarh and river waters. While these issues were important, the hurt pride of the Sikh community was the topmost concern of the Sikh leadership. After the accord, the SGPC has filed claims amounting to a thousand crores of rupees for the damage done to the gurdwaras. The fact that Badal walked out of the meeting which elected Barnala as the acting president of the Akali Dal, on 25 August is significant. For Governor Arjun Singh, who has still got his finger in Madhya Pradesh politics, holding elections in Punjab was expedient. He wanted to be known as the man of peace, for the moment, notwithstanding the events of the future. Sant Longowal had wanted the elections to be postponed. The election machinery has been activated in Punjab. The state cannot afford to witness any more bloodshed. If the death of a saint can bring sanity, then Sant Longowal's life was not lost in vain. But will the blood-soaked spot at Sherpur gurdwara put a stop to the insanity in Punjab?

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

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COVER STORY

Setback in Punjab

By Khushwant Singh

It is said that when Sant Longowal signed the accord with Rajiv Gandhi on the evening of Wednesday, the 24th of July, the Prime Minister took off his bullet-proof vest and presented it to Longowal saying, "Santji, I will not be needing this any more, but perhaps you will." The story is apocryphal. It turned out to be tragically apt. Neither the bullet-proof vest (if he ever wore one) nor the commando unit, nor the half-a-dozen security guards who accompanied Sant Longowal wherever he went were able to save him from assassins who had sworn to do or die. He met his end as he would have undoubtedly liked to have met it: after having said his prayers in a gurdwara.

The first question that comes to mind is about the numerical strength of the terrorists and their organisation. How many are they? Is there a master-mind which directs their activities, finances them and furnishes them with arms? How long will they go on killing people? The second and connected question is of the attitude of the Sikh masses towards these killers. How is it that two of Sant Longowal's four assassins were able to get away through a congregation which is said to have numbered over 5000? Did not any one of them dare to grapple with them? Or was it the proverbial attitude of indifference "*aseen kee laina*?" ("What have we to do with it?") After "Operation Bluestar" and the repressive measures taken by the army and paramilitary forces, Sikh terrorists gained a measure of respectability and were given sanctuary in gurdwaras and homes. That passive sympathy had slowly eroded as these terrorists went from one senseless killing to another. With the signing of the accord most people began to treat terrorists as outlaws and if not actively willing to expose them were at least unwilling to afford them shelter. The manner in which two of Longowal's killers were allowed to escape makes us unsure of the people's attitude towards them. As long as terrorists enjoy passive sympathy of the masses, there is little hope of getting the better of them. Once they are deprived of it, no matter how many they are and how well-organised, how readily furnished with arms and cash, their days will be numbered. One good that may come out of Sant Longowal's martyrdom is the feeling of revulsion against these killers.

The death of Sant Longowal is a tragedy of national dimensions. It has deprived the Sikhs of the one man who could have carried the panth with him and cut the upstart Baba Joginder-Talwandi faction to size. In the personalised politics that obtain in our country, with the passing of a leader most of what he stood for goes into abeyance and his following dissipates. The vacuum created by the Sant's disappearance will not be filled for quite some time to come.

Sant Longowal: end of an era

His death has also deprived the Punjab of a leader in whom Punjabi Hindus could repose trust because his was the first voice after Bhindranwale's hateful utterances against the Hindus and he talked of restoring fraternal relations between the two brother communities. The Sant's going will also be a loss to the country because he helped Rajiv Gandhi to maintain the integrity of the country, and by putting his signatures to the accord, frustrated the designs of people who wanted to re-divide India to provide for a separate Sikh state, Khalistan. Although he was little known outside India, the Sant's death deprives the world of a god-fearing man of humility and courage who knowingly exposed himself to peril with the conviction that his cause was just. When asked if he was not afraid of being killed, he would smile, raise both his hands and exclaim: "*Ussee nay jaan bakshee hai, jad usdee marzee, usee nay lainee hai*," (the Lord granted me life, when it pleases the Lord he will take it back.)" In the Punjab, sants are a dime a dozen. Of these only Harchand Singh Longowal was a true saint in the Gandhian mould.

The question uppermost in people's minds is: what happens to the Longowal-Rajiv accord now? I am pretty certain, the accord will hold because barring the Baba Joginder-Talwandi faction it has the near-unanimous support of all Punjabis. Besides, anyone who steps into Sant Longowal's shoes will feel honour-bound to see it through.

Then there is the timing of the elections. At the time of writing, the Congress(I) point of view is to go ahead on the schedule announced. Some Akali leaders, notably Balwant Singh and Barnala, both of whom were in Sant Longowal's negotiating team, are also for an early election as they feel they will be able to cash in on the name of the martyred Sant while the memory of his dastardly killing is still fresh in the minds of the people. However, there is a sizeable body of opinion both in the Congress and in the Akali party that an early election will result in more bloodshed. When every seat is contested by over a dozen candidates, the chances of some falling victims to violence and entailing fresh polls are high. Besides that there is little doubt that the Baba Joginder-Talwandi faction will do its worst by opening up old wounds caused by "Operation Bluestar" and the carnage of Sikhs organised by Congress(I) leaders following the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and thus vitiate the atmosphere of cordiality between Hindus and Sikhs generated by the accord. This will certainly put the clock back. Punjab cannot afford to be divided between a Hindu Punjab and a Sikh Punjab, it has to be a Punjabi Punjab if it means to resume its first place as the most prosperous and the most go-ahead state of India.

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Elections, the Right Step

By Janardan Thakur

Some future historian may well weave his account of Punjab in the Eighties round the characters of the two Sants, Bhindranwale and Longowal, who between them covered all the divergent strands in the tangled skein of Sikh politics. Both Sants, and yet how different! If the one spewed hate and violence, the other overflowed with love and peace. If the one became a martyr to the cause of separatism, the other is a martyr to the cause of unity. The end of Bhindranwale came as a national relief, the death of the other as a national grief. And yet they were Sants both. Did He who make the lamb make thee?

At another level it would be the tale of the two Gandhis—the one who let the genii out of the bottle, and the other who strove to put it back again. It was only the principal genie that was crushed by Operation Bluestar; scores of lesser genii are still abroad.

It may take a long time still, and many more grievous losses on the way, before terrorism is curbed and the seed of secessionism crushed. But the tide could well be turning. By killing Longowal the enemies of peace and unity have lost much more than they may reckon at the moment. It was the death of their own fiendish Sant and the tragic assault on the Golden Temple which had given the biggest boost to the extremists with extra-territorial loyalties. They had achieved what Bhindranwale could never do in his lifetime: a deep schism between the Sikhs and the Hindus all over. By killing Longowal they have largely undone the damage they had done to the people's psyche.

But the battle is still on, and it is not for the weak or the lily-livered to join. The battle is only for the brave who can die but once.

For Rajiv Gandhi the easiest and the safest course would have been to postpone the elections. Even the strongest votaries of democracy were pressing for the safe and easy path, but comes a time in the life of a nation when it either takes a hard course today or loses out on its tomorrows. Such a time it is for India now, and one must admire the young Prime Minister for refusing to flinch in the face of danger.

Elections are a logical corollary of the accord that Rajiv and Longowal signed. A significant step had been taken towards peace and normalcy in Punjab, and to back out of elections at this stage would only have meant going several steps backward. Of course, Longowal's absence would mean a tremendous setback for the overall plan for Punjab, but then perhaps his martyrdom could bring about the desired poll results: a victory for the Akalis.

That, I have very little doubt, is part of New Delhi's overall strategy for a Punjab solution. Unbelievable as it may sound—for it is so much against the grain of the Congress(I)—the Prime Minister would for the first time be praying that his party loses in the Punjab Assembly elections. For the simple reason that a Congress(I) victory in the state would really mean going back to square one. There could of course be no guarantee that the Akalis coming to power in Punjab would mean an end to troubles, but certainly that would be the best bet for giving peace a chance.

How the Congress(I) will go about the task of getting defeated is a different matter. It would certainly not be easy to convince the power-hungry partymen in the state that this is a sacrifice they must make for peace, but one must say Rajiv Gandhi is trying hard. That is what all his appeals to his partymen on how to "fight" the Punjab elections boil down to: our victory would be in defeat.

Many may laugh at this scenario, but I would like to believe it is not a wild fancy. After all, isn't it possible that the young Prime Minister may have another side to him? In the past he has used all the tricks and chicanery of his mother to win at the hustings, even when he could have won without any of it, but it is not only "continuity" that he promised, but also "change." And by way of change it is just possible that he may bring to his gigantic task a statesmanship which his mother often scoffed at.

The way ahead is strewn with dangers, but let's go on with prayers on our lips and courage in our hearts. Longowal showed us how.

Sondeep Shankar

Arjun Singh (left), Arun Nehru and P.V. Narasimha Rao (right) at Sant Longowal's funeral

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The Martyred Saint

By Nikhil Chakravartty

On 20 August 1985, at a gurdwara in a Punjab village, a man was shot dead as he finished his speech in a gathering of about 5,000 people, launching his party's election campaign. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was 53 years old when he was gunned down by a gang which claimed to have been politically opposed to him.

Settling political scores through bullets has happened before in our country. But every time that has taken place, the public response has been one of deep anxiety, premonitions about dark forces overtaking our democracy and tearing it apart by breeding hatred between communities or castes. Gandhiji was killed in 1948 by a Hindu fanatic who belonged to the tribe which went mad at his preaching communal harmony even in the midst of the searing experience of the partition of the country. Thirty-six years later, in 1984, Indira Gandhi was riddled with bullets because of her "crime" to have tried to put down with an iron hand those who were cowardly and were using the sacred precincts of temples to whip up communal acrimony by unleashing armed terrorism to the point of preparing the ground for secession of a part of the country from our motherland. And nearly ten months later, on 20 August, Sant Longowal fell to the assassin's gun because he made an honest effort to take his community and his state out of the blind alley into which they were dragged by the suicidal policy of extremist terrorism.

The Akali Party of which Sant Longowal was the chief, had some grievances and raised certain demands which became the platform of a protracted mass agitation. This generated bitter frustration and led the Sikh community nowhere, though it brought in its train huge wastage of the nation's resources. But nobody objected to their right to agitate.

The point of departure came when a so-called militant group took to terrorist tactics. The emergence of the Bhindranwale cult with its armed gangster methods vitiated Punjab's normal political process and brought forward the demand for Khalistan which is supposed to be carved out by seceding from the Indian union. Bhindranwale's indiscriminate violence beginning with the butchering of the Nirankari Sikhs, sought to provoke communal clashes by the terrorist killing of non-Sikhs. If communal riots had not taken place at that stage, it was mainly because of the sanity of the majority in the Sikh community as also the firm steps taken by the government. But Bhindranwale himself was not touched though he could easily have been nabbed at that stage.

Partly, this was due to the fact that the Sikh leaders within the Congress were divided on this score, but largely, because the Akali leaders, of whom Sant Longowal was the chief, took no steps to either curb or condemn Bhindranwale. This point needs to be stressed if we are to strive for an objective assessment of the Punjab situation. With all the homage that one could pay to Sant Longowal's martyrdom today, his responsibility for the crisis into which Punjab was almost inexorably dragged into two years ago, can hardly be glossed over if one were to adhere to any objective assessment. Political personalities are not just individual characters; with their life is interwoven the texture of an episode or a phase in political development even if we leave aside the question of evaluating their place in history in the long run. It is with this yardstick one cannot help looking back to the strange conduct of the Akali leadership—which certainly included Sant Longowal—in its kidglove approach to Bhindranwale with disastrous consequences for the Sikh community as a whole.

Sant Longowal's life ended as the day ends in his native Punjab in the monsoon: in crimson sunset framed by forbidding clouds.

Why did Sant Longowal and the Akali leadership harbour Bhindranwale? The reasons for this, as could be gauged by outsiders, are roughly two: first, the Akali leadership was a divided house and Longowal presided over an outfit with conflicting pulls and pressures. That was why, despite several serious attempts at negotiating with the centre over their demands, they either backed out or shifted their position. Each leader was indulging in one-upmanship by exercising his veto on one point or other in the terms of a possible settlement. It is no doubt true that the centre too shifted its position sometimes, but there is no gain saying the fact that the Akali leadership notoriously changed its position, raising fresh demands whenever a settlement was in the offing. This was obviously due to the disunity within the leadership—a point which needs to be stressed when one assesses Sant Longowal's leadership in those early days. There is no streak of a commanding personality in him that could unify the entire Akali camp.

This leads to the second factor that determined the Akali Dal's position *vis-a-vis* Bhindranwale. Since they themselves failed to make any headway on their own, they seemed to have calculated that Bhindranwale's terrorism could be used as a battering ram against the centre. The spate of terrorist acts by Bhindranwale's gang could, they seemed to have thought, force the centre to come to terms with the Akali Dal. It was this calculation—not unprecedented in the annals of political bankruptcy—that took the Akali Dal leaders to the extraordinary situation when they allowed Bhindranwale to install himself within the sanctuary of the Golden Temple and make it the base of his terrorist operations all over Punjab. It was reported at the time that Gurcharan Singh Tohra as the head of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) got Bhindranwale to settle down in the Akal Takht, but nowhere was there any indication that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal as the chief of the Akali

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Dal had his reservations, not to speak of serious objections to this step of harbouring Bhindranwale and thereby abetting terrorism.

Many of those who in the changed climate of today are liberal in their attack on Indira Gandhi for having ordered Operation Bluestar, could offer no alternative course in dealing with the dangerous situation. In fact, the records show that most of them—mainly non-Sikhs—approved of the army action to smoke out the Bhindranwale gang from the Golden Temple. It is undeniable that the Sikh sentiment was hurt at this operation against the community's sanctorum, but the country can legitimately ask, what did the Sikh leaders do in the months and weeks preceding, to demand that the Golden Temple must not be permitted to be Bhindranwale's terrorist hideout? Not even a statement came from the leading lights in the Sikh community. Those well-meaning non-party Sikh leaders and the government could not get a single Akali leader including Sant Longowal to agree to the dislodgement of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple.

After Operation Bluestar and the army clamp-down on Punjab, the Akali Dal leadership showed no signs of activity to put the state back on to the road of normalcy. It is argued that they being in detention, were immobilised. On the face of it, this sounds plausible. But if one studies the record of our national leaders during the freedom struggle, one gets an idea of the almost non-stop activity—even to the point of active negotiation with the British rulers—that they were engaged in when they had to spend years in prison. No political leader worth his salt switches off his activity once in prison. One is entitled to ask the question how the Akali leaders spent their days in detention. Was there rethinking of their line of action, an awareness of the need for change in approach in the changed circumstances? A political leader gains eminence only when he or she tries to look beyond the immediate, and not just stay at the level of responses of understanding of his or her following.

This brings one to the last phase of Sant Longowal's career as a political leader. After Indira Gandhi's gruesome assassination followed by the pogrom on the Sikh community, which was not engineered by the Congress(I) local bosses though some of them indulged in it in the mass mood of bitter anger, instead of trying to assuage it—when Rajiv Gandhi took the correct step of releasing the Akali leaders as the first step towards a thaw in Punjab—Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's first extensive interview published in SUNDAY was disappointing: there was not a word of condemnation at the brutal killing of Indira Gandhi, not even an expression of sorrow at the heinous act.

It was only after he was persuaded by his friends and well-wishers and that too after long deliberations that he took a stand for reconciliation. He seemed to have realised then that Akali politics had reached a dead end and in the frustration that had spread over the entire Sikh community, there could be no place for the Akali leadership if it did not bestir itself for a return to normalcy. It was this which led ultimately to the memorandum of settlement that he signed with Rajiv Gandhi on 24 July.

In bringing about this rapport and rapproachement, three factors can be noted to have contributed: first, the firm hand with which the Punjab administration was run—with vigilance but without vendetta. Second, the important contribution made by the well-wishers of the Akali Dal, both Sikh and non-Sikh, to persuade Sant Longowal to take a reasonable stand. Third—and this is perhaps the most important—Rajiv Gandhi's readiness to accommodate to the point of promptly conceding most of the Akali demands. He himself authenticated the commitment by signing the accord in his capacity as the Prime Minister of India. It is indeed a case of stooping to conquer.

After the 24 July accord, Sant Longowal certainly earned for himself the position of a national leader. At the same time, let it not be underestimated that he could not fully overcome the reservations and opposition within his own party to any settlement with the government. For one thing, the Akali Dal itself was split, with the aggressive wing regrouping itself under the 80-year old father of Bhindranwale, putting up the misleading signboard of the "United" Akali Dal. This has become the real bastion of extremism with the All India Sikh Student Federation providing its militant cover. The Bhindranwale terrorists which are yet to be smashed up are sheltered within this outfit. Secondly, even in the rest of the Akali Dal, Longowal could not persuade Prakash Singh Badal or Gurcharan Singh Tohra—leaders of no mean standing—to come out openly in support of the 24 July accord.

In this situation, Longowal could mount no campaign against the terrorists. He had begun to make public appeals for Hindu-Sikh unity, but with the dramatic decision by the centre to hold a snap poll in Punjab, the situation changed. The urge for Akali unity—including an understanding with the extremists—could be discerned, a position which Sant Longowal could not possibly have resisted as could be made out by the wording of the statement he jointly issued with Badal and Tohra on the morning of 20 August, only a few hours before his tragic death. But the terrorists were not going to spare him: he was killed because they wanted to physically remove him so that he did not stick on as a thorn in their path.

Akali politics is still in the doldrums and the fate of Punjab is beset with ominous portents. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's martyrdom to the cause of national unity is certainly inspiring, but it is too early to predict that it would turn the tide against the Akali extremists. What can safely be said about the martyred Sant is that his life ended as the day ends in his native Punjab in the monsoon: in crimson sunset framed by forbidding clouds.

The body of Sant Longowal being taken in a procession to his village, Longowal

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Guns and Bullets Rule Once Again

By Inder K.Gujral

Within three weeks of signing, what has been called the historic accord, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has been martyred for trying to turn the tide of hatred and alienation. Obviously the terrorists, and those who have expressed their happiness over his death, were not participating in the prolonged *dharam yudh* to back up its demands that centred round an assured water supply for the Punjabi farmers nor to get Chandigarh transferred to Punjab not even to secure the release of the innocents from jails or for reinstatement of those armymen who had emotionally responded to Operation Bluestar.

The trail of the Sant's blood has now more clearly defined that while a vast majority of the Sikhs—both in the state and outside—are patriotically committed to Indian unity, there are elements and forces whose objectives are to break the nation by violent means.

This is a major turning point in Sikh politics. During the heyday of Bhindranwale, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and his moderate friends were clearly opposed to terrorism and the Khalistan demand, but their voice was dinned out amidst the loud noises of the bombs and bullets. The governmental intransigence and propaganda did everything to make their task formidable. Bluestar, Mrs Gandhi's assassination, the Delhi, Kanpur, Bokaro riots—all put together—built a heavy stone wall between the two fraternal communities and pushed, more or less, the entire Sikh community outside the pale of the nation's mainstream.

Two more factors added to the dark tragedy: Sant Longowal and his leading colleagues were incarcerated when their presence amidst their people was needed most. Even the three successive full benches of the Supreme Court were reluctant to pronounce that his detention was illegal. Obviously even the portals of an institution that normally inspires faith for its neutrality and courage, had been affected by the divisive winds outside. Secondly, one likes to forget it, the December 1984 elections were conducted as a referendum against the entire Sikh community and a whole arsenal of hate was deployed to mark them out as "enemies of the nation." There are the factions that breed intense alienation and a terroristic psyche. No one stops to raise the query: from where and how successive waves of terrorists are emerging. Only the Sant had asked this both in private and in public. But he did not get any credible response from the powers that be.

Harchand Singh Longowal was neither trusted by the radicalised youth nor by authorities when he was released in the month of March (to digress a little, but let me say, that he was let out of jail) not because the government had changed its attitude but because, though belatedly, the Supreme Court had indicated to the government side that it intended to accept the *habeas corpus* petition.

While the authorities had been accusing the moderates for either coalescing with or succumbing to pressures of the Bhindranwaleites, the Sikh youth blamed them for breaking the solidarity of the Sikhs and for exhibiting cowardice during Operation Bluestar. A lone and distressed Sant was faced with a formidable groundswell. Only a man with the heart of Gandhi could have stood up to raise his voice stressing sanity and basic truths. But humanity has always crucified its prophets of truth; it is not a phenomenon of medieval times.

The three of them, Longowal, Tohra and Badal, had once again closed their ranks hours before his tragic death. They had decided to accommodate and settle with the "United" Akali Dal. A few days earlier Badal had said that it would be a mistake to think that all of those who followed Baba Joginder Singh were extremists. "On the contrary, they are moderates like us."

The announcement of elections severely handicapped Longowal. He had to hurriedly patch up without enunciating and elaborating the principle and the policy frame. Given a few months for intense campaigning, he would have been able to explain to the rank and particularly the estranged youth that he had been consistent all along and that the agreement was not a "sell-out." The attitude and outlook that had been formed during the long tormenting years could not be wished away by few speeches or TV programmes.

Of course, there are determined, foreign-aided, killers in the terrorist ranks but they prosper in the midst of untrusting minds of the youth. Longowal had still to reach them when his attention was diverted to compulsions of the polls.

I do not plead that the terrorists would not have struck him. They would have attempted to eliminate his sane voice. But elections induced, it seems, an element of urgency.

The policy-makers have made even a more unfortunate decision now. It is an error to believe that the electoral process and its aftermath would isolate extremism. On the contrary, a weakened and divided leadership will be forced to "unify the *panth*" on a non-Longowal platform. Of course, his martyrdom will be lauded rhetorically and utilised for pulling the votes.

In the face of a new turn in the Akali politics and terroristic threat, the Hindu feeling of insecurity has enhanced. Their polarisation around the Congress(I) is more durable now. As a result, a large mass of the Hindus and the Sikhs are likely to vote on communal lines. Even after the assassination of the Sant it would not have been difficult to establish a credible line of communication with other leading persons in the Akali Dal and work out fresh parities but the imminent polls have inhibited this prospect.

The assassins' bullets and the announcement of election have, together, ended Punjab's brief honeymoon with normalcy. The emerging scenario of factional divisions among the Akalis further dims the hope. An unified Akali leadership, around "Longowalism" is an essential must for inducting an era of peace and stability in the state. But all this needed time for propagation and consolidation which the "early polls" lobby would not grant.

CC-0. Bhagavad Purana

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Killers in the Crowd

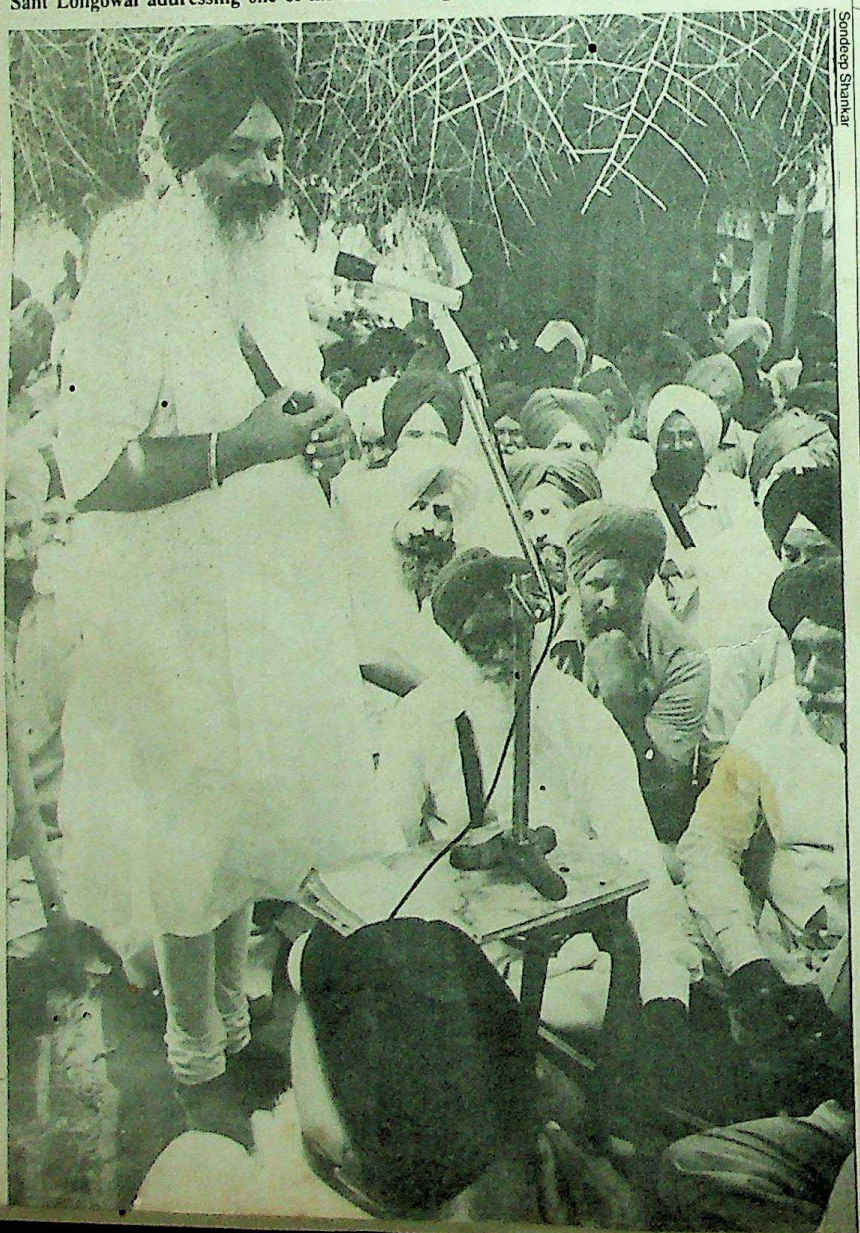
Sankarshan Thakur describes Sant Longowal's violent end at a meeting in Sangrur

The first shots came from 15 feet away, they failed to find their target. It was nearing 5.30 in the evening and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal had just finished addressing a congregation of 3,500-odd people at the gurdwara in Sherpur, a village in the interior of his home district, Sangrur. They were still hailing the Sant's efforts for bringing about Hindu-Sikh amity, seconding it with cheers and waves of the hand when, almost unnoticed, a Sikh youth sitting among the people, got up, pulled out a pistol from his *kurta*, and fired. Some heard four shots, some five. Nobody can remember correctly for, at first they did not realise what was happening. Most thought they were shots from a gun fired in jubilation. It was when they saw blood on the wooden platform where Sant Longowal was sitting that they turned to the man who had pulled the trigger. People ran helter-skelter and the assailant, later identified as Gian Singh, made for the gurdwara gate. He was caught much before he could make his getaway: a group of villagers, seeing that he had thrown away his weapon, chased and grabbed him. As they brought him back they saw two men—Karamjit Singh and Gurmail Singh—who were on the platform, bleeding. But Santji (as Sant Longowal was referred to) to their relief, was safe. He had risen from his seat in front and had taken a walk to a spot right behind the makeshift wooden platform. He was slightly shaken but unhurt. They brought him a glass of water and Surinder Singh, Sant Longowal's nephew, asked him how he was. "I am all right," he replied, "there is no reason to worry now." He moved his hands over his body and repeated that he was well. The worst, they thought, was over. But it was yet to come.

The open bid had failed. It was now the turn of treachery. Even as people around Sant Longowal were heaving a sigh of relief, the second assassin was zeroing in, posing as his body-guard. "*Pare hato, pare hato* (move away, move away)," he shouted, as he made his way through the crowd towards the Sant, flaunting his pistol in the air. "*Santji kitthe* (where is Sant Longowal)?" He enquired and was promptly shown the way by unsuspecting people. The man, also in loose *kurta-pyjama*, walked confidently to the squatting Longowal, jammed the butt of his pistol into his stomach and pumped a bullet into him. It went through his liver and later killed him. This time, one of the Sant's cousins, Sher Singh, returned fire, injuring Halwinder Singh, the assailant. But he had done his job. His bullet made its way before anyone around Sant Longowal could provide cover. Two of them did try—and got injured in the process—but they were a second late. The Sant had fallen into his nephew's lap, bleeding profusely. Minutes later, he was on his way to the Sangrur Civil Hospital 35 km away, accompanied in the ash-white Ambassador by Surinder Singh and Sher Singh. The Sant, according to Surinder Singh, was in his senses for most of the way to Sangrur. In fact, he kept asking how far they were from the hospital. He repeatedly asked his nephew to have faith in the Guru and also said that since he had been shot in front of the Darbar Sahib in the Sherpur gurdwara, everything would be all right. But Surinder Singh knew there was no hope much before they reached the hospital.

Sant Longowal seemed to have a special attachment for gurdwara Akal Prakash at Sherpur. He had gone there many times. According to Giani Gurbachan Singh, the chief priest of the Sherpur gurdwara

Sant Longowal addressing one of his last meetings in a village in Sangrur district



Sondeep Shankar

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'Without Longowal, it Now Seems an Uphill Task'

Punjab Governor Arjun Singh told SUNDAY

Q: Was Jeet Singh, the main security guard of Sant Longowal, a close associate of Simranjeet Singh Mann?

A: Yes. I have asked ex-general Gauri Shankar to look into this detail.

Q: When did you come to know of his association?

A: I came to know only after the murder of Sant Longowal?

Q: Are Longowal's 15 security guards under arrest or at least under serveillance?

A: Nothing of that sort. They have neither been arrested nor are they under surveillance. We will take action only if something is established against them.

Q: Who do you think is behind Sant Longowal's murder? Was it a political murder or a case of terrorist activity?

A: Well, it's not proper for me to comment on this especially since the CBI inquiry is going on. But I do feel that it was a deep conspiracy against him. We will go to the bottom of it and see to it that the guilty are punished.

Q: What arrangements have you made for holding safe elections?

Sondeep Shankar

Arjun Singh: optimistic

A: The standard arrangements—like arrangements for the security of the polling officers and others concerned. (We have made). arrangements to ensure that the backward classes vote fearlessly. However, given the present circumstances, I do feel that we would need extra security arrangements for the safety of the general public. So we will take the help of all forces.

Q: You mean that the army will help to hold these elections?

A: No, not the army. But we will take the help of paramilitary forces. We will augment the number of security men to ensure that no one takes the law into his hands. All efforts will be made to ensure peaceful elections.

Q: Don't you think that the postponement of elections by a mere three days was rather...?

A: This was no postponement. But we wanted to give time to the Akalis for the cremation of Sant Longowal.

Q: Will you find it difficult to implement the accord without the support of Longowal?

A: (That is) true. Without Longowal, it now seems an uphill task. But I have great faith in mass support. The people of Punjab are behind this settlement. So I am hopeful of the implementation to come through.

Interviewed by Rita Sharma, Chandigarh

"Whenever Santji found time, he would come and spend it with us." He was to have gone to the gurdwara convention of the Istri Akali Dal on 6 August but due to rain-floods, Sherpur had been cut off. The meeting had then been postponed to 20 August. The Sant did reach Sherpur, but it was his last visit. A day after the killer bullets had punctured peace in Sherpur, the pandal erected for the meeting on 20 August still stands empty, in the large open courtyard. On the wooden platform and a spot right behind it are marked two large circles: one where Sant Longowal escaped death and the second where it cornered him.

A group of villagers are always around and the events of 20 August are gone over again and again. The words are the same: the tragedy could have been avoided if only the securitymen had done their job well. The *bandobast* for the meeting, according to the people in the gurdwara, was impressive. Other than the personal securitymen of Sant Longowal, there were contingents of the Punjab police and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) accompanying the entourage. Even the commandos had taken position on the rooftops of the houses that overlook gurdwara Akal Prakash. In fact, some of them were even atop the minaret above the main gate of the gurdwara. "But," said Harbans Singh, a village youth who was fanning Sant Longowal seconds before the fatal shooting, "none of them could do anything when the killers struck." The policemen were sprawled out on the lawns behind the pandal. They did not move in after the first round of firing by Gian Singh had taken place. Had they formed a ring around Sant Longowal immediately after the first attempt, the story could have been different. They did not. And even before the ink could dry on the Gandhi-Longowal pact, the killers had soaked it in blood.

It was not totally unexpected though. Sant Longowal's peace initiatives with New Delhi, which had resulted in the agreement had frustrated the efforts of all those who had worked to keep Punjab—and the country—destabilised. The Sant was, perhaps on the top of the hitlist of hardcore terrorists. Several groups, including the "United" Akali Dal of Baba Joginder Singh and the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) had openly branded Sant Longowal as a "traitor," describing the Punjab accord as a "sellout." They had warned that they would not allow peace in Punjab. "We shall see how elections are held in Punjab," an AISSF activist had told this correspondent in Amritsar's Golden Temple immediately after the settlement between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal.

There was spontaneous rejoicing in the offices of the "United" Akali Dal and the AISSF as soon as the news about the attempt on the life of Sant Longowal reached the Golden Temple complex. An Amritsar-based journalist who was present in the Golden Temple complex on the evening of 20 August and who wished to remain anonymous, told SUNDAY: "I saw volunteers of the AISSF and supporters of Baba Joginder Singh dancing with joy as they learnt of the

CC-0. Bhagavad Gita

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attempt on the life of the Akali Dal chief." (However, J.S. Talwandi in a press report denied that there was rejoicing over the murder of Sant Longowal.)

They were all there at the Sangrur Civil Hospital by late evening. Woeful, tense faces. The Punjab governor Arjun Singh with his aides, senior Akali leaders including Prakash Singh Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Balwant Singh and thousands of supporters of the Sant who waited outside for a word of hope from the doctors. Later in the night the union home minister, S.B. Chavan and the Prime Minister's parliamentary secretary arrived from New Delhi. Meanwhile, the doctors inside were doing their level best to revive the sinking Sant, at least to keep him going till the special teams of surgeons from the Post Graduate Institute (PGI) in Chandigarh and New Delhi reached Sangrur. But such was Longowal's condition that the experts did not even get a chance to treat him. He was dead before they arrived. Indeed, one of the senior doctors at the Sangrur Civil Hospital who was present when Longowal was brought in, said that the Sant was dead sometime after his arrival, much before the officially announced time of 8:40 pm. So profusely had he bled on his way that an operation to extricate the bullet in the abdomen could not be undertaken. Instead, the Sangrur hospital medical team comprising Dr Harnek Singh, Dr R.K. Goel, Dr S.K. Goel and Dr H.C. Loomba, tried to keep him alive by administering cardiac massages. They did not have to do it for long.

Gloom descended on Sangrur as soon as the final word came. Along with it came a palpable tension. Perhaps, more than the tragic happenings of the day, it was the future that worried those who were present. Suddenly, what seemed to look more and more like a straight path to peace had coiled to form a big question mark. Harchand Singh Longowal was the cornerstone of the edifice of peace that was being built. Would the structure hold even after his fall? The Akali Dal was faced with a crisis. Was there someone in their ranks who could step into Sant Longowal's shoes? Was there even a man who would be acceptable to all? Or, would the fractious "Dal" split open into bitter factions again?

What of the centre? Hardly 27 days had passed and one end of the bridge they had built in Punjab had collapsed. A single gunshot seemed to have put the clock back. In a state that was preparing to go to the polls, the police was immediately placed on red alert and the army and paramilitary forces asked to stand by. Tension had shot back. It was, perhaps, an indication of the future that those who held the reins of the country left all else to attend to the new situation in Punjab after Sant Longowal's assassination. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi summoned an emergency meeting of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) of the union cabinet to discuss the post-Longowal scenario in Punjab. It was a session which dragged on till late in the night and was based on a series of "situation reports" which had been despatched from Arjun Singh's office in Chandigarh. Later, the union home minister S.B. Chavan and the Prime Minister's parliamentary secretary, Arun Singh, returned with their own assessments after talks with top officials and leading political personalities of the state. So did the Punjab Governor, Arjun Singh, whose advice about the state carries weight with the Prime Minister. Arjun Singh had played a key role in the fruition of the Punjab accord between the Prime Minister and Sant Longowal. With his network of contacts that Arjun Singh had established during his tenure as Governor, he is considered one of the best men to advise the centre on its Punjab policy.

There were two main issues facing the government. The obvious one, of course, was whether or not to go ahead with elections in Punjab but equally important, perhaps, was the question of a replacement for Sant Longowal. Anything would be impossible for the centre to do in Punjab without a sane voice at the head of the Akali Dal, the popular party in the state. Who could the centre depend upon? Delhi had subtly and assiduously helped enhance the status and credibility of Sant Longowal over the months. The gamble had paid off; the Sant had become the

The Suicide Mission

Jarnail Singh, Gian Singh, Halwinder Singh, Nirmal Singh, Darshan Singh and Charanjit Singh, the six men allegedly involved in the assassination of Sant Longowal are all educated and below the age of 30. Four of them were taken into custody within a couple of days of the assassination while Jarnail Singh and Charanjit Singh were absconding. Whereas Gian Singh and Halwinder Singh, the two who had fired at Longowal in the Sherpur gurdwara, were apprehended immediately by the people there, Nirmal Singh and Darshan Singh were picked up by the Punjab Police at Sudhar in Ludhiana district. They all belonged to the same area—Ludhiana—but not all of them were known terrorist. Jarnail Singh, in fact, was the only one who had a criminal record and was wanted by the Punjab Police in several cases. It was he who persuaded Gian Singh and Halwinder Singh to carry out the assassination and took them to the Sherpur Gurdwara on his motorcycle sometime before Sant Longowal reached there. Again it was Jarnail Singh who had procured the weapons for Gian and Halwinder Singh which were of foreign make and since the two were not trained in their use, Jarnail Singh took them to a village field and "taught them the basic techniques."

It is perhaps for the first time in a major terrorist operation in Punjab that the assailants have been caught on the scene of the incident. The *modus operandi* for the assassination of Sant Longowal was markedly different from the ones the terrorists adopted in earlier cases. This was not a hit and run operation and there were no vehicles waiting in readiness for the assailants to escape. By undertaking this mission, the extremists have shown how determined they are, even if it meant launching what was almost a suicide mission. Besides, the fact that even amateurs could be persuaded to execute such a job is an indication of the efforts the terrorist group is making to broadbase its activities.

During the initial interrogation there was a confirmation of sorts from Gian Singh that the extremists had played upon his emotions and forced him into killing Sant Longowal. He admitted that he was "terribly upset" over Operation Bluestar and that the men who had contacted him for the job had taken advantage of this. "*Galti ho gai* (it was a mistake)," he is supposed to have told his interrogators. Meanwhile, Halwinder Singh, the other alleged assassin lay injured under heavy guard at the Rajendra Hospital in Patiala.

Sankarshan Thakur, Chandigarh

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

strongest and the most influential voice in Punjab. Now that he was no more, who should the centre negotiate with in the Akali camp? Surely, it could not protect peace singlehandedly; it needed a partner in the Akali Dal. Late on the evening of 22 August, the government settled the first issue. Despite opposition from all non-Congress(I) national parties and dissenting voices in the Akali Dal, Assembly and parliamentary elections were to go ahead in Punjab. The date of the poll had been extended from 22 September to 25 September but that seemed more a technical change than anything else. The second issue was more vexed. The confusion in the Akali Dal arising from the sudden departure of Sant Longowal had become a major political stumbling block. The fight for leadership, though suppressed till the funeral of the slain leader on 21 August, came out in the open as the Akali leaders split away to their respective camps after having paid their last respects to Santji at his native village, Longowal.

The Kamuwal gurdwara is at the edge of Longowal village in the midst of lush green paddy fields. Sant Longowal had taken a keen interest in the construction of the gurdwara but hardly anyone could guess that even before it was completed, his body would be lying on a pyre in its courtyard. Thousands had turned out on the day of the funeral to bid good-bye to the Sant. Men, women and children of all faiths had converged from near and far, in trucks and tractors, buses and vans, jeeps and motorcycles. Thousands from neighbouring villages and towns had crisscrossed the expanse of green for miles to reach in time for the last rites. For miles on either side of the gurdwara one could see streams of people. The funeral procession, which had started from Sangrur early in the morning, had itself brought along thousands of people. Sant Longowal's body, bedecked with flowers and draped in an off-white shawl, was brought atop an open Matador truck on which stood the Akali leader's trusted aide, Surjit Singh Barnala, Sant Longowal's sister, Bibi Dileep Kaur and, ironically, the martyred leader's tall, strapping personal bodyguard who was not with him at Sherpur on that fateful day: he was taken ill the day before.

A separate group of leaders had been sent out by the centre for the funeral: defence minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, union minister of state for power, Arun Nehru, the Lok Sabha speaker, Balaram Jakhar and two AICC(I) general secretaries, G.K. Moopanar and Rajendra Kumari Bajpai. Representing President Zail Singh was his military secretary, Air Marshal R.S. Naidu. There were Akali and Sikh religious leaders too led by Giani Sahib Singh, the chief priest of the Golden Temple. The security personnel stood in line, heads bowed as a mark of respect, the guns boomed in salute, the people prayed for the Sant's soul. Nyara Singh, a native of Longowal who claimed to have known him for several years said, "What an irony! The man who had fought against violence had himself become its victim."

Sandeep Shankar

Giani Sahib Singh and Kirpal Singh with others performing the last rites of Sant Longowal

The internecine tussle in the Akali Dal surfaced on the funeral ground itself. The pyre of Sant Longowal was still burning and his sister still wailing in one of the rooms of the gurdwara, when some of the *jathedars* of the Akali Dal closeted themselves to begin discussions on their future course of action. The rift was immediately visible for, while Surjit Singh Barnala and his men stayed back, the former Punjab chief minister, Prakash Singh Badal and the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) president, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, the two Akali protagonists who had opposed the Punjab accord, sped away to Chandigarh in the same car. During the few minutes in which this correspondent could talk to them, both expressed their views against the holding of elections in Punjab immediately. Both were uncertain about the future of Akali politics and Punjab. "It is too early to say," remarked Badal, as his car moved out of the gurdwara, "things have suddenly changed with Santji's death." Tohra, sitting beside him, said, "Wait and watch, we are still in the Akali Dal."

Only hours before his assassination, Sant Longowal had made a major breakthrough in Akali politics by bringing both Badal and Tohra under his umbrella. At a hurriedly summoned press conference around noon on 20 August in Chandigarh, Sant Longowal had announced that there were no differences between him and the two Akali leaders who had hitherto been opposing the accord. Speaking in the name of "Panthic unity," he said he had entrusted the task of achieving unity to the two "senior leaders" of the party. Badal and Tohra too told the press that there was no misunderstanding and that the Akali Dal would always remain united. The announcement of the Punjab polls had brought the two estranged groups together. But even otherwise, say political observers in Punjab, the coming together of the two groups was only a matter of time. If not Tohra, at least Badal would have come around because it was a question of his career; opposing the popular Sant Longowal would have meant political isolation. Just before the press conference in Chandigarh, Longowal met Badal and Tohra at the house of a common friend near Patiala and their differences were thrashed out. Badal and Tohra had asked, albeit hesitatingly, for assurances about the Barnala-Balwant Singh group in the Akali Dal. The Sant must have given them a satisfactory reply. But then, by that evening Longowal was dead and the sanctity of the agreement with Badal and Tohra remained no more. Without the arbiter around, the squabbles began afresh.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Barnala: A Pragmatic Choice

The war of succession within the Akali Dal started even before the cremation of Sant Longowal. At a gathering of mourners in Kambowal gurdwara in Sangrur district, an emergency meeting of 19 jathedars was announced. The jathedars decided on a possible successor to Sant Longowal from among two names: S.S. Barnala and Ajit Singh. When the names were put to vote, Barnala won by 12 out of the 19 votes. And even as AIR was announcing Barnala's name as the convenor of the Akali Dal, three jathedars owing allegiance to the Prakash Singh Badal camp contested the claim saying that it was not Barnala who had been elected as convenor but Ajit Singh. They even gave out the number of votes Ajit Singh had won: 14 out of 19 votes. The jathedars also said that the announcement of Barnala as convenor of the Akali Dal was "fabricated and baseless."

The haste with which the leadership among the Akalis acted has brought the intra-party squabbles into the open. Badal, who had been kept to the sidelines by Longowal when he was building up Barnala and Balwant Singh, has now received a fresh lease of life. It may be pointed out that he had opposed the accord. In fact, he had no other option open. Longowal had gone to Delhi to sign the accord without Badal at his side, although Badal was the leader of the opposition Akali Party in the state. In fact, the Badal camp had been feeling left out for quite some time because an impression was gaining ground that Barnala was being groomed by Longowal as the future leader of the Akali Dal.

This was unacceptable to the supporters of Badal. But Longowal's sudden rise as a national figure put a stop to Badal's plans. In fact, he found he had no authority to assert himself. The same was the case with Gurcharan Singh Tohra, the president of the SGPC. Tohra, who held a high position in Sikh religio-politics, had to eat humble pie while Sant Longowal was given prominence by Delhi. Although both Badal and Tohra accepted Longowal's supremacy—albeit grudgingly—they were biding their time to assert themselves.

It was at this juncture that Longowal was assassinated. His death has once again opened the doors for Badal and Tohra to rise again. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the initial noises to Barnala's installation as the acting president were made by those close to Badal.

Tohra, on the other hand, does not want to take part directly in the struggle within the Akali Dal. There is a reason. Tohra cannot go back on his own word because he said he did not want to seek re-election as the president of the SGPC, nor contest parliamentary or Assembly elections. It was but natural of him, therefore, to support the candidature of Sant Ajit Singh. But future events proved that the choice of Surjit Singh Barnala was perhaps the most pragmatic. For today Barnala is the most respected among the Akalis and it is he, more than anyone else, who can implement the accord fully with help from the government.

Rita Sharma, Chandigarh

"I Shall Spare No Effort for the Implementation of the Accord"

Acting president of the Akali Dal, Surjit Singh Barnala, told SUNDAY

Q: As acting president of the Akali Dal, what are your future plans?

A: Well, my most precious dream is to pursue the policies of Sant Longowal as faithfully as possible. His aim was to bring about peace and "general amity" and I shall follow his path of restoration of the glory of the *panth* which was most dear to Santji and he worked relentlessly for it. Although I cannot hope to work for it at Santji's pace but still I shall do my best in this direction. Last but not the least, Santji, before he fell to the bullets, was whole-heartedly working for the implementation of the Punjab centre accord. I too feel very strongly for the accord and I shall spare no effort for the implementation of the accord.

Q: What do you mean by working for the implementation of the accord?

A: I mean that I shall try to see that the accord is implemented as fast as possible. In the process if we find some snags those should be removed amicably. I wish to see all the 11 points in the accord being implemented. The release of the Sikh youth and a proper and reasonable settlement of the army deserters should come through as early as possible.

Q: Will the Akali Dal contest the elections?

A: Yes, I will fight the elections. Although we wanted elections to be adjourned ... since the centre has decided to hold them we are left with no alternative but to contest.

Q: Will you have seat adjustments with other opposition parties?

A: I think it is too early comment on this.

Q: Will you like the merger of the "United" Akali Dal with the Akali Dal in view of the coming elections?

A: Yes, we will make an effort for the merger, for *panthic* unity, which was Santji's ultimate dream. Thus, my priority will be to bring about unity among the two Dals...

Q: As the acting president, what do you think of Badal and Tohra's dissent over the Punjab accord?

A: Well, they do not disagree any more and they have understood the accord in the overall interest of Punjab which was always expected of them. In the meeting held today (25 August), one of the resolutions has already declared full support to the accord by all those present including Badal and Tohra.

Q: How do you propose to work on the fast implementation of the accord?

A: Well, I shall seek the cooperation of the centre and we have already asked for it in a resolution in the meeting of 25 August.

Q: Would you like to bring some changes in the Akali Dal?

A: It has to remain religio-political in structure.

Q: If there is a coalition with the Congress(I), will you accept it?

A: There can be no question of a coalition with the Congress(I).

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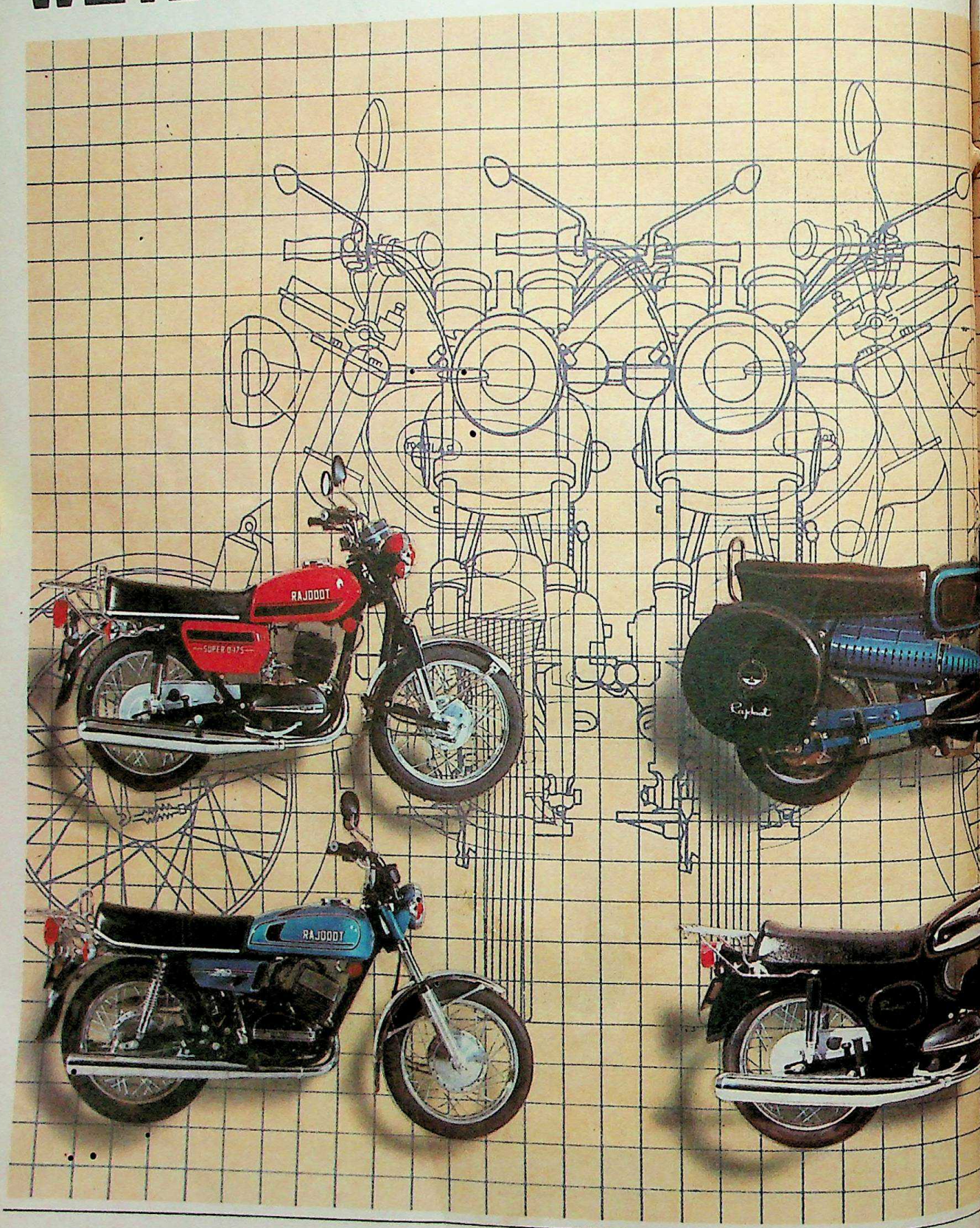

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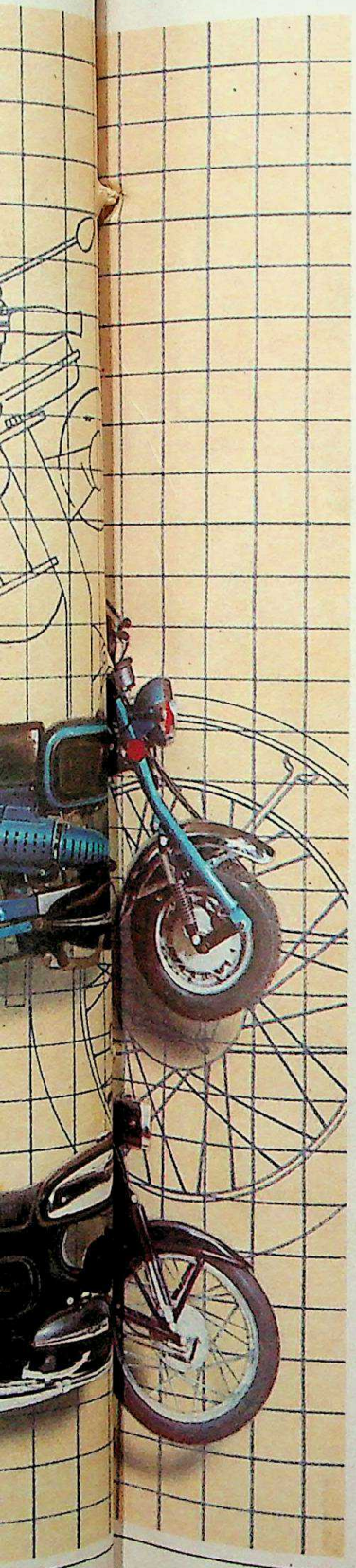

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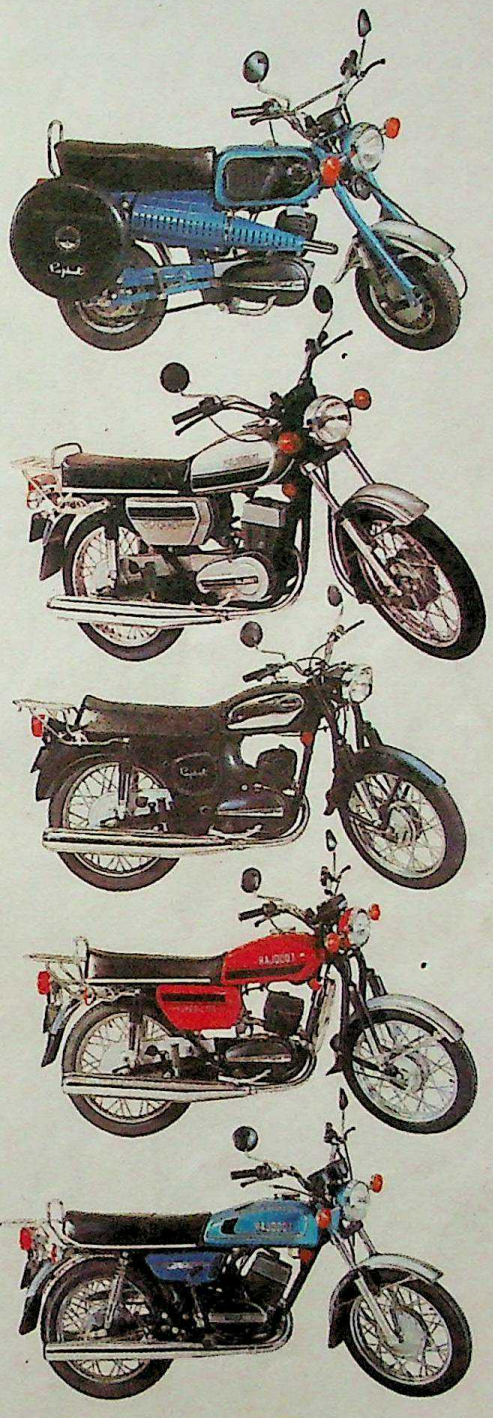

RAJDOOT

WHAT IT TAKES TO BE A LEADER

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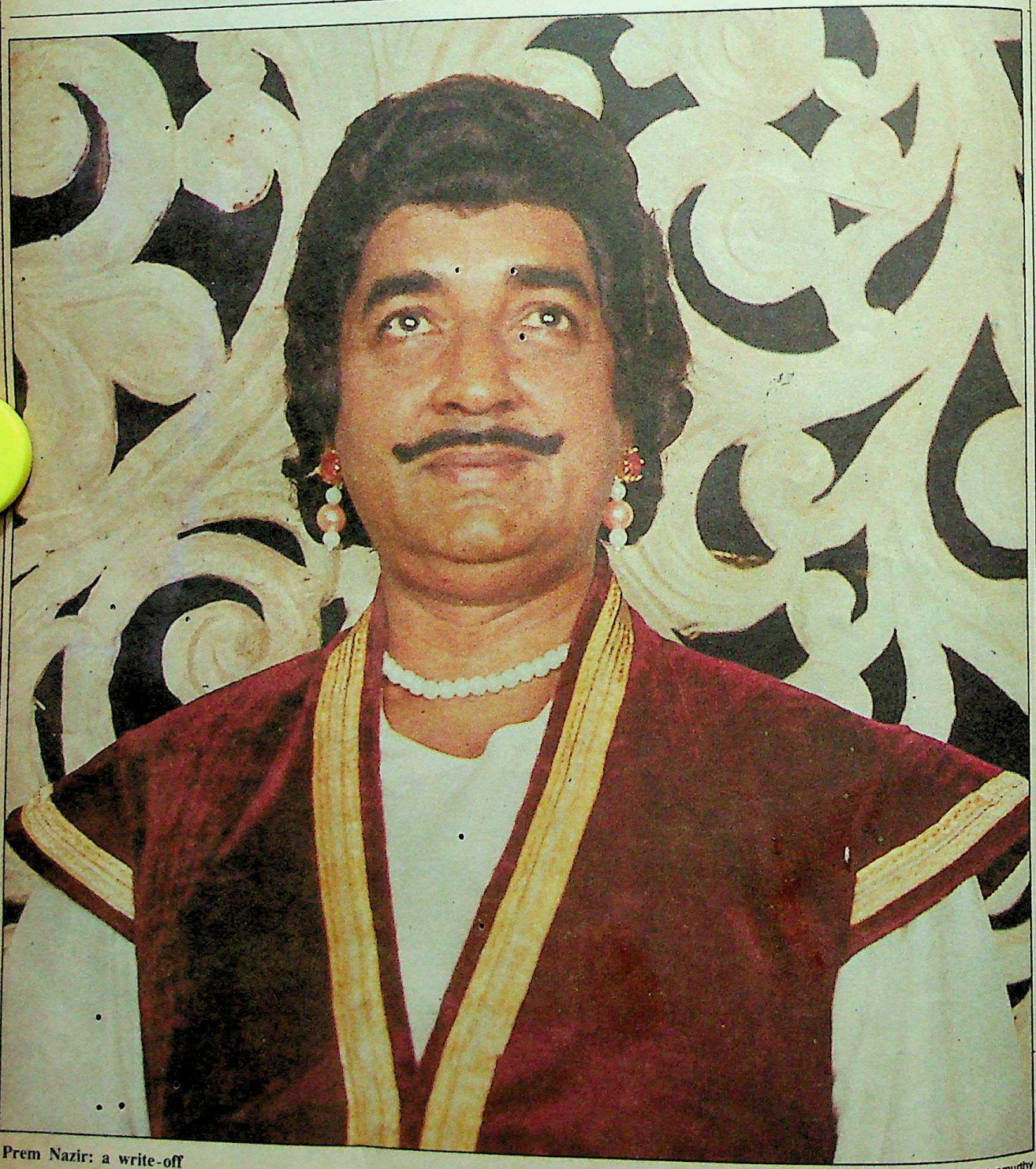
SUNDAY SPECIAL

The Fallen Star

Prem Nazir, who dominated Malayalam cinema for decades and was said to be joining politics, is now a has-been: after acting in more than 600 films, with more roles to his credit than perhaps any actor in the world, he is an unhappy man. Binoo K. John reports



Prem Nazir: a write-off

V. Satyamurthy

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Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

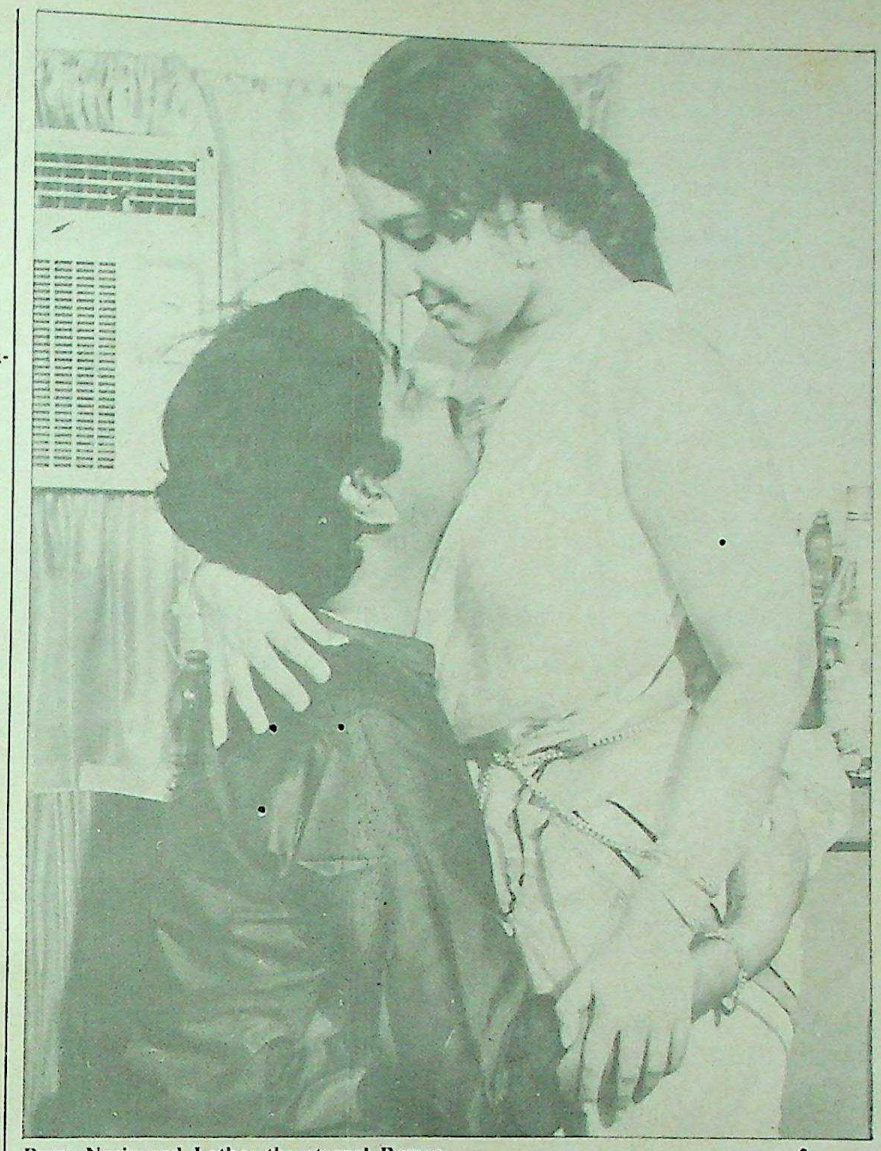
There was a halo of permanence about Prem Nazir. While on the silver screens around the world, beauties, boys and beasts created their own little histories and zipped out into oblivion, one man in the south of India strode the screen; an ever-young hero mocking at time. For over 35 years and nearly 600 films, after he first appeared in films like *Marumakal* in 1952, Prem Nazir's presence was an inevitable factor in Malayalam cinema. In the world of cinema there have been greater actors, but none who were so consistent or prolific.

But suddenly time, it seems, has conquered Prem Nazir. The man who averaged 18 films a year, has acted in only five films this year and that too in concert with other new stars. He has not had a hit film for a long time. Instead there has been a string of flops. For a man who ruled Malayalam cinema like a monarch, the last stage was ignominous. Many distributors in Kerala insisted that his picture should not be printed on posters, lest it keep people away. Producers who put their money on him are now trying to wriggle out. Others are trying to salvage half-shot films by putting in new stars: Mammutty, Mohanlal, Rehman or Sankar. The man whose face stared from every nook and corner of the state, is no longer there. The best he can hope for is small roles. Prem Nazir, the ever-green hero, the eternal Romeo, the man who has acted in the most number of films in the world, will soon pass on to the pages of cinema history.

The images of a lifetime, however, remain. The idiot Velayudhan in *Erutinthe Atmavu* (The soul of darkness), Ramu in *Thulabharam* (Balance), dumb man Raghavan in *Adimakal* (Slaves), as Udayan Thampuran in *Padayottam* as Thocholi Ambu in the film of the same name and hundreds of romantic heroes.

No recognised award—national or state level—has come the way of this man. But Prem Nazir did not bother about being given awards and certificates in front of an applauding audience. For him recognition was the audience that thronged to see him year after year for over three decades.

How then did Prem manage to keep going film after film? How could filmgoers of a state keep looking at the same face, same expression, same type of movement year after year? Says director P. Bhaskaran who has directed Nazir in a number of films: "He was an exemplary actor. He could play certain types of heroes better than anyone else, especially that of a simpleton or imbecile like in my *Erutinthe Atmavu*. Moreover he had good looks."



Prem Nazir and Latha: the eternal Romeo

But there are many others who feel his face is not suited for the screen. Said a noted cinematographer, "All this talk of handsome face is rubbish."

What endeared Prem Nazir to many producers in the Sixties and Seventies was his professional approach and disciplined lifestyle. Once he gave the date he reached the location despite all odds and did what the director ordered.

Malayalam cinema drew its lifeblood from theatre. Early films were theatrical in sequences and movement. Hence the predominance of dialogues. That is where Prem Nazir scored with his style of speech. Be it the desperate pleadings at a damsel's feet, be it the angry man shouting at social injustice, Nazir was always on *terra firma*.

When producers saw that any film with Prem Nazir as lover-boy would draw out a good crowd especially women, they started signing him up. That proved to be Nazir's undoing. He could not extricate himself out of the groove of the wig-and-leather-belt clad hero. Says P. Bhaskaran, a song-writer and also chairman of the Kerala Film Development Corporation, "He got into stereotyped roles. Many directors did not know how to get the best out of him."

The richest segment of his career is, however, his characterisation of mythological heroes from Kerala's popular ballads of Malabar (*Vadakan Pattu*). Filmmakers like Kunchacko and Appachan, owners of the famed Udaya Studio, made utmost use of Nazir's acting acumen by casting him in film versions of ballads like *Aromalluni*, *Thacholi Ambu* and the first Malayalam 70 mm spectacular *Padayottam* and *Tacholi Marumakan Chandu*.

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Padayottam was the watershed in Nazir's career that spanned three generations, not just in terms of it being a 70mm-seven track stereophonic extravaganza but that it included a number of actors from veterans Thikurussi, Sukumaran Nair, Madhu, Govindankutty to the emerging phalanx of young actors like Mammutty, Mohanlal and Sankar. *Padayottam* which had elements of *Vadakan Pattu* coloured with the heroics of a Count of Monte Cristo, was one of the sincere efforts Malayalam cinema made to shrug off its past. Through *Padayottam*, the audience got a peek into the future of Malayalam cinema itself. Prem Nazir surpassed himself as Udayan Namboodiri who is cheated off his sweetheart and powers by his brother, caught by slaves and then returns two decades later to avenge himself.

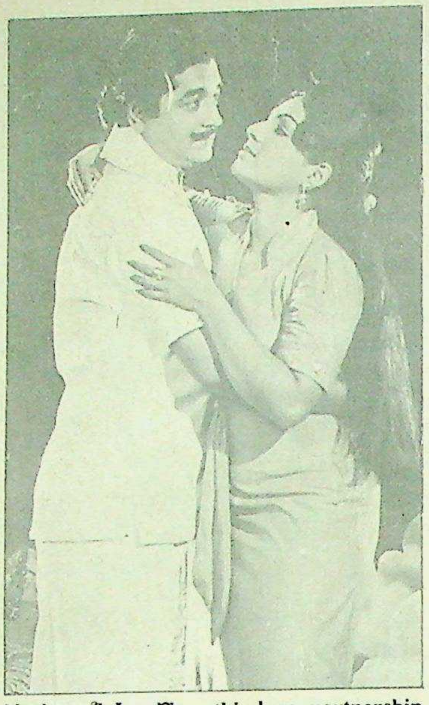
But after *Padayottam*, Nazir's career graph plummetted earthward. There were occasional glimpses of brilliance, but nothing to put a stop to the burgeoning careers of Mammutty or Mohanlal. The mantle had already fallen on new young shoulders.

With Sheela, Prem Nazir formed nature's pair. In nearly 100 films (perhaps, another world record) Nazir and Sheela were locked together.

When Sheela faded, beckoned by time, Jayabharathi came. She too lasted over 50 films opposite Nazir before she was replaced by Sharada who belonged to a "heavenly breed" of heroines. It was Sharada who could sometimes push Nazir out of the limelight when acting together. But Sharada too merged into the past while Nazir braved the storm.

Prem Nazir, inherited the throne from Satyan. Satyan was constantly setting new standards for lesser actors to emulate. Both in *Adimakal* and *Anubhavangal Palichakal*, Nazir was pitted against Satyan and emerged badly bruised. Satyan was in the same category as a Dilip Kumar. Nazir realised early in his career that Satyan's position was beyond his reach. But Nazir survived and thrived when Satyan, Sheela, Jayabharathi and the others withered, felled by nature's cruel blows.

"He had a pleasing personality and tremendous patience. He had his share of good roles. Running around trees was an exception, not the rule with Nazir. The fact remains that he was not properly utilised," said Madhu who has acted in over 60 films with Nazir. "His professionalism is another factor. He went out of his way to help producers and even directors." Many people in the film



Nazir and Jayabharathi : long partnership

industry share Madhu's assessment of Nazir's success: pleasing manners, perseverance, patience and professionalism.

But beneath this facade there lurked a shrewd manipulator and a great survivor who could see a challenge in the horizon. He knew how to checkmate the challenge. In the Sixties and Seventies it was the distributor-director-actor clique (for instance the Vimala Releasing Co comprising director Sasikumar and Prem Nazir) that controlled Malayalam filmdom.

If he sensed that a newcomer had enough potential, Nazir rode piggyback on him. One instance was the macho man Jayan, whose face was covered with a dare-devil look and his body with rippling muscles. After years of looking at a soft mild hero, Jayan came as a welcome change. Nazir took him on encouraged him, recommended him to various producers and of course managed to wrangle roles opposite him. Jayan, of course, was eternally grateful to Nazir for his help. Many such films like *Love in Singapore* and *Nayattu* (remake of *Zanjeer*) became hits. Nazir shared the limelight. Only after Jayan died in a helicopter crash while shooting, did producers realise that people had thronged to see Jayan. Immediately many Jayan-imitators sprouted and faded like mushrooms. But Nazir continued his ride in triumph.

Usually Nazir signed films without hearing the story. He would report for work on time and till about four or five days of shooting, would not even show any interest in the script or the development of the story. Around the fifth day he would start dropping hints about slight changes in the script to benefit his role. The director and producer out of respect to the Czar of cinema, would oblige and soon it would be Nazir staring from almost every frame in the film. One filmmaker realised this tactic of Nazir and countered it successfully. He booked Nazir for ten days and finished off Nazir's part in a swift five-day shooting schedule. After that he did not even bother to call

Nazir as a priest in *Madhuvidhu Thirumumbhe*

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Prem Nazir with co-artiste Sri Vidya

Nazir with Sumitra: the evergreen hero

Nazir to the location. Later, however, some of the unit members got anonymous threatening letters from the Nazir Fans' Association.

It was perhaps apt that cinema itself foretold the impending crash of Nazir. Young director Lenin Rajendran made a film about Prem Nazir in 1983 titled *Prem Nazirine Kanmanila* (Prem Nazir is missing). The film was about Prem Nazir being kidnapped from a film set by a gang demanding ransom. Suddenly there was a void in the filmworld. The intention was to gauge the reaction of the populace to a situation without Nazir. Nobody turned up at the theatres. Said up-and-coming art director and much sought after poster-designer S. Rajendran: "The producers asked me to make a six-sheet poster of this film with Nazir's head alone. They felt that the man himself would bring in the money. The film could not even touch solid ground. It was then that I realised that the Nazir magic had waned."

Around the same time another film on filmdom, *Lekhayude Maranam—Oru Flashback* (Lekha's death, a flashback), was made by ace director K.G. George. It was about the mysterious death of actress Shobha and the events that led up to it. Prem Nazir was shown in the film as a smooth-operator keeping everyone happy. Ironically, it was Mammutty who acted the role of Nazir. It was as if Mammutty had chosen to exorcise the spirit of Nazir and then take over.

Last month, two films with Prem Nazir were being shown. One of them, *Orikal Oridathu* had Mammutty and Madhu also. Distributors had instructed that Nazir's photograph should not be on the posters. The Nazir Fans' Association, believed to be financed by Nazir himself, blacked out many of the film's posters in protest against Nazir's omission. Finally, bowing down to pressure another poster with Nazir was printed before the film was released. The other film with Nazir as a police officer was ironically titled *Ooyirthazhunelpu* (Resurrection).

When Abdul Khader from Chirayinkil, near Trivandrum, acted as Shylock in his college production at Chenganacherry, few saw in that Shylock the future Prem Nazir who would have an octopus-like grip on Malayalam filmdom for more than three decades. Today at 55, Prem Nazir is very near the exit of filmdom through which greater actors have passed into oblivion. He still has that rare talent to come up with a gripping last performance. But his exit leaves no void. S

Binoo K. John, Trivandrum

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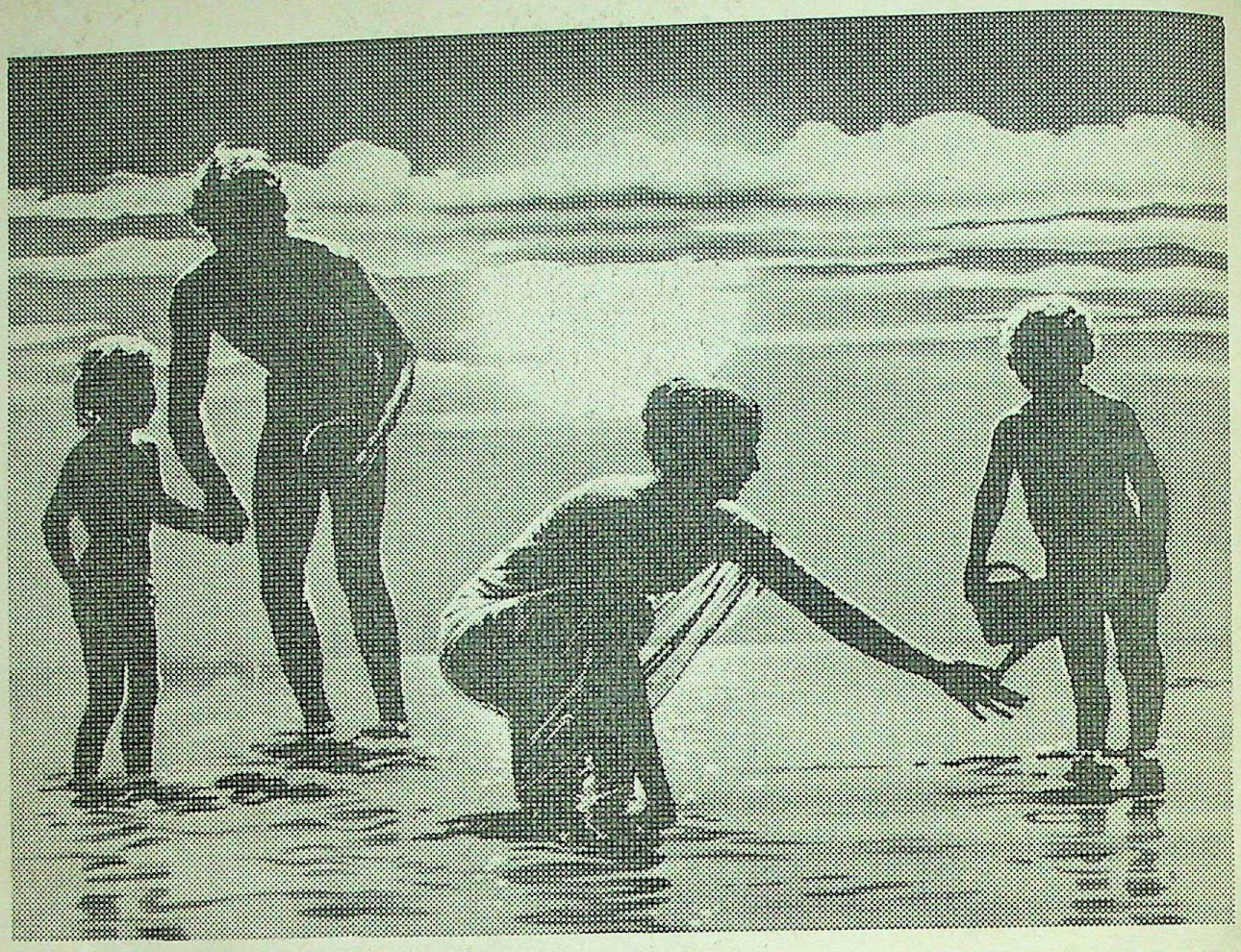

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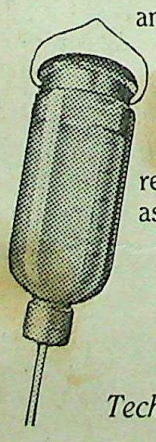

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"Politics is Not for a Gentleman Like Me"

Prem Nazir told SUNDAY

Q: *How did you get into films?*

A: I never wanted to. In college I used to act in plays. I have acted a lot in Shakespeare plays. In S.B. College I was known as "Shylock Khader." I was in charge of organising plays as the Arts Club secretary. Then I got a best actor award. Actually my ambition was to become an advocate. After my intermediate exams I went to my (native) place, Chirayinkul, for a vacation. My friends there forced me to go for an acting competition organised by the Dramatic Bureau at the UJT Hall in Trivandrum. I was not very keen. Finally I agreed. There were about 40 college students competing. Each was allotted nine minutes: three minutes for *rowdram*, three minutes for *hasyam* and three minutes for *shokam*. For *shokam*, I enacted the scene of Maharaja Harishchandra leaving his palace, addressing the audience. For *rowdram*, I enacted the scene of a betrayed lover. For *hasyam* (comedy) I imitated the famous comedian S. P. Pillai. That was how Abdul Khader got first prize. One of the judges, the late Parameswara Pillai asked me whether I was interested in acting in a film. He told me that somebody called Satyan was acting in the movie called *Thygaseema* and they wanted one more actor. He immediately gave me a letter addressed to the director K.M.K. Menon and I went rather reluctantly. That was how I first faced the camera.

Q: Did the roles start coming straight away?

A: No, I joined the Trivandrum University College for my degree course. Then came this offer from Salem for a film called *Marumakal*. I was very reluctant. Finally I asked my wife. I married at the age of 19. Then I went. The director was Chari and my heroine was Neyyabukara Komalam. By the time I reached they had already shot about 4,000 feet. I acted my role very confidently. After one week in Salem I felt homesick.

Q: Were you an ardent filmgoer before entering films?

A: Yes. Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor were my heroes. Hindi films were a big craze then.

Q: Don't you think you made your mark in mythological films?

A: The first mythological film I acted in was *Sita*. The heroine was Kurla Kumari. She was Sita, I was Sri Ram. That was a hit. It was after this that Udaya went into *Vadakan Pattu* (ballads) films. Then they took a series of such films like *Aaromalunni* all of which became hits. All except *Bhakta Kuchela* were hits. But they didn't lose much money.

Q: Sheela and you made a great pair.

A: You know, we acted in about

Prem Nazir

110 films together. We had perfect understanding, she had a very decent behaviour and was extremely talented. And what a beauty she was. Like a statue! *(Tracing an hour-glass outline with his hands)* It was just Nazir-Sheela, Nazir-Sheela!

Q: Jayabharathi...

A: Then Jayabharathi came along. She was an emotional person. Whatever she wanted to say she said.

Q: Today, if you were asked to pick one from among them as your heroine whom would you choose?

A: Both. Sheela would be a better character actress.

Q: What do you think about the quality of films today?

A: There are too many films today. In the Sixties and Seventies we filmed good stories. Now everybody wants to make money. There's no point in blaming the artistes. The old generation has gone and a new one has emerged. The new filmmakers are all intelligent. Born in good families.

Q: Why did you attack art films?

A: Oh, those were the days! Now they have also changed. They are making good films. Even Adoor Gopalakrishnan makes good films now. There are good films. Those early days, they did not know much about films. That is why I attacked them.

Q: Producers now are opting for Mammutty and others.

A: That is their type of roles. There are other roles meant for me and Madhu. Now I select only roles that suit me. I want to act as a judge, advocate or police officer. There has to be a role where I can show my histrionic talent. I can ask anyone to give me roles. But...

Q: What about your political ambitions?

A: I am still vacillating. Some people told me that it is not a field suited for a gentleman like me.

Q: What are your future plans?

A: Now that I don't have much films to act in, I get enough time to do a lot of other things.I can attend to my business interests. I have invested in companies. Now I am going to travel around the world. Seeing the world has been my childhood dream. The first lap of the tour is over. I visited the Far East...now I am going to Europe.

Q: Looking back what do you feel?

A: I am happy and contented. Thank God I have achieved so much. I have helped a lot of people. There are no orphanages in Kerala which have not received money from me. I have even given an elephant to a temple in my own town. The old order changeth giving way to the new.

Interviewed by Binoo K. John

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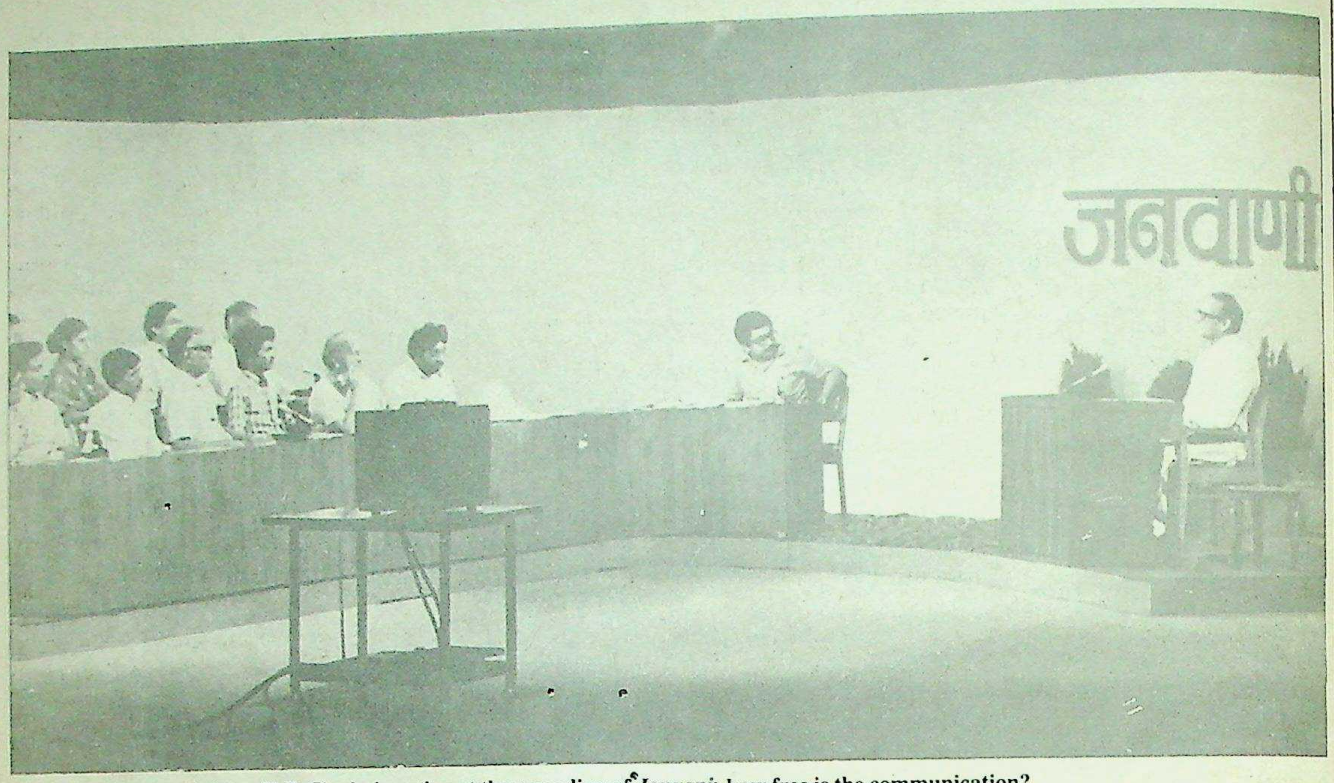

The union finance minister, V.P. Singh, in action at the recording of *Janvani*: how free is the communication?

Mantrivani or Sarkarvani?

The popular TV programme Janvani is neither, although efforts to muzzle it are afoot

Despite attempts to silence the voice of the "people's parliament" on television, Doordarshan's popular show, *Janvani* is to continue. The programme, conceived by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as an occasion for freewheeling dialogue between the common man and cabinet ministers, will feature in the concluding episode, a face-to-face talk with the Prime Minister himself. This was announced by union minister of state for information and broadcasting V.N. Gadgil, during a meeting of the parliamentary consultative committee of his ministry when there were strong rumours that the programme (which has a 85 per cent viewership) would be discontinued. An impression was created that some cabinet ministers were so severely court-martialled at the common man's press conference that the credibility of their ministry was at stake. The poor performance of some ministers on *Janvani* was only offset by the superlative performance of the others. This firmly established the new-found role of the medium of television as the mirror of democracy. Earlier, such an uncensored exchange of views with cabinet ministers was considered taboo. Today, *Janvani* has stepped in to establish the age of free communication.

The idea of *Janvani* was selected by the Prime Minister and his aides, Arun Singh and Romi Chopra. It was taken from the BBC programme "Facing the Nation" which was telecast in Britain for 30 years. The proposal to launch a similar programme over Doordarshan was discussed during a cabinet meeting. In March this year, Doordarshan was asked to approach ministers to face questions by people from all parts of the country. The letter, written by V.N. Gadgil to central minister for works and housing Abdul Ghafoor, is illustrative of the aim of *Janvani*. The letter (No. MSIB/701/CAB/85) reads: "The Prime Minister has observed that with a view to bring the people closer to the government and further strengthening the bonds of understanding, fuller use of the popular medium of television should be made. In a democratic society, the government owes it to the people to understand the difficulties experienced by them due to any reason, including the inadequacy of the administrative structure or services and to share with them the solution." The minister, advocating the need for such an independent dialogue on television, concluded that "the airing of grievances would not only give profound satisfaction to the people, but also help tone up the administration at various levels." With these objectives the first programme of *Janvani* (featuring union minister for food and civil supplies Rao Birendra Singh) was telecast on 12 March. The fortnightly programme was not noticed much, till the third episode which featured the railway minister Bansi Lal. The railway minister faced strong criticism after his telecast, as out of 20 questions posed to him on various matters related to his ministry, he gave non-committal answers to 18. Nevertheless, with that programme, *Janvani* has gained momentum as is apparent from the large number of letters Doordarshan receives before every telecast.

Inspite of reports of *Janvani* buckling under pressure from ministers and their staff, it has had the unique

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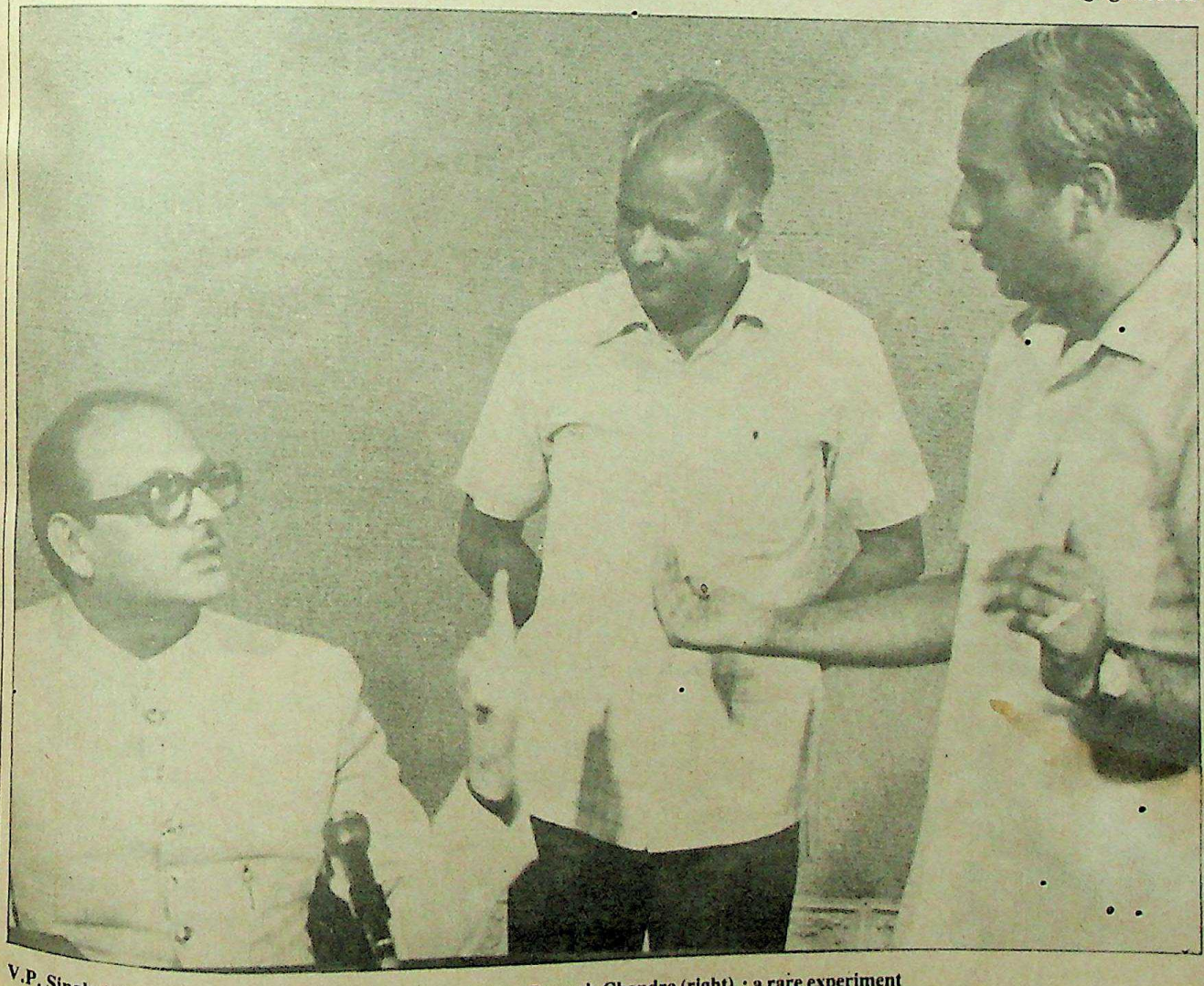
distinction of its presenters not succumbing to political influences. Persons who pose questions are selected from their letters to Doordarshan. The producer enjoys control over the kind of questions eventually aired. According to the present producer, Romesh Chandra, the questions are under no circumstances released to the minister's office before the recording of *Janvani* which is telecast 24 hours later. Said Chandra: "*Janvani* is an experiment for reinforcing the faith of the people in democracy. The idea behind such a programme would be lost if there was no spontaneous conversation and questions were released in advance." According to him, the response the programme got from viewers was indicative of its popularity. In a report prepared by the audience research bureau of Doordarshan, the break-up of the letters received for *Janvani* is important. While Rao Birendra Singh received 2,288 letters, Bansi Lal got 10,329, health minister Mohsina Kidwai 830, education minister K.C. Pant 8,874, works and housing minister Abdul Ghafoor 4,361 and finance minister V.P. Singh 8,574 letters.

Trouble over the much-publicised programme first began when in July Rajiv Gandhi's political secretary, M.L. Fotedar, requested Doordarshan for the previous month's recordings of *Janvani*. A search was launched for the master tapes and it was discovered that the programmes had been erased by the Janvani's erstwhile producer, Kuber Dutt. Although Dutt insisted that he had erased the recording in the absence of written instructions from the directorate, the episode led to his suspension. On 20 July, after the master video tapes of the episodes featuring Rao Birendra Singh, Buta Singh and K.C. Pant remained untraced, Doordarshan's deputy director general, Shiv Sharma, wrote to Kuber Dutt. The terse letter (No. TVD/DDP(R)/6/85) said: "Keeping in view the importance of *Janvani* it was essential that all recordings should have been preserved. Why and how the recordings were erased may kindly be explained." Kuber Dutt failed to produce the copies of the recordings for the Prime Minister's office and was served the suspension orders two days later. Says Dutt now: "I have been made a victim of *Janvani*. While there were written instructions issued to producers to preserve recordings of some programmes including those featuring the Prime Minister, or others which have archival value, I had no instructions to preserve *Janvani* recordings. It is obvious that the erasing of tapes is an excuse to ease me out since I was unflinching in my stand while producing *Janvani*." Now Doordarshan officials have received written instructions to preserve all *Janvani* recordings. It has also been pointed out by some Doordarshan officials involved with *Janvani* that though Dutt insists he had no instructions to keep the recordings, he had himself set a precedent by taking copies of tapes of the first three episodes of the same programme personally to the Prime Minister's house. Was it not negligence on



V.P. Singh (left) being briefed by the programme's producer Romesh Chandra (right) : a rare experiment

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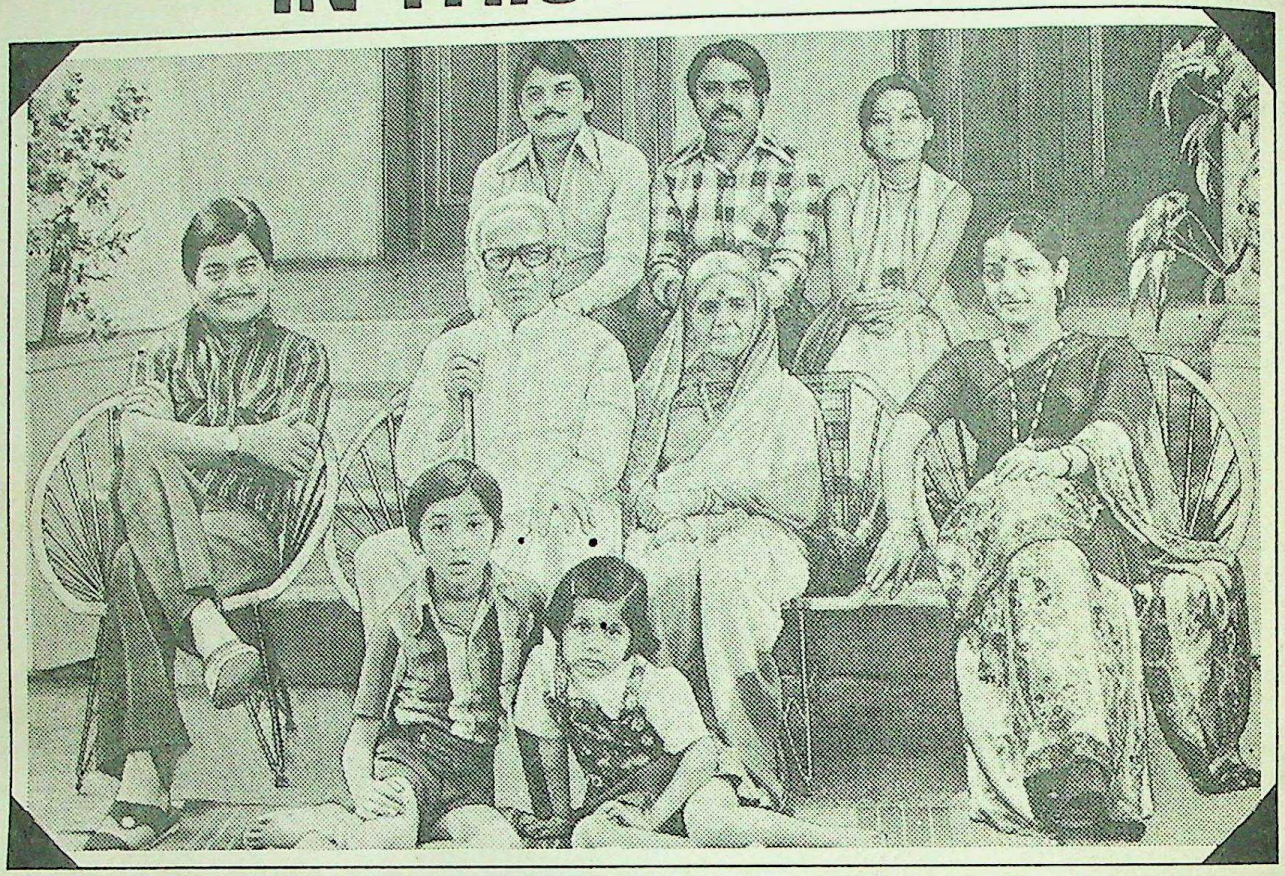

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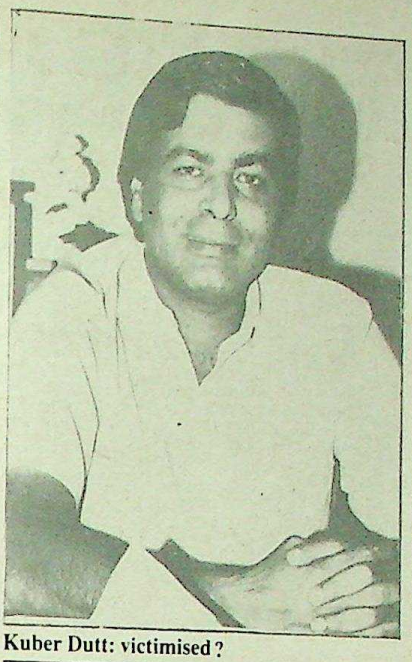
the part of the producer to wipe out even the master tapes of other episodes?

As Doordarshan officials started a *dharna* to protest against the suspension of Kuber Dutt on 20 August, V.N. Gadgil admitted in the Lok Sabha that the video recordings had been erased. The discussion about *Janvani* on the floor of the House again proves the importance of the programme both for its audience and the concerned ministries. Pressure tactics were first applied on Doordarshan mandarins after the recording of education minister K.C. Pant's question—answer session. Once the recording was over, the personal staff of the minister requested the edited version be shown to them before it was telecast. While viewing the recording, they objected to seven minutes being allotted to a young student from Meerut demanding an answer to his question on why his examination results had been delayed. The objection of the minister's aides was overruled and the exchange between the student and interviewee carried verbatim. Though the minister was irked by the "inappropriate editing" of the programme, the question resulted in benefiting 60,000 students whose results were released after the matter was discussed over *Janvani*. On another occasion, an invitee from New Delhi requested the intervention of finance minister V.P. Singh during the *Janvani* session for withdrawing Rs 40,000 which she had deposited with a bank. Two days after the grievance of the housewife was aired, the amount was duly returned to her. Instructions were also issued from the minister's office that, in future, such cases should not result in the harassment of complainants. Similar action is also believed to have been taken by the finance ministry on the huge stock of letters which was sent to it from Doordarshan. It is a practice now with Doordarshan officials to convey all letters received for each instalment of *Janvani* to the concerned ministry.

Janvani has been received well by viewers; it has also attracted the attention of the Prime Minister. Doordarshan officials disclosed that the line-up for the future would include other ministers like Ashok Gehlot, Veerendra Patil, Ashok Sen, Nawal Kishore Sharma, P.A. Sangma and S.B. Chavan. There is a demand from Members of Parliament for ministers of state and chief ministers to appear in *Janvani*. Doubts have also been raised about the spontaneity of the programme being retained in view of the controversies arising out of it. While in an office note from the deputy director of programmes Samiran Choudhury (No. DDP(S)4/85) to Kuber Dutt there were instructions to select questions for *Janvani* which are "hard-hitting and point to corrupt practices," a recent communication from the Prime Minister to V.N. Gadgil indicates that there may be a subtle change in the personality of the programme. The Prime Minister had suggested in his letter that "the encounters should not degenerate into a personal grouse hour. Redressal of individual grievances is important but the programme is meant to explore questions of policy." According to Kuber Dutt, who had produced the first eight instalments of *Janvani*, the new instructions from the Prime Minister will result in removing much of the sting from the programme. Said he: "If the Prime Minister feels this is a 'people's parliament,' why is he issuing instructions to the Parliament? With the strong criticism voiced against the programme by some ministers who have featured on it, it will not be long before it will be taken off the air." He pointed out that there has been a suggestion from some viewers to change the name of the programme to either *Sarkarvani* or *Mantrivani*. It remains to be seen whether *Janvani* which means the "people's voice" will be throttled before the impressive list of cabinet ministers is complete or at least before the union minister of state for information and broadcasting, V.N. Gadgil, is also put in front of the electronic Frankenstein. S

Ritu Sarin, New Delhi



Kuber Dutt: victimised?

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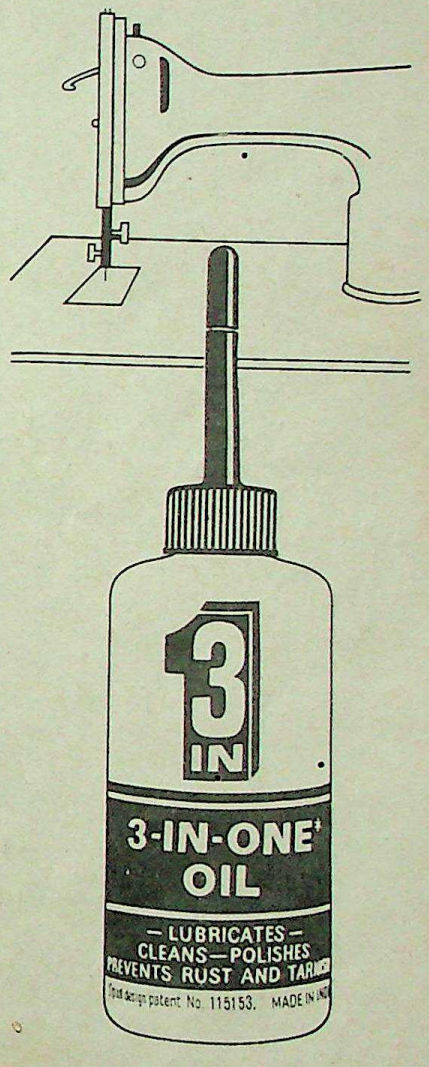

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SPECIAL REPORT

Talking Over Genocide

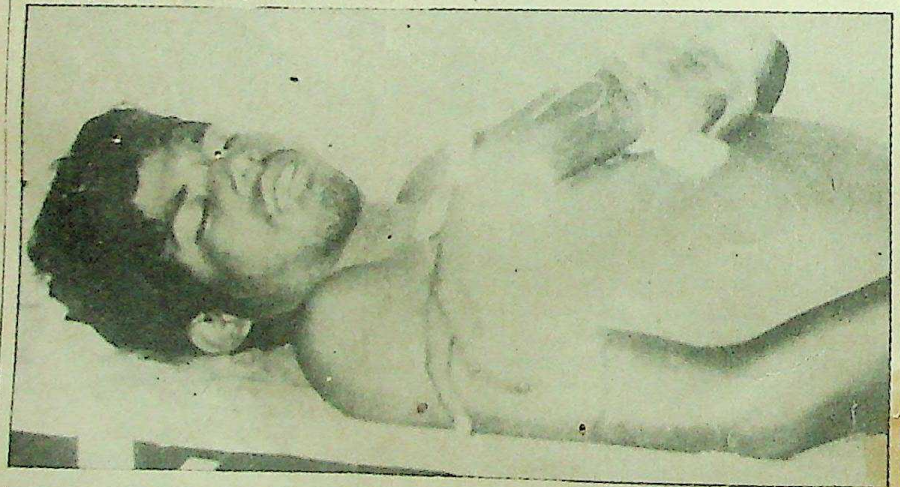
Sri Lanka's Tamils find India keener to see the peace talks go on than condemn the atrocities against them

As the second phase of the Thimphu talks petered out, the Tamil militants seemed to be caught between the devil and the deep sea—a recalcitrant government back home and an Indian government that was apparently only interested in an 'instant solution' to the island's ethnic crisis. The known enemy was the Sri Lanka government that was covertly "intent upon the extermination of the Tamils." Bitter historical experience had compelled the militants (who formed the Eelam National Liberation Front, ENLF) to believe that for the Sri Lanka government, the Thimphu talks were a fiendish charade where they could buy time by putting forward a jaded mockery of proposals for devolution of power to the Tamils, while strengthening their armed forces to ultimately opt for a military solution to the ethnic imbroglio. The predictable behavioural patterns of the Sri Lanka government did not cause them anxiety. They expected it and to that extent were psychologically prepared for it. But what has alarmed and dismayed them is the behaviour of the unknown friend, India.

While they continue to have immense faith in Rajiv Gandhi, they are still apprehensive about the *modus operandi* of the intelligence agencies, namely the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) who are acting as intermediaries between the Indian government and Tamils. For the first time the militants complained about the 'undue pressure' they were subjected to by the agencies. Pressure has been building up on them ever since the summit meeting between Mr Gandhi and Mr Jayewardene in June this year but it peaked on the night of 17 August after the Tamil delegation staged a walk-out in Thimphu. While Romesh Bhandari, foreign secretary, has been given the responsibility of dealing with the Sri Lanka government, the agencies have been entrusted with the task of getting the militants to come to the negotiating table. In their zealousness to 'do their duty' they have resorted to threats, blackmail and armtwisting to get the militants back to the negotiating table. Surely the knuckledusters-and-*lathi* philosophy is grotesquely unsuited for solving intricate and sensitive political problems.

For the Tamil delegation, Thimphu II had added injury to insult. First came the modified version of the July proposals that heightened their suspicion about the fact that the Sri Lanka government was not serious about a political settlement. And then came the news that about 200 Tamil civilians in Vavuniya had been brutally massacred by the security forces. (The Trincomallee incidents came later). On 17 August the Tamils handed over a statement to the leader of the Sri Lanka team Hector Jayewardene. The statement read, "As we have talked here in Thimphu the genocidal intent of the Sri Lankan state has manifested itself in the continued killings of Tamils in their homeland. In the most recent incidents which have occurred during the past few days more than 200 innocent Tamil civilians, including young children—whose only crime is that they are Tamils—have been killed by the Sri Lanka armed forces running amok in Vavuniya and elsewhere. These events are proof of the intention of the Sri Lanka government to seek a military solution to the Tamil national question. It is farcical to continue peace talks at Thimphu when there is no peace and no security for the Tamil people in their homelands. We do not seek to terminate the talks at Thimphu but our participation in peace talks has been now rendered impossible by the conduct of the Sri Lankan state which has acted in violation of the cease-fire agreements which constitute the fundamental basis for Thim-

Tamil guerrillas killed by Sri Lankan forces



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phu talks." The Tamils then walked out. The time was 4.40 pm.

Mr Bhandari, to whose diplomatic genius one can attribute the Thimphu talks, lost his temper with the Tamil delegates for bringing about the collapse of the talks. Bhandari started off on the wrong foot because his instinctive reaction was to blame the Tamils for the failure of the talks and lambast them for their "blunder" in staging a walk-out. His bid to persuade them to return to the table was defeated in the flurry of heated exchanges between him and the ENLF delegates, in particular Mr Satyendra of TELO. The militants had always suspected that Mr Bhandari empathised more with the Sri Lankans than with them. The ranking suspicions snowballed into a broiling confrontation. The ENLF delegates appealed that Bhandari's priority was clearly to resume the talks at any cost rather than protest against the shabby proposals and the carnage of Vavuniya, which is a serious violation of the cease-fire accord. Instead of being sympathetic, Bhandari was incensed. Wishing to avert a ghastly collision, Amirthalingam, the TULF leader and Vasudeva of the PLOT apologised on behalf of the Tamil delegates for the acrimonious confrontation. Incidentally, there is a schism in the Tamil delegation with the ENLF on one side and the TULF and PLOT together on the other side. However, this inherent division has not yet seriously affected the unity of the delegation. The night of 17 August made one thing clear: just as the Sri Lankan delegation expressed a crisis of confidence against Mrs Gandhi's special envoy Mr G. Parthasarathy, the ENLF seems to be experiencing a crisis of confidence regarding Mr Bhandari who they fear, harbours antipathy towards them.

But more than Bhandari it is the "arbitrary" behaviour of the intelligence agencies that has upset the militants. What infuriated the militants was the cursory dismissal of the report about the Vavuniya incident as a "gross exaggeration" by the agencies. By this time, Trincomallee was also engulfed in anti-Tamil violence with large-scale killing of Tamils and burning of Tamil property by the security forces and armed Sinhala thugs. Whenever the militants disagreed or failed to toe the line, the agencies warned that they would withdraw their "support." The militants resented the fact that the government of India, instead of applying pressure on the Sri Lankan government to put forward meaningful proposals, chose to exert pressure on the militants to continue with the Thimphu talks even when the masses were being brutally attacked.

Tamil refugees on the shores of Rameshwaram, as they arrive in India

The militants were also appalled that the Indian government had not officially voiced its concern about the Vavuniya and Trincomallee incidents. They construed this as a "drastic shift in the priorities and perceptions" of the Indian government. They could not help comparing Mr Gandhi's silence over the atrocities perpetrated by the Sri Lankan armed forces with his mother's strong protests whenever Tamils civilians were killed. Mrs Gandhi had often gone on record that "India could not remain silent when innocent Tamils were being killed in Sri Lanka." An ENLF member told SUNDAY, "When Mrs Gandhi was alive there was constant fear in Jayewardene that she would not take kindly to any act of violence against the Tamils. When Mrs Gandhi was assassinated, more than the Indians, it is we Tamils of Sri Lanka who were orphaned. Mr Gandhi's soft diplomacy is just not going to work with Jayewardene. The more soft he is with Mr Jayewardene, the greater will be the acceleration of the genocidal onslaught on the Tamils by the Sri Lanka government." It was only on 21 August when 331 Tamil refugees landed on the shores of Rameshwaram in Tamil Nadu, fleeing their homeland following the Vavuniya incident that India chose to express concern over the killing of innocent Tamil civilians.

In the meantime the scene had shifted from the dragon kingdom of the Himalayas to the dingy streets of Kodambakkam where the ENLF has its offices. The ENLF leaders of the four groups were told that Mr Gandhi wanted them to come to Delhi. The initial reaction of the ENLF members was to disbelieve that the summons had emanated from the PM. In July, on the eve of the talks in Thimphu, they had been summoned to Delhi, ostensibly by Mr Gandhi. But the three-day Delhi sojourn turned out to be a brainstorming session with the RAW officials. Despite repeated appeals, they did not get to meet the PM. Fearing that it would be a repetition of the armtwisting session, the ENLF did not respond. Crime branch and IB officials, who were acting as emissaries of the RAW in Madras, assured the ENLF that this time the PM had kept time for them. The ENLF, however, refused to rush into the matter, saying they needed time to discuss the issue among themselves and present a coherent statement before the PM when they met him. Meanwhile V. Pirabhakaran, leader

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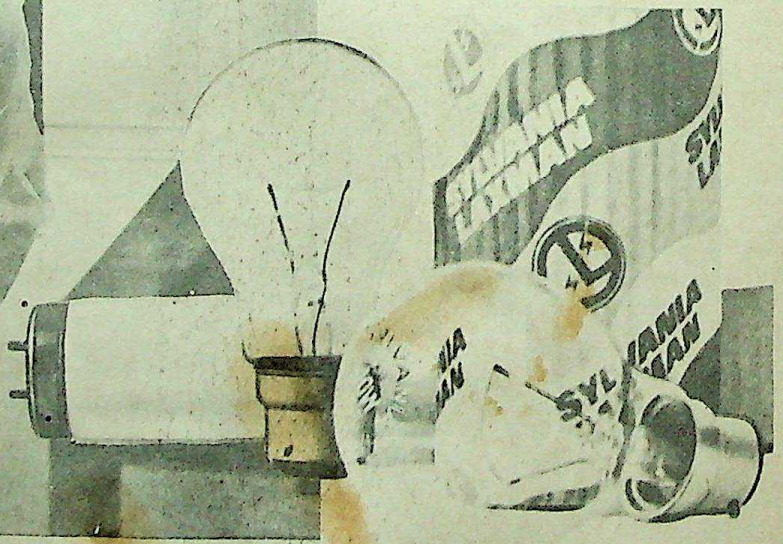

SYLVANIA LAXMAN

The name that lights.

REACT/SL/0365/85

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of the LTTE, Sri Sabaratnam, leader of the TELO and Padmanabha, leader of the EPRLF, became totally inaccessible to the intelligence agencies.

An intriguing development has meanwhile taken place which portends serious implications for Sri Lanka's ethnic strife. All of a sudden news analysis of the Sri Lankan situation emanating from 'sources' in the government in Delhi are claiming that Uma Maheshwaran, leader of the PLOT, is the person to "watch." Oddly enough identical words are used to describe Uma's "ascendance." The representatives of the Indian government expound that among the militants only Uma is "balanced, politically mature and canny." In promoting Uma it is pointed that in the event of a political settlement the Tamils require a "shrewd politician" and Uma fits the bill. It doesn't seem to matter that Uma's "political astuteness" was not in evidence when his arch rival, the LTTE, outmanoeuvred him by joining the ENLF, thereby isolating Uma from the militant mainstream.

It is equally intriguing that Colombo datelined despatches point out that the ruling UNP feels that only Uma has responded positively to the Indian persuasion among the militants. Moreover, even the TULF is more favourably disposed to the PLOT than the ENLF. The fact is that Uma is being given an entirely artificial boost. Independent sources from the Tamil areas—essentially visiting foreign journalists and Tamil refugees – categorically state that PLOT does not enjoy the kind of mass support that the LTTE, TELO, and EPRLF does. They have been completely overtaken by the LTTE and TELO on every conceivable front, be it guerilla warfare, helping affected Tamil civilians with provisions or visiting refugees in Tamil Nadu. Apart from issuing statements deploring the 'hit and run' tactics of the LTTE, or expressing the need to enlist the support of the Sinhala proletariat for the Marxist revolution of the Tamils and to resist forces of imperialism and failing to smuggle arms to Tamil areas, Uma has done nothing tangible to promote the cause of Eelam to which he is supposedly committed. On the other hand, he seems to have developed ties with representatives of the Sri Lanka government.

The second phase of the Thimphu talks seemed jinxed right from the beginning with Hector Jayewardene preempting the Tamils by rejecting outright the four cardinal principles they decided to press. He also declared that the government of Sri Lanka "did not acknowledge the right or status of any persons present in these talks to represent or negotiate on behalf of all the Tamils living in Sri Lanka." He also said that the militants should renounce their armed struggle and close down their camps in Sri Lanka and abroad if the settlement reached at Thimphu could be implemented. The Tamil delegation raised the issue of colonisation, demanding to know why Tamil villages like Thinnaimaravadi, Kokilai, Karunatukeni and Gnayarhad been amalgamated into the Sinhala-majority district of Anuradhapura. They also raised the issue of clandestine colonisation in certain areas in Vavuniya, Mullaituvu and Muthur districts where the Tamils were chased out of their homes.

TELO leader Sri Sabaratnam

Hector Jayewardene did not reply to these points even in the subsequent rounds of talks. Anyway, the Tamils subsequently stressed that they were interested in a 'rational dialogue' with the Lankan delegation. They also insisted that their legitimacy as the representatives of the Tamils should be acknowledged as otherwise the talks would be an exercise in futility. While rejecting this point, Mr Jayewardene however assured that "there is sufficient representation of Tamils in Thimphu for the talks to arrive at a negotiated settlement." On 16 August the new proposal was presented which the Tamils rejected the next day, pointing out that it was only a rehash of the earlier proposal which, instead of granting genuine autonomy to the Tamils, only reinforced the centre's power to manage the district councils. After issuing their statement on the Vavuniya incidents the Tamils walked out.

They made it clear that the talks could resume only on three conditions: first, the immediate cessation of state violence against Tamil civilians; second, the total and faithful observance of the ceasefire agreement by the Sri Lankan government; and third, the submission of a fresh set of proposals. The Tamil delegation meanwhile indicated that it would be willing to return to the table using the "CWC" proposals as a "working basis" for negotiations.

S. Thondaman, president of the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), which represents the plantation Tamils, who is a member of the UNP cabinet, had submitted a set of proposals at the time of the all-party conference in 1984. The Tamils, including the ENLF, were favourably disposed to the CWC proposals because they incorporated the four cardinal principles—though euphemistically. For instance, it did not mention Tamil home lands. It referred to them as a 'linguistic region'. It envisioned the amalgamation of the north and east, an issue that is firmly opposed by the UNP government. That Tamils have the status of people of a district and their right to self-determination and the restoration of civil and political rights to the plantation workers had got due mention in the CWC proposals. It was also reported that the Sri Lankan delegation was willing to discuss the CWC proposals.

As one of the Tamil leaders told SUNDAY "There is no point in negotiating if the Sri Lankan delegation merely says they are prepared to discuss the CWC proposals." S

Anita Pratap, Madras

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SPECIAL REPORT

A Marriage on the Rocks

Differences between the Congress(I) and the AIADMK threaten to break up the alliance of convenience in Tamil Nadu

The Congress(I) in Tamil Nadu is like a dowager duchess with a wandering eye. In its search for a partner, it has always thought it politically prudent to take the help of either the DMK or the AIADMK, depending on which way the wind was blowing. In 1977 and 1984, for example, the Congress rode piggy-back on the AIADMK and did well at the hustings.

This search for a Dravida crutch by the Congress started before the 1967 elections when the Congress was ruling at the centre. The poll results disappointed the Congress leaders: their party was drowned in the tidal wave of the Dravida movement. The DMK swept to power leaving the Congress with only 27 MLAs in the Tamil Nadu Assembly. Since then, in every election, the Congress has sought one of the Dravida parties for help. Fortunately, due to the internecine quarrels between the DMK and the AIADMK, one or the other party has always lent it support. Today, however, the situation is different. With the emergence of Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress(I) in Tamil Nadu finds itself in a position in which it does not need help from either of the Dravida parties.

The first discordant notes were struck when 14 Congress(I) MPs from Tamil Nadu recently met in Delhi under the leadership of Mr Singaravadivelu, the MP from Thanjavur. The MPs complained about the high-handed attitude of the AIADMK and said that the state government was implementing the anti-poverty programmes in the rural areas in a "partisan manner." What they meant was that the AIADMK government was taking credit for the central government-funded schemes. They also said that the district functionaries of the Congress(I) were not treated properly by the AIADMK administration.

The Congress(I)-AIADMK marriage of convenience today seems to be on the rocks. The combine which had won 37 of the 39 Lok Sabha seats had routed the opposition in the state. Friction between the two parties had always existed but political expediency had forced the leadership of both the parties to keep quiet. Now that there are no such compulsions like elections, the factions within the two parties are active once again.

The AIADMK on its part, too, has left no stones unturned to take the Congress(I) to task. On a few occasions, Kolandaivelu, a former minister in the MGR cabinet, complained about the step-motherly attitude of the centre to Tamil Nadu on the floor of the house. Perhaps, more than anyone else, K. Kalimuthu, AIADMK minister for agriculture, symbolises the anti-Congress(I) sentiment in the party. At a recent public meeting he said, "The AIADMK does not nurture aspirations of being the ruling party at the centre. So let the Congress(I) not nurture hopes of becoming the ruling party in Tamil Nadu." This seems unacceptable to the Congress(I). The AIADMK does not want to become the ruling party at the centre because it cannot. The Congress(I), on the other hand, wants to become the ruling party because it knows it can one day rule the state.

Pradeep Chandra

G.K. Moopanar: no base at home

The Congress(I) thus finds itself in a piquant situation. In the Tamil Nadu Assembly it is now the main opposition party. It has so far been unable to adapt itself to the political schizophrenia demanded by the situation. It has to be an ally and critic at the same time. Soon after the election M. Palaniyandi, president of the Tamil Nadu unit of the Congress(I), had told SUNDAY: "We will play the role of a responsible opposition. We will try to expose acts of omission and commission by the AIADMK government. But our criticism will be constructive, not destructive like the DMK's." The Congress(I) has been finding it very difficult to translate this goal into reality. The party is often a passive spectator in the Assembly and the occasions when the Congress(I) MLAs or MLCs have taken the AIADMK government to task have been few.

Intra-party bickering has risen due to a host of problems. Investigations by SUNDAY reveal that the immediate and deep-rooted cause of the tension between the two parties at this juncture is over the issue of the local polls. Tamil Nadu has not had local polls for the last 15 years. When the AIADMK government assumed power for the first time in 1977, it had promised to hold local polls immediately. But nothing was done for eight years. On his return from New York in February this year after his kidney transplant, MGR announced that the elections to the *panchayats* and municipalities would be held soon. Subsequently, through the minister for self-government, P.U. Shunmugam, MGR indicated that he would like to hold the polls on a non-party basis. This, according to political observers, was done by MGR because he was motivated by his desire to protect his party's long-term interests. If MGR decided on the elections to the 378 *panchayat* unions and 25 municipalities being held on a party-basis, it would mean continuing the alliance with the Congress(I). If the same 3:1 ratio between the Congress(I) and the AIADMK which was adopted for the Assembly elections was continued, it would mean the AIADMK parting with nearly 100 *panchayat* union seats and eight municipality seats. The AIADMK is naturally disinclined to barter away these seats to the Congress(I) because the AIADMK's votebank mainly comprises the rural people. On the other hand, continuing the alliance can also mean the Congress(I) winning a large number of seats. Once the Congress(I) wins the local polls, it will consolidate its position by building up its base among the rural people.

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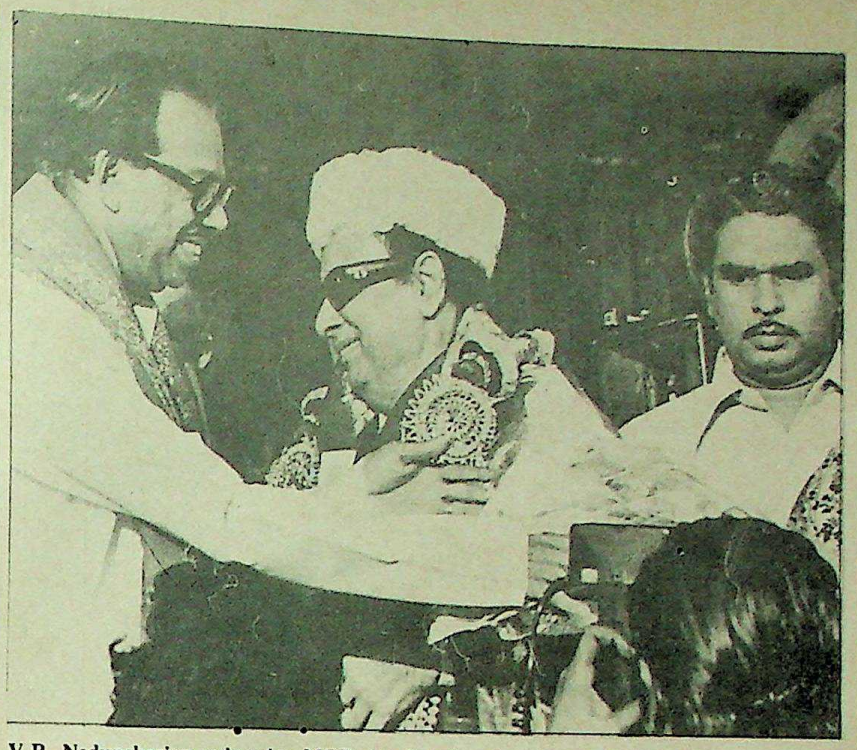
The AIADMK is also not keen to continue the alliance for precisely the same reason. Rather than help a potential rival build up its base, MGR believes it is wiser to opt for elections on a non-party basis. He will thereby put a stop to the Congress(I) developing roots in Tamil Nadu and at the same time be hailed as a "true democrat."

At this point of time, however, the AIADMK chooses to gloss over the fact that there are misunderstandings creeping in between the two parties. S. Raghavanandam, general secretary of the AIADMK told SUNDAY: "The basis of our alliance with the Congress(I) was constituency adjustments, to borrow a phrase from Anna. There was no working programme evolved by the two parties at the time of the elections. We have not merged. Naturally there will be differences of opinion once in a while between two democratic parties. There is absolutely no hitch between us and we continue to be on very friendly terms."

The Congress(I) has so far chosen to play its role on a low key in Tamil Nadu. Party activities are almost non-existent. The executive committee of the TNCC(I) has not been convened since November 1983. Indira Gandhi's death was not officially mourned by the party. The alliance between the Congress(I) and the AIADMK was not ratified by the executive committee. No meetings were organised to thank the voters for the overwhelming public support the party received at the elections. The party continues to be riddled by anomalies. While O. Subramaniam holds two posts—he is the leader of the opposition and the president of the Muthuramalingam DCC(I)—the post of the president of the Ramanathapuram unit of the party lies vacant. In Tiruchy, there is a DCC(I) president but no committee members. The president of the Nilgiris DCC(I) Major Mathan was charged with an attempt to murder a harijan worker. He was subsequently convicted to five years' rigorous imprisonment by the sessions court. In spite of that, the TNCC(I) did not consider it prudent or necessary to expel him from the party, thereby tarnishing the image of the Congress(I) in the eyes of the local people. The party continues to be rudderless in the state. G.K. Moopanar is Delhi's all-powerful MP from Tamil Nadu. He has immense support from within the TNCC(I) because persons close to him hold positions of authority in the party. Moopanar is yet to develop mass support, which he does not even have in Thanjavur from where he hails.



V.R. Nedunchezian welcoming MGR at a function: how long will he rule?

The Congress(I) in Tamil Nadu may be short on activities, but is long on ambition. It is widely believed that the DMK is a spent force. The Congress(I) in its turn, views the AIADMK as a loose, amorphous group, the only binding factor being MGR. Despite his evergreen legend, MGR is getting old. His health is certainly not what it used to be. Sections in the Congress(I) told SUNDAY that they were convinced that MGR no longer has the kind of control he had over the party. Though MGR may be considered to be a demigod of sorts, his government is as guilty of inefficiency, corruption and nepotism as any other government in the country. Ironically enough, the Congress(I) ought to be grateful to MGR for creating the right climate in the state for its re-entry. The situation is made even easier by the fact the MGR is disinclined to nominate a successor. A person nominated by MGR would be acceptable to the masses. Said Raghavanandam: "MGR will never nominate a successor. He will never impose anybody. The general council of the AIADMK will choose somebody when the time comes. After all, Nehru did not nominate a successor. No democrat does that; but such questions are hypothetical. MGR is in fine condition and we expect him to be chief minister for a long time."

Sources close to the Congress(I) told SUNDAY that the party's high command is working on a programme that will bring the Congress back to power in Tamil Nadu. The party has learnt a bitter lesson from the Andhra coup in 1984. No such mistake will be repeated in the case of MGR. Political expediency apart, it is a fact that Rajiv Gandhi has cordial relations with MGR. If anything were to happen to MGR before the end of his term, SUNDAY learns that centre will opt for fresh elections and not a coalition ministry. In the post-MGR phase there is bound to be a vertical split in the AIADMK and the elders within the party will either remain with the party or go to DMK. This group is anti-Congress and comprises politicians like V.R. Nedunchezian, K. Kalimuthu, R.M. Veerappan, P.U. Shunmugam and others. Those who have grown under MGR will join the Congress(I). The latter group, according to some sources, is greater in strength.

The Congress(I) rally of 15 July proved in no uncertain terms that Rajiv Gandhi has a charisma of his own in Tamil Nadu. As M.P. Subramaniam told this correspondent, "There is no question of the Congress(I) even attempting to dislodge the MGR government. Why should we, when we know that we will be able to capture power in Tamil Nadu in the normal democratic process. We have been out of power for 18 years. We can wait for a few more years. As matters stand, prospects of the Congress(I) returning to power in Tamil Nadu in the next elections are bright." ■

Anita Pratap, Madras

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Assam: The N

The battle now is of the ballot and it is going to fie

Jubilant supporters of the Assam movement on the streets of Guwahati after they came to know

The meeting was summoned at short notice to protest against the exclusion of names from the electoral rolls for the next elections. Even the organisers did not expect so many people to turn up for the protest rally at such an obscure place as Neelbagan in Nowgong district of Assam where immigrant Bengali Muslims form a bulk of the population. Some 30,000 people—both Muslims and Hindus—cheered lustily as the frail, bearded chief of the Assam unit of the Jamaat-ul-Ulema, Maulana Ahmed Ali, concluded his speech. "It is about time the Prime Minister of India paused to ponder whether his name would be written in letters of gold or of blood," he declared. If the meeting reflected the current sour mood of Assam's vast immigrant population, it also flashed a red signal to the ruling Congress(I) in Assam.

Only two years ago when most of Assam boycotted the elections, the immigrants risked their lives to turn the tide and help instal the Congress(I) in power. Today, they are angry and upset as they find their future bartered away for a fragile truce. Union home minister S. B. Chavan only reinforced their fears and suspicions by admitting to the members of his ministry's parliamentary consultative committee that while signing the Assam accord the centre did not go deep into its possible legal implications as the union law minister, who was abroad, could not be consulted. It is quite possible that many of the provisions in the accord may not stand the test in a court of law. Going by their past attitude and behaviour, the immigrants are unlikely to remain resigned to their fate and accept whatever comes.

What will happen next in Assam largely depends on how the immigrants are going to behave in the next elections to be held at the end of the year. Assam's demographic profile is such that no political party or group can hope to win power without their support. The last headcount in 1971 showed that the minorities—both linguistic and religious—add up to about 33 per cent of the population. Since then, the balance may have tilted further in favour of the minorities. There can be no illusion about the fact that if they decide to pool their numerical strength they can swing the elections in favour of the party or the group of their choice.

In 1983 they chose the Congress(I). Will they support the same party again? That is one question whose answer Assam's Congress(I) chief minister Hiteswar Saikia would like to find out. Obviously, after the accord he cannot take their support for granted. Much to Saikia's discomfort, the accord has put him on the defensive when he should actually be in the driver's seat. It is more out of desperation than anything else that he is talking about converting the next election into a "referendum" to seek a mandate for extending the present cut-off year—pegged at 1966—to 1971: it is only to reassure the minorities about their future and win back their confidence. Under normal circumstances Saikia would have been pulled up by his party bosses for promoting such an idea which actually repudiates the accord signed at the initiative of his party president and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

If Saikia has been spared it is because his party high command also knows how vital the votes of the minorities are in electoral terms.

Subtle differences are already being sought to be drawn between the party and the government for a possible argument in the future that the Congress(I) as a party is entitled to its opinion on the accord, which need not necessarily coincide with those of the government which signed the terms of settlement. Obviously, the Congress(I) is trying to clutch at any straw to keep itself afloat and hopefully, coast to victory. It is almost certain that in its election manifesto, the Congress(I) will reiterate its commitment not to disturb or displace any of the immig-

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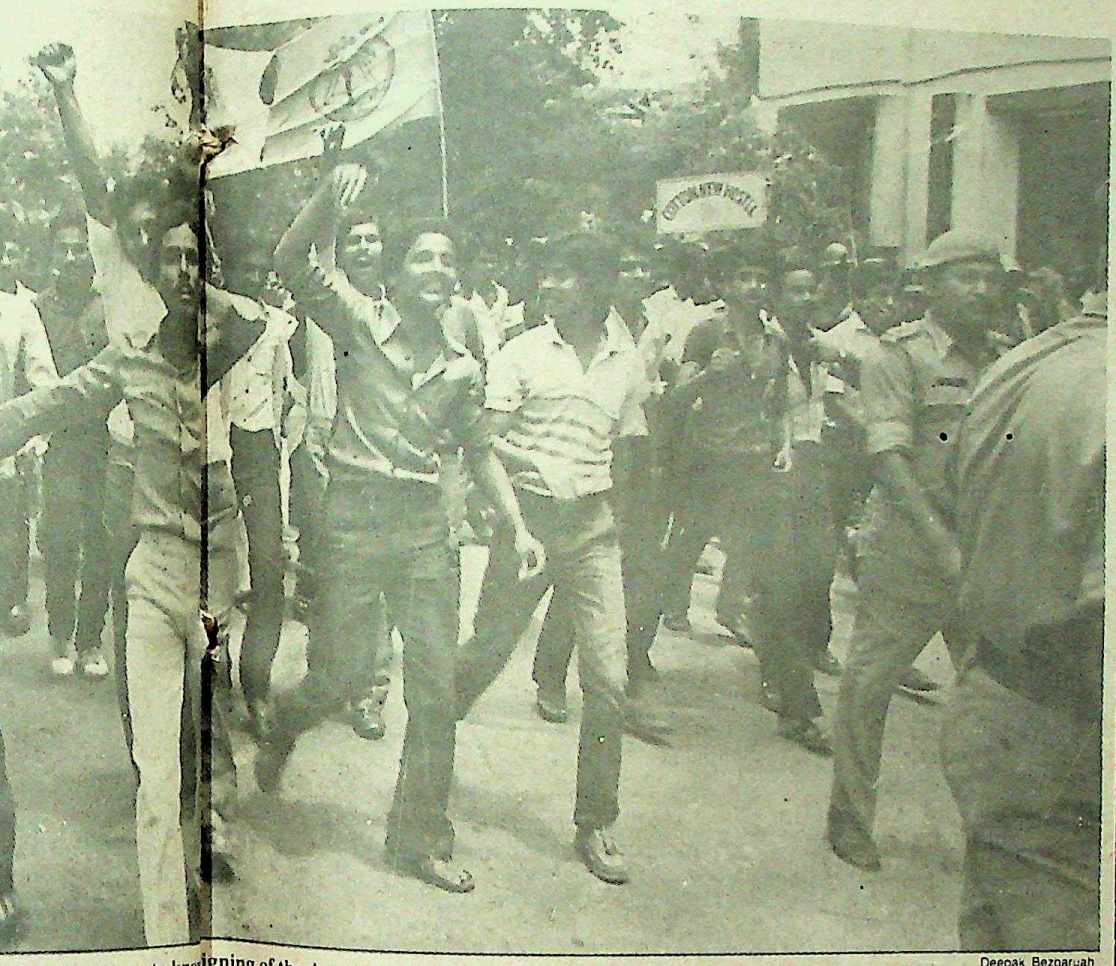
SPECIAL REPORT

: The Next Round

d it is going to fierce one, reports Tooshar Pandit from Guwahati



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Deepak Bezbaruah

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rants who have come to the state before 25 March 1971.

The challenge will, inevitably, come from the present All Assam Students' Union (AASU) leaders, who having successfully steered an anti-immigrant agitation for six years on a non-political platform, now plan to unite all the partners in the movement in a regional political party and enter the electoral fray. How far the AASU leaders will succeed in this is still a big question. Their past attempts did not succeed. And, already some of the political components of the movement like the Purbanchaliya Loka Parishad (PLP) have signalled a parting of ways. For six long years the politicians who had lost their credibility with the people, had to put up with the AASU. But now they are more likely to move away and reassert themselves using the argument that the AASU has outlived its purpose.

The present AASU leaders, who at one time appeared to be losing ground, have certainly gained in stature with the signing of the Assam accord. If their followers shouted, "Rajiv Gandhi Zindabad," while welcoming them, they were only acknowledging a debt. The question still remains whether these leaders will be able to cash in on their resurrected popularity, especially when they are preparing to fight a battle without the AASU banner. Also linked to this question is another: Will the future AASU leaders sing the same tune and remain content with playing second fiddle to their predecessors?

Even if the present AASU leaders succeed in raising a regional party it would still need the support of the minorities to be in power. Much of the anti-immigrant movement derived its strength from the Assamese-speaking caste Hindus, the urban middle class and young students whose strength in electoral terms is not enough to put any AASU-sponsored party or a combination of parties supported by them in power. The *Assam Tribune*, a leading English daily of Assam, pointed out in 1982 that out of the 126 state Assembly seats only in 41 were the Assamese-speaking people in majority. So, even if there is a complete polarisation of the Assamese-speaking voters, the proposed regional party could, at the most, get about one-third of the Assembly seats.

How then, could the Congress(I) be dislodged from power? The present AASU leaders are counting on a split in the minority votes, with at least a section voting for a regional party to spite the Congress(I). By this calculation, the Bengali-speaking Hindus, who constitute about 10 per cent of the population, would largely vote for the CPI(M). The CPI(M), too, thinks in the same way and that is why it has come out so strongly against the Assam accord. On the other hand, a section of the Bengali Muslims may vote for a regional party: some to vent their disappointment for being treated shabbily by the Congress(I) and others to buy a new insurance policy. It is, therefore, understandable why, while launching the new party, the present AASU leaders are trying to mend fences with their erstwhile followers among the minority communities who deserted them in the wake of 1983 elections riots.

But the minorities are yet to indicate their preference. Even if the Bengali Hindus turn to the CPI(M) for protection, the Bengali Muslims may decide to stand up on their own to fight for their future without reposing the trust in any of the contenders for power. What may tempt them to take this line is their growing numerical strength in the Assam Assembly (in 1952 they had only six MLAs against 28 in 1980 and 34 in 1983). In the event of a see-saw battle for power, even 20 MLAs can have a decisive voice.

Apart from the minorities, two other numerically-signifiant groups which can upset all political calculations and predictions are: the plains

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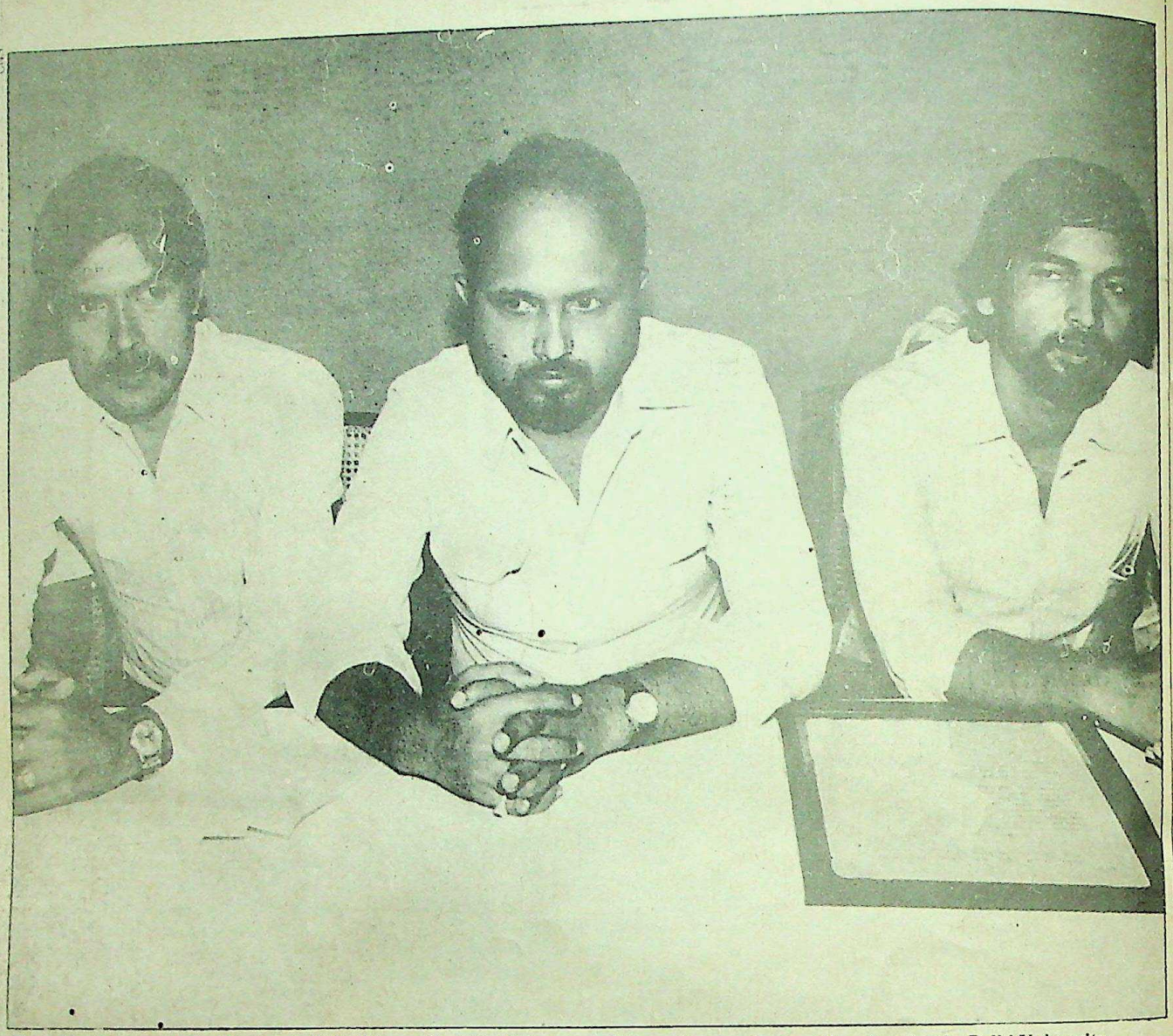

(From l to r) Assam student leaders Lalit Rajkhowa, Prafulla Mahanta and Noyen Sarma at a reception given by the Delhi University Students Union after the accord was signed

tribals, and tea garden labourers. The plains tribals who account for some 11 per cent of the population are not satisfied with the Assam accord. In the beginning they tended to support the anti-immigrant movement hoping it would drive out the immigrants who were occupying land and property in their exclusive reserves. But they dissociated themselves from the movement when they found that the Assamese-speaking people, blessed by the movement leaders, were poaching on their territory. These tribals, normally a Congress(I) votebank, may in the next election also decide to set up their own candidates. The tea garden labourers, mostly migrants from Orissa and Bihar, who make up for about five per cent of the population, have always been a strong base for the CPI(M) and it will, perhaps, continue to be so.

In the confusion, some national opposition leaders who were defeated in the December Lok Sabha elections are contemplating to stage a comeback, riding piggy-back of the anti-immigrant agitation leaders. In Guwahati one hears that at least three defeated opposition leaders—Atal Behari Vajapyee, H. N. Bahuguna and George Fernandes—are already toying with the idea of seeking election to the Lok Sabha from Assam, banking on the support of the AASU-sponsored opposition front. The AASU might not be averse to this as it could gain the front a wider acceptance for the price of a few seats.

The picture is still very hazy. But what is not in doubt is that the stakes in the next election are very high, especially for the movement leaders. If the Congress(I) wins again it would seriously undermine the justification and the credibility of the anti-immigrant agitation. It would also stoke the fires again by confirming the fears and misgivings of the Assamese-speaking population that they have lost the battle of numbers to the immigrants.

On the other hand, if the AASU-sponsored party or a combination with it wins, it could renew the fears and suspicions among the immigrants making them even more desperate. A third and distinct possibility is that neither camp will win enough seats to form a government. Coalitions of convenience only add to uncertainty and can hardly give Assam the kind of stability it needs to restore confidence among the different communities which have been torn apart by six years of turmoil, strife and bloodshed. The next few months, therefore, are very crucial for Assam's future.

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SPECIAL REPORT

The Assam Drama

The Beginning

AASU volunteers demonstrating in Guwahati in 1980

1979

8 June: A 12-hour *bandh* is held in Assam at the call of the All Assam Students Union (AASU).

10 October: The movement on the foreign nationals issue is formally launched by the AASU and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). More than 100,000 hold a rally in Guwahati to express solidarity to the AASU-AAGSP cause.

3 December: A 24-hour successful *bandh* throughout Assam to press demands of the agitationists.

20 December: Violence breaks out in Shillong. Shoot-at-sight orders and curfew imposed in Shillong.

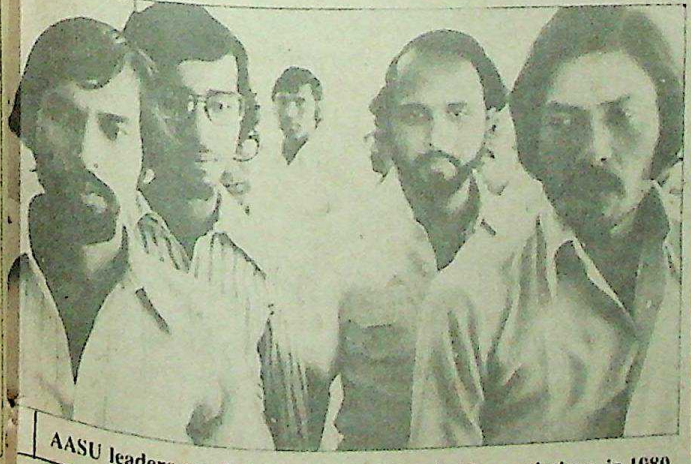
22 December: Administration of Shillong handed over to the army.

1980

28 January: A delegation of the AASU comprising among others its presidentPrafulla Mahanta andgeneral secretary Bhrigu Phukan arrives in Delhi for discussions with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

2 February: Indira Gandhi meets the delegation. The agitation leaders present a memorandum listing their demands.

5-6 February: The movement leaders meet home minister Zail Singh. The government rejects the demands pertaining to the cutoff year for determining foreigners.



AASU leaders on their way to Delhi to hold negotiations in 1980

1 March: Mrs Gandhi meets opposition leaders to apprise them of the explosive situation in Assam. She once again appeals to the movement leaders to accept 1971 as the cutoff year for determining foreign nationals.

7-12 March: Movement leaders meet Mrs Gandhi and Zail Singh but the discussion fails to break the impasse.

5 April: Assam declared a disturbed area. Special powers given to the army to tackle violence.

7 April: Guwahati High Court stays operation of the Assam Disturbed Area Act and Armed Forces Act.

12 April: Indira Gandhi arrives in Guwahati and tries to persuade the movement leaders to accept 1971 as the base year. The leaders reject the idea.

19 April: Around five lakh people deny curfew orders and march towards the Noonmati refinery to block the flow of oil from the refinery.

29 April: Bhrigu Phukan and Prafulla Mahanta arrested under preventive detention.

28 May: The All Assam Minority Students Union (AAMSU) launches a counter movement.

18 August: Movement leaders resume talks with the union minister of state for home in Shillong but the discussions come to an abrupt end as the agitationists insist on the withdrawal of the "repressive and punitive measures" imposed by the centre on Assam.

The deserted streets of Guwahati during a janta curfew

17—25 September: Yet another round of talks. The dialogue suffers a jolt as the government expresses reservations about the National Register of Citizens, 1951, being a valid document on which identification of foreigners could be based.

11 October: Fresh talks resume in New Delhi. Negotiations end without any consensus on the cutoff year.

4 November: The government orders the army to take steps to flush out oil from Oil India pipelines frozen for months.

24 November: Army called out in Guwahati to tackle widespread rioting.

The Build-up

1981

18 May: A committee comprising representatives of the AASU, AAGSP and government officials is formed to discuss the question of detecting foreign nationals. A new formula is evolved by the centre: that the unauthorised entrants of the 1961-1971 period should be re-

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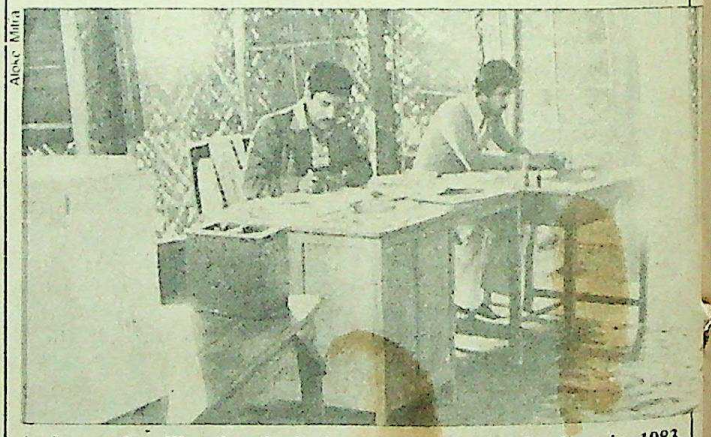
Para-military forces arrest a tribal who was alleged to have taken part in the Nellie massacre

tained in the state. AASU and AAGSP reject the plan.
29 June—15 July: Another round of talks in New Delhi. The Assam student leaders reject the government's definition of a "foreigner" as it would make all Hindu refugees in Assam citizens of India.
22 August: Another round of futile talks is held between cabinet secretary Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib and a four-member students' delegation led by Prafulla Mahanta.
15 August: AASU calls for a boycott of the independence day celebrations. Bomb explosions damage rail tracks throughout the state. A 24-hour *bandh* paralyses life in Assam.
27 October: AASU and the AAGSP submit a 15-point revised draft proposal to the centre. The draft says that all foreigners should be detected on the basis of the Constitution and the relevant laws, namely the Citizenship Act, 1955, the Foreigners Act, 1946 and the Passport Act, 1952.

Victims of the Nellie massacre

19 November: A 36-hour statewide *bandh*. Over 660 AASU activists arrested.
31 December: Three persons are killed when police opens fire on agitators setting up road blockades.

1982
18 January: A tripartite meeting of the agitation leaders, the leaders of the opposition parties in Parliament and the central government begins in New Delhi. It ended withan agreement between the movement leaders and the government whereby the security measures on the border between Assam and Bangladesh would be tightened to prevent infiltration.



Alove Mitra

A deserted polling booth during the Assembly elections in 1983

20 January: A 36-hour civil disobedience movement is launched by AASU.
23 January: Keshab Chandra Gogoi is sworn in as the chief minister of Assam.
9 June: Bomb explosion kills 18 people in Guwahati.
26 August: Another round of tripartite talks in New Delhi. Janata MP Ravindra Varma advances a formula to detect foreigners in Assam. The agitation leaders agree to discuss the formula.
28 August: Movement leaders suggest modifications to the Ravindra Varma formula.
7 November: Ravindra Varma presents a revised formula to break the stalemate. The talks break down as the student leaders reject the proposal.

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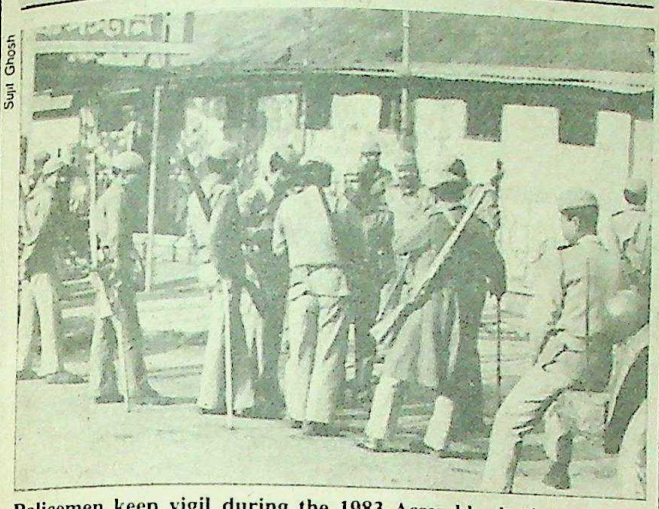
The Climax



Sujit Ghosh

Policemen keep vigil during the 1983 Assembly elections

1983

3 January: A six-member delegation of the movement leaders arrives in Delhi for negotiations with the centre.

5 January: The talks break down on the question of the future of the post-1961 entrants.

6 January: Election Commission announces Assam Assembly elections on 14, 17 and 19 February on the basis of the 1979 electoral rolls.

7 January: The movement leaders decide to oppose the elections.

8 February: Anti-poll demonstration throughout the state organised by AASU and the AAGSP. 11 killed and several injured in police firings and bomb explosions.

Sujit Ghosh

Army patrolling the streets of Guwahati to quell violence

9 February: Death toll rises to 36 on the eve of Indira Gandhi's visit to the state.

11 February: Troops move in to protect vital installations in the state. Agitators seek intervention of Amnesty International. Death toll soars to 62.

12 February: 11 people killed and thousands rendered homeless in communal violence in Kamrup and Lakhimpur districts.

20 February: More than 1000 people are killed in a midnight massacre at Nellie in the Nagaon district.

24 February: First round of polling. Over 100 are killed in violence throughout the state.

27 February: A 13-member Congress(I) ministry headed by Hiteswar Saikia sworn in.

1984

3 February: Centre issues guidelines for identifying foreigners. A 36-hour statewide road blockade programme in protest against Mrs Gandhi's visit to the state.

25 April: Bhishma Narain Singh sworn in as the new Governor of Assam.

The End

1985

25 January: The All Assam Students' Union (AASU) calls for a boycott of the Republic Day celebrations in the state in protest against the central government's failure to solve the six-year old agitation.

28 January: A five-member delegation of the Assam movement leaders leaves for Delhi to begin official level talks with the centre.

26 February: Hiteswar Saikia rules out dissolution of the state Assembly and says that a negotiated settlement would soon be reached.

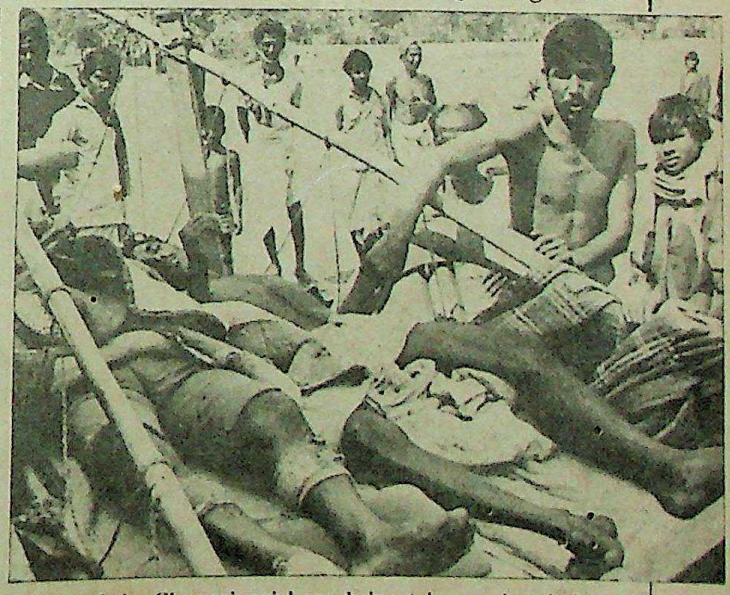
29 March: A five-member AASU delegation meets the President in Shillong and demands dissolution of the Assam Assembly.

6 April: First round of official level talks begin at Guwahati between union home secretary R.D. Pradhan and the movement leaders led by AASU president Prafulla Mahanta.

8 April: The discussions end inconclusively. The movement leaders stick to their earlier stand that foreign nationals who entered the state between 1961 and 1971 should be disenfranchised and taken out of the state. They also demand the dissolution of the "illegal" Assam Assembly.

10 April: Saikia leaves for New Delhi for urgent talks with the centre.

23 April: AASU announces in Delhi that they will start a fresh agitation from the first week of May following the government's failure to solve the foreigners' problem. The leaders also regret the fact that they had received no intimation from the centre regarding talks.



Victims of the Chamariya violence being taken to hospital

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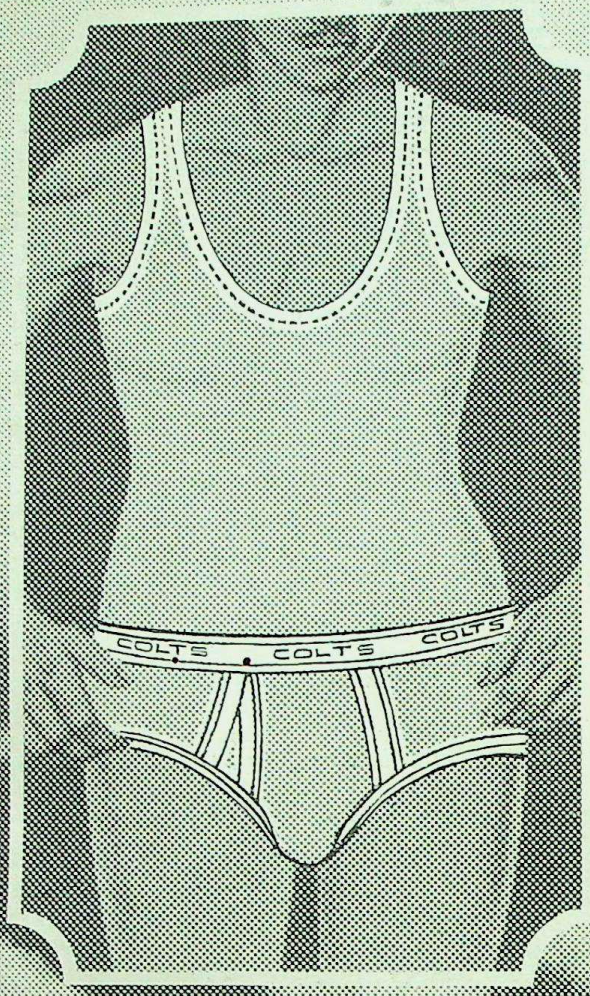

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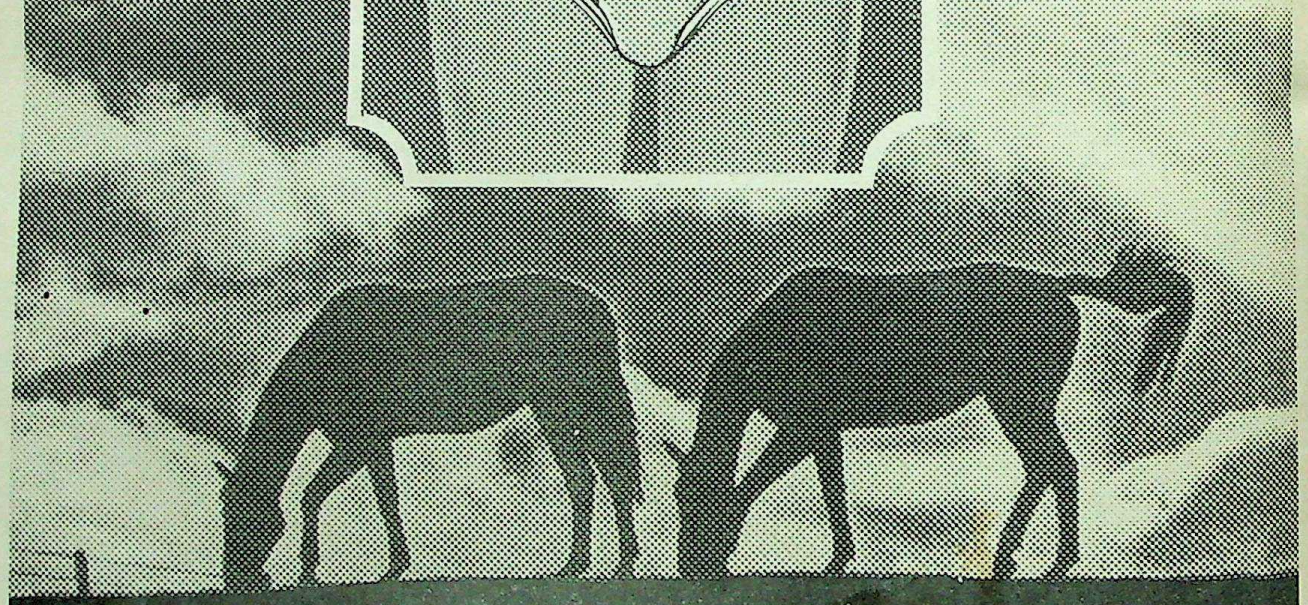

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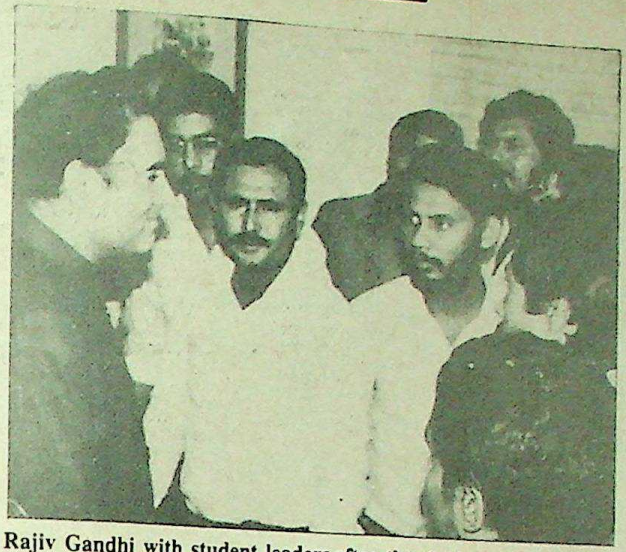
24 April: The centre invites the movement leaders for discussions in New Delhi on 6 May.
28 April: Hiteswar Saikia urges the people of the state not to respond to the AASU's call for a fresh stir.
7 May: Negotiations begin in New Delhi between the movement leaders led by Prafulla Mahanta and the centre headed by the union home secretary R.D. Pradhan. Talks end inconclusively.
28 June: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi indicates to a group of MLAs from Assam that the centre is inclined to accept the demand of the movement leaders to change the cut-off date from 1971 to 1967 for the purpose of deleting the names of foreigners from the state voters list. The centre declares that the next round of talks would be held in mid-July.
29 July: Yet another round of talks begin in Shillong between the student leaders and the central government led by R.D. Pradhan.
30 July: Major breakthrough achieved. AASU leaders declare that the talks had been most fruitful and that most of their demands had been accepted.
5 August: Movement leaders Prafulla Mahanta and Bhrigu Phukan of the AASU and Biraj Sarma of the AAGSP arrive in New Delhi for talks with the centre. The delegation meets the chief election commissioner R.K. Trivedi and complains that the revision of the electoral rolls on the basis of the 1971 rolls are defective.
6 August: The Election Commission orders a thorough review of the draft electoral rolls of 13 of the total 126 Assembly constituencies in Assam.
12 August: Official level talks begin in New Delhi. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visits Guwahati and tells a massive gathering that soon there would be 'good news' for Assam.
14 August: The movement leaders hold two rounds of talks with the Prime Minister. The discussions get bogged down on the question of the dissolution of the Assembly. A third round of discussions.
15 August: A memorandum of settlement is signed between the AASU-AAGSP leaders and the union government. Under the written accord, those foreign nationals who entered the state between 1 January 1966 and 4 March 1971 will be disenfranchised for ten years and those who came after 25 March 1971 will be deported.



Rajiv Gandhi with student leaders after the signing of the accord

Compiled by Rajiv Bagchi

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ECONOMY

No Presents from Clausen

Plain speaking marks World Bank president's visit

"Concessional aid today is the scarcest commodity on planet earth," says the World Bank president A.W. Clausen. And this succinctly sums up the dilemma that countries like India are facing in meeting their development funding needs. The easy regime of aid from the International Development Association (IDA)—the soft-loan window of the World Bank—is practically over. Moreover, the debt-trap that some developing countries in Latin America and Africa have led themselves into, has cautioned India against going in for large scale commercial borrowings.

Clausen, who was in India on a six-day visit during the third week of August on an invitation from union finance minister V.P. Singh, drove home the lesson that for a country of the size of India, no single institution could bear the burden of providing assistance. Therefore, the best course for India would be to "judiciously use" commercial borrowings, he said.

As is well known, the World Bank comprises two bodies, viz., the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). It also has a Switzerland-based affiliate—the International Finance Corporation (IFC)—which lends to the private sector only. The IBRD loans to governments carry an interest rate of 8.82 per cent per annum, down from 9.89 per cent a year ago. The IDA development credit does not carry any interest but only carries a nominal service charge of 0.75 per cent per annum. Besides, the liberal repayment terms—spread over 50 years, with a moratorium of ten years to start with—make the IDA a particularly attractive borrowal source for developing nations.

But this form of cheap credit is being increasingly and severely constricted. Major donor nations, led by the United States, have put the bank on notice that they will not be giving as much money as it wants. In fact, during the last replenishment (IDA VII) talks, the USA pledged a lesser amount and some other major donor countries followed suit, thus putting a strong leash on the bank's ability to dole out money.

Courtesy: *The Statesman*

During his visit, there were no presents at all for his hosts. Perhaps, it is unfair to expect that there would have been some...There, however, was praise for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's "dynamic" economic policy

India, though, till now has had a rather cosy relationship with the bank which has sung paeans of praise for the way this country had managed its economic policies. India's creditworthiness—which reflects how much it can borrow from the commercial market—has been high mainly because it has never defaulted on principal or interest repayments. Thus Mr Clausen, who has headed the World Bank since 1981 after having spent a couple of decades in the Bank of America which he left as chairman, had some good words to say about India's economic management. Also, as expected, he had more than a few words of praise for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who he said had tried to strengthen the "dynamic economic forces which come from the private sector." India, the World Bank president felt, had "proved to the world" that liberal economic policies coupled with a free and open trading regime generate a better return than the wholly regimented alternative.

But what did Mr Clausen have to offer to India? During his visit, there were no presents at all for his hosts. Perhaps, it is unfair to expect that there would have been some. Instead, he emphasised that if India is to achieve its highly ambitious Seventh Plan annualised growth rate of five per cent then it cannot depend only on the World Bank for its monetary needs. Commercial borrowings—which at present carry interest rates ranging between 14 and 18 per cent per annum—would necessarily have to be resorted to, warned Clausen. And there was nothing amiss in this, he reckoned. India's debt-service ratio is now at a comfortable 15 per cent and anything below 20 per cent is considered to be good by the bank. Even in 1990, India's debt-service ratio is slated to remain within bounds at a conservative 17.6 per cent.

At the same time, Mr Clausen also pitched for less protectionism in developing countries, saying that when the developed countries were criticised for raising protectionist trade barriers—allowing goods into their countries only selectively—they usually turn around and say: "Look who's talking of protectionism." And with some justification, because the Third World still remains a closeted group. The World Bank would be negotiating for lowering of barriers in both developed and developing countries under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in its forthcoming talks.

During his six-day visit, the World Bank president met the Prime Minister, the finance minister, the agriculture minister, the industry minister and the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission. He also visited a number of projects financed by the World Bank in Uttar Pradesh.

Hardev Singh, New Delhi

India's Debt Crunch (1985-86)

(Rs. crores)

Total foreign indebtedness	:	24,762
Debt repayment liability	:	1,438
Interest payment liability	:	1,405

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

COMMODITIES

Tea Exports Made Easy

The controversial minimum export price is abolished

New Delhi's decision to abolish the minimum export price announced on 10 August has been warmly welcomed by the tea industry. And predictably, the union finance and commerce minister, V. P. Singh, has been praised for his pragmatic approach. "The competitive position of Indian tea exporters has improved following this abolition," confirmed Harish J. Shah, president of the Tea Exporters Association based in Calcutta. But it is nevertheless relevant to point out that this scheme has been withdrawn only after doing considerable harm to the prospects of this major agro-industry which contributes about Rs 1,600 crores annually to the gross national product, employs over a million workers, and earns about Rs 700 crores yearly in foreign exchange through exports.

When the scheme to peg a minimum export price was first introduced earlier this year, the industry had pointed out that it was likely to adversely affect exports, particularly exports to countries buying cheaper, non-quality tea. For instance, the Calcutta-based J. Thomas & Co. Pvt Ltd—the world's largest and oldest tea auctioneers and brokers—in their Tea Market Annual Report for 1984, warned that such markets could be "permanently lost" as they could find alternative sources of supply. "While this scheme may be justified in the short term," said the report, "any protracted use of such direct controls on international transactions can only prove counter-productive."

That these fears were proved well-founded is also evident from the presidential speech of N. K. Daga at the 27th annual general meeting of the Tea Association of India held in Calcutta on 3 August and inaugurated by President Zail Singh. Daga said that the fixation of a minimum export price had "greatly hampered exports of Indian tea, especially the common and plainer varieties to Sudan, Egypt, Afghanistan and even to North America" and that its continuance was causing "serious impediments" in selling to India's traditional buyers.

Now that the government has indeed been persuaded to veer around to the industry's point of view, the ball is once again in the latter's court. Without further ado, the tea industry will have to roll up its sleeves and step up exports particularly of value added items such as packet tea, tea bags and instant tea. It must also give greater attention to the task of developing new markets in Europe, Asia and other parts of the world where there is still good scope for raising per capita tea consumption.

Meanwhile, the government on its part should continue to pursue realistic policies so as to enable the nation's 13,428 gardens to produce adequate tea both for the domestic market and for exports. It is estimated that the industry will need an investment of about Rs 900 crores to raise production to 766 million kg by 1989, of which 509 million kg will be for home consumption and 257 million kg for exports. Where will this money come from? Obviously, now that the two-year-old price boom in tea is fast fading out, the taxation and credit policies of the union government must be so oriented as to help the industry to earn more profits and plough the same back into garden development.

Tea consumption within the country has been sharply rising and this trend is likely to persist in the coming years. Domestic retention during 1984 was 430 million kgs, an increase of 12.9 per cent as compared to 381 million kgs in 1983. With the availability of more sugar at fair prices, the domestic demand for tea is likely to get a strong fillip. Incidentally, sugar consumption in India increased from 46.65 lakh tonnes in 1980-81 to 75.38 lakh tonnes in 1983-84, a rise of almost 50 per cent in three years. The correlation between tea and sugar is clear.

With the abolition of the minimum tea export price, one major worry which had been nagging the industry lately is now over. The government has done its bit. Now it is the turn of the industry to show its performance.

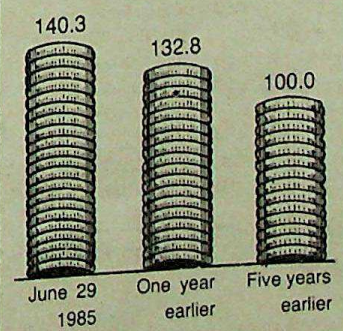
R.J. Venkateswaran, Calcutta

SHARES / TOP TEN

	1985 High	1985 Low	Opening market quote on Aug. 26
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bata India	88.10	40.00	67.75
Birla Jute	88.75	51.50	82.00
Calcutta Electric	25.25	11.80	21.50
E.I. Hotels	53.00	25.25	50.50
Hindustan Motors	85.50	31.81	73.50
India Steamship	20.75	8.80	12.70
Jayshree Tea	79.00	60.40	68.00
Metal Box	24.75	16.10	21.00
Orient Paper	88.00	54.00	81.50
Usha Martin	55.25	23.50	45.50

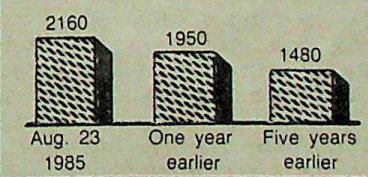
Note: The most actively traded shares last week

DEARNESS LEVEL

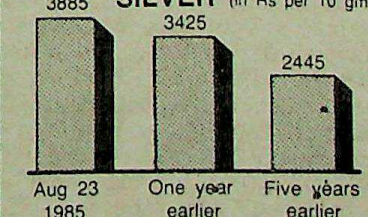


Note: Based on wholesale prices of selected essentials

GOLD (in Rs. per 10 gms)



SILVER (in Rs per 10 gms)



Note: Bombay bullion association Ltd.

Chart by Nilratan Maity

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Pakistan Flag on the Sher-e-Kashmir's Grave

Anti-national elements thrive under the rule of G. M. Shah

On 14 August, Pakistan's independence day, a group of marauders hoisted the Pakistan flag on the grave of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. For three days after that anti-national demonstrations disrupted normal life in the Valley. It was an insult to the memory of a man who had stood against the two-nation theory and fought for the accession of Kashmir to Hindu-majority India. Such an outrage was inconceivable in the regime of the former chief minister Dr Farooq Abdullah whom the centre had blamed for 'encouraging secessionists.' It was clear evidence, instead, of the free hand anti-national elements have been given under the rule of the present chief minister G. M. Shah.

The incident shocked all those who stood by Sheikh Abdullah's principle of secularism and ashamed the members of the state Assembly. No explanation was given as to how the incident took place. The leader of the Congress(I) Legislature Party, Maulvi Iftekhar Hussain Ansari, predictably, blamed Dr Abdullah, as is his party's wont.

Confident about his future, G. M. Shah left for Saudi Arabia on a Haj pilgrimage in the beginning of August. At the time of his departure, he did not appear too concerned about the prospect of political uncertainty in the state, since the Congress(I) high command had assured him its support. But his boast about having crushed anti-national forces in the state has been proved false. For days after the 14 August incident, life in many areas of the Valley was paralysed by demonstrators parading the streets, shouting anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan slogans. The administration, looked the other way. Apparently, the centre is very concerned about the rising tide of secessionism in the sensitive border state and Congress(I) MPs expressed concern over the incidents in the Lok Sabha. Even G. M. Shah's own allies in Kashmir are now feeling uneasy after the developments.

The independence days of Pakistan and India, 14 and 15 August, had seen large-scale violence and anti-national demonstrations last year. This year, despite the heavy police *bandobast* and preventive arrests, the violence was repeated. In the morning of 14 August, police had to go around Srinagar and almost all other north-western towns of the Valley to remove Pakistani flags that had been hoisted atop electric and telegraph poles and housetops. That was not all. Students took to the streets, raising slogans in support of Pakistan and its President Zia-ul Haq and put up Pakistani flags wherever they could. When the police intervened, they were stoned. Several buildings were illuminated, including structures in the Kashmir university campus overlooking the Dal Lake. During the day, the university students performed a ceremonial parade, with student leaders taking the 'salute.' It was after this that a group of them went to put up a flag on the Sheikh's grave. Incidentally, the police guard on duty in the area is said to have looked on mutely as the students committed the outrage. Similar parades celebrating the independence of Pakistan were held in other educational institutions.

The late Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who opposed the two-nation theory: an insult to his memory

But worse was to follow on 15 August, when parts of the old city witnessed pitched battles between securitymen and anti-national elements. The police resorted to lathi-charges, tear gas and firing. Over 200 were injured in the violence over three days. Some areas were rocked by powerful blasts. A petrol bomb hurled at an army vehicle narrowly missed its target. A few anti-national organisations had also given a call to observe 15 August as a 'black day.' They put up posters and distributed cyclostyled sheets with anti-Indian slogans and messages. And though the police did not lose time in seizing the posters and pamphlets, the literature had its effect.

The Panthers Party president Bhim Singh raised the issue in the state Assembly's budget session three days later and blamed the state government for encouraging anti-national and secessionist forces in the state. Members of the ruling party, in an attempt to shout him down, protested that the question was not "serious" enough. In the angry exchanges that followed, Bhim Singh and two of his colleagues, Mammed Shaffi and Piyare Lal Handoo, were suspended from the Assembly for the rest of the budget session for having "disrupted" the proceedings. Mr Singh was bodily removed from the House by the marshals. The shouting of slogans and abuses, and scuffles between members finally led to the adjournment of the House for the day.

Meanwhile, some members have challenged the suspension of the House in the Srinagar High Court. The court has asked the speaker to provide it with records of the day's proceedings.

Yusuf Jameel, Srinagar

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

KERALA

A Fragile Unity

Kerala Congress threatens to pull out of UDF

The Kerala chief minister K. Karunakaran seems to be caught between the devil and the deep sea when the Kerala Congress, an important constituent of the ruling United Democratic Front (UDF) threatened to pull out of the front unless its member, K. Balkrishna Pillai, the state's former electricity minister, was reinducted into the cabinet.

In June this year, it looked as if the ruling UDF would break up when Mr Pillai caused much embarrassment to Mr Karunakaran by declaring that a "Punjab type" agitation was necessary in Kerala to solve the state's problems. This raised a hue and cry and it appeared as if the CM would be forced to drop Pillai from his ministry even if it antagonised the Kerala Congress whose participation is vital for the survival of the UDF ministry. The crisis was, however, averted when Justice Radhakrishna Menon while admitting a writ petition against Mr Pillai's "unconstitutional utterances" submitted by a Congress activist, remarked that it would be in keeping with the highest traditions of parliamentary democracy if he stepped down while the petition was being heard. Mr Pillai did step down, without the CM having to take any "unpleasant step."

However, after two months, on 19 August, as soon as the case was dismissed, the Kerala Congress demanded the immediate induction of Mr Pillai into the cabinet. Matters became so serious that the CM had to rush to Delhi for consultations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) leadership about the political crisis in the state. The High Court, while dismissing the case, observed that it was the responsibility of the Governor or the chief minister to find out if Mr Pillai had violated his oath of office and decide if he should be reinducted into the cabinet (according to Article 220 of the Constitution, the court cannot interfere in such matters). The CM thus was forced to shoulder all the responsibility.

The Congress(I) is already facing a formidable "partner" in its ministry in the form of the united Muslim League which has now become the second-largest party in the front after the Congress(I) with 18 MLAs; the Kerala Congress has 15 members. That leaves the UDF with 79 members against the opposition Left Front's 60 in the 141-member Assembly. The ruling front can hardly afford to break up its ties with the Kerala Congress. And, at the same time, the Congress(I) cannot afford to tarnish its image by encouraging controversial figures like Mr Pillai, in view of future elections when it will have to face a stiff challenge from the communists as well as the Muslim League.

The fact that the Congress(I) is on the defensive as far as Kerala politics is concerned was evident when on 21 July the CM said that any party including the All India Muslim League (which had just then ended its alliance with the CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front) would be accommodated in the UDF if the partners agreed to it. According to political observers, when the CM told reporters that it was the policy of the UDF to bring all democratic forces under one banner, he certainly had something more in mind.

Politics in Kerala has today given almost every single party a chance to play a decisive role. While the Congress(I) is skating on thin ice, everyone else seems to be consolidating their positions.

A Special Correspondent, Trivandrum

Unrest at Kanyakumari

Communal harmony in the southern tip of the country was shattered on 19 August following the outbreak of violence between Christian fishermen and the RSS in the coastal region around the Kerala-Tamil Nadu border. Two people were shot dead and about five people were seriously injured when the trigger-happy Tamil Nadu Police aimed their guns at a crowd of fishermen without giving any warning. Pople belonging to all the communities in the area told SUNDAY that it was the juvenile reaction of the police that aggravated the situation. Even at the height of tension this correspondent saw that the only group of policemen present there were relaxing.

This outbreak of violence comes after nearly two years of the first communal clash in the Kanyakumari district when more than 15 people were killed in police firing during the Mandaikavvu temple festival. People from all communities lived there in harmony for nearly a year before a minor scuffle between two men in Kollamcode, ten kilometres from the Kerala-Tamil Nadu border, developed into a communal clash.

The Christian fishermen are a very sensitive group of people. As soon as rumours about the scuffle spread, fishermen from other coastal regions of Kerala rushed to Kollamcode. Three priests of the Catholic parishes of the area were also there, trying to pacify the fishermen. The inspector general of Tamil Nadu police claimed that but for the timely action of the police, there would have been more violence. However, a magisterial enquiry has been ordered into the firing. Some elder people from the area told SUNDAY that there was no reason for any violence and that all communities had been living peacefully for quite some time. Such a situation, they said, can be caused only by someone who would take advantage by inciting violence.

A RSS worker said that pictures of Jesus Christ on the cross were being put up near temples. At the same time leaders of the fishermen claim, it was the RSS leader Manikantan Nair, who first caused the scuffle to take place between the fishermen by inciting one of them. It was only after this that a fisherwoman was attacked, rumours spread and antisocial elements took over. The house of the head master of the local school, Mr Verghese, also was attacked.

It was when a mob of about 500 fishermen reached the house that the police opened fire. Till the time of filing this report, the police have not shown any interest in apprehending the mischief makers. Communal interaction marked by years of friendship, is being violated by vested interests. The fishermen have hired generators and put up tube lights in the interior areas to prevent attacks at night. But with communal elements having a free run in the area and with temples and churches converted into "defence chambers," how long will harmony prevail? Mercifully there are still those who are guided by the spirit of harmony.

Binoo K. Jonn, Kanyakumari

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

FOREIGN TRADE

Exporting Methods

Export Inspection Council to share expertise with foreigners

The Indian practice of inspection of all exported goods through weights and measures seems to have at last found appreciation abroad. While India was the second country, after Japan, to introduce compulsory inspection of export commodities after passing the Export (Quality and Control and Inspection) Act 1963, she is now being approached by other countries for sharing expertise on stringent quality control.

Officials of the export inspection council (EIC) which is the premier inspection agency for exports, were suprised when they received a request from the Chinese government to start a training programme for commodity inspection. The People's Republic of China had promulgated in January 1984, regulations for 100 per cent inspection of import and export commodities and immediately looked towards India to learn the science of quality inspection. "We were hesitánt at first, to begin the Chinese experiment, but when their study team visited our inspection centres we realised that they simply wanted to learn the methodology of inspection and rejection," said Dula Chandra Mazumdar, director, inspection and quality control, EIC.

The high standard of export inspection in India has received recognition from other quarters as well. This year, the International Trade Centre (ITC) in Geneva, requested the EIC secretariat to organise training programmes for delegates from Vietnam and Afghanistan. Representatives of both the countries made a survey of inspection training facilities. Very soon the government is to set up a regular exchange programme with these countries and others who have shown similar interest in India's compulsory inspection of exports.

While, Japan, from whom India borrowed heavily to learn the art of quality precision, has denotified a large number of items from the earlier 100 per cent export inspection in India, 38 per cent of all goods (worth Rs 3,000 crores) are still under inspection regulations of the EIC. This covers 627 broad categories of exportable commodities. The goods which go through stringent inspection before they can leave the Indian shores are: engineering goods which account for 432 units, chemical and allied products (71 units), footwear and footwear components (32 units), jute and jute products (61 units) and fish and fish products (31 units). More exportable units are being denotified by the government from time to time as their standards are meeting the requirement. All the same, the percentage of goods which come under the purview of mandatory inspection has increased as a result of fresh items being added in order to achieve quality perfection in all areas of exports.

According to the director, achieving the target of 100 per cent acceptance of consignments exported, is still a far cry. Though the percentage of rejection has declined, some exporters and small entrepreneurs persist in sending substandard goods for inspection resulting in a colossal national waste. The reason why the EIC has come in for strong criticism from exporters is that it has started prosecuting those exporters who were violating the rules of quality control. At present, the council is contesting 12 cases against various companies whose goods were found wanting in mandatory quality requirements. Among them are Hindustan Levers for a consignment of footwear which was rejected, and four large jute companies of Calcutta. In all, of 55,161 consignments of exportable goods which the EIC inspected between January and June this year, 4,359 consignments were declared to be faulty, which means, 7.9 per cent were rejected. Last year, during the same period there was a 13 per cent rejection of goods—a healthy trend—which speaks for the improving standards of Indian exports.

With the interest shown by China, Vietnam and Afghanistan and other representations received from Bangladesh and the Philippines, inspection of exportable goods is expected to gain further impetus. The government with the EIC and its counterpart the Indian Standards Institute (ISI), is considering the establishment of a training centre where programming and training of inspectors from other developing countries could be started. The Planning Commission has already approved a project for setting up a pilot test house for the EIC at a cost of Rs 2.37 crores. The pilot test establishment, the finest in the world, would further strengthen the progress made in the direction of standard export goods. The aim should be to perfect the quality of all exportable goods since they sell the image of a progressive and industrialised nation.

Ritu Sarin, New Delhi

A Chinese delegation at the EIC office

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

GUJARAT

Minister versus Bureaucrat

A collector's transfer raises an outcry

"You have made a hero out of him," said Vallabhbhai Patel, the 62-year-old health minister of Gujarat, referring to the collector of Rajkot, D. K. Sikri who had ordered the detention of Popatbhai Patel, an industrialist, on 30 July for illegally encroaching upon 10,000 sq metres of municipal land. The detention was ordered under the newly-adopted Anti-Goondaism Act which gives the government the power to detain undesirable people in the interest of public law and order.

Soon afterwards, however, the health minister intervened and with the chief minister Amarsinh Choudhary's help had Popatbhai Patel released, within 24 hours of his arrest. This led to strong criticism against the one-month old Amarsinh Choudhary government. What made the situation even more embarrassing for the CM were Vallabhbhai Patel's statements. "Officers are not sons of God. Newspapers have made the Rajkot collector a hero. Do you know why he ordered Popatbhai's arrest?" asked Vallabhbhai. "He did it because Popatbhai had not agreed to give distribution rights for his diesel oil engines for Punjab to a friend of the collector's," he added. When asked how he could make such charges, the minister brushed aside the question stating that he had already written to the chief minister demanding an inquiry.

The charge was immediately refuted by Mr Sikri. It has also led to a major chasm between the ministry and the civil service in the state and the IAS officers' association sent a deputation headed by additional chief secretary H. K. Khan to express resentment against the manner in which the minister had made the allegations.

Popatbhai Patel is a leading diesel engine manufacturer in the country; his firm has a turnover of around Rs 16 crores. He is, however, not the only one to have been accused of encroaching upon municipal land. About 40 major industrialists have taken over 30,000 sq metres of land in the AJI industrial area in the city either to expand their units or to prevent the land around their units being occupied by slum-dwellers. According to Vajubhai Vala, the mayor of Rajkot and a member of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), altogether 48 new slums where over one lakh people live, have come up in the past few years (many of them on public land) and 28 have been regularised by the authorities. Industrialists claim that slums have come up in the AJI industrial zone and in order to prompt the setting up of slums, they encroached upon municipal land putting up boundary walls or even setting up factories in the area.

The industrialists claim that they have been writing to the corporation asking for the sale of land at a fair price. Two years ago, there had been a move to sell the plots but while the industrialists wanted the land to be priced at Rs 100 per sq metre, the officials felt that the price was too low. Then, the BJP-controlled municipal corporation suggested a price, but even that was rejected by government officials for the same reason.

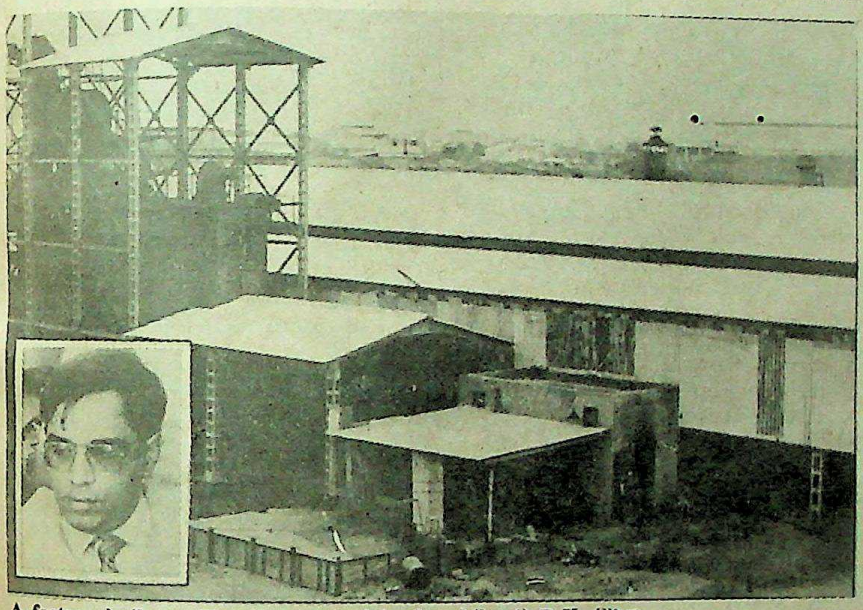
In July, a Bill was passed in the state Legislature which aimed at giving the government the power to detain people endangering the law and order situation. Among those who could be arrested under the Act were land grabbers. The chief minister had promised in the Assembly that only the habitual offenders would be prosecuted and some land-grabbers were detained in Surat though they were let off later. Popatbhai Patel's detention led to an uproar among the Patels in the ruling party and in the opposition.

According to the supporters of former chief minister Madhavsinh Solanki, Popatbhai Patel's release, is an attempt by the government to woo the powerful Patel lobby. The Solanki lobby feels that the new ministry is trying to strengthen the Patels in place of the kshatriyas whom the Solanki government had wooed. The Solanki government had especially favoured the kshatriyas, the harijans, the Muslims and the adivasis (the famous KHAM lobby) but it is believed that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is not in favour of alienating any section of the people from the Congress(I)

Mr Sikri, the collector, who has been an IAS officer for the last ten years , has now been shifted to New Delhi on deputation to the union government. The transfer order came just when the controversy over his action was at its peak. The state government, however, claimed that the transfer had nothing to do with the orders Sikri had issued. The government also publicly declared that it has full faith in its IAS officers and it was keen to ensure that their integrity was not questioned except through proper channels.

It is believed that the chief minister had chided Vallabhbhai Patel for claiming that Sikri's act was an act of revenge. He has also assured Sikri that the government had confidence in his ability. Meanwhile, the Congress(I) dissident leader Jinabhai Darji had brought the incident to the notice of the Prime Minister. In fact, after the incident, a number of industrialists in Rajkot have decided to surrender the plots of land they had encroached upon to the civic authorities. They have already met the municipal commissiner C.J. Jose regarding the surrender of their plots.

Tushar Bhatt, Ahmedabad



A factory built on illegally acquired land and (inset) D.K. Sikri

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INTER-STATE DISPUTES

The Battle for Belgaum

Dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka continues

The tug-of-war between Karnataka and Maharashtra over Belgaum has been continuing for three decades and yet there is no sign of either side letting up. But quite often, the issue hots up, disturbing the status quo and breaking the silence. Recently, political leaders from Maharashtra made a concerted effort to reopen the issue. The inspiration apparently came after the accord between the union government and the Akali Dal giving Punjab the sole possession of Chandigarh. Leaders of the Belgaum-based Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti (MES), a political party with the aim to merge Belgaum with Maharashtra, brought together Marathi-speaking politicians of various shades in New Delhi.

The effort would have gone unnoticed but for the timing of the meeting, the initiative being taken soon after the Punjab accord was signed and while the Assam accord was being negotiated. Secondly, politicians of all parties in Maharashtra closed ranks and demanded that the centre should reconsider the Belgaum issue. And if the latest manoeuvres attracted attention, it was quite easy to figure out why. The government already facing problems in Punjab, Assam and Gujarat, now has something more to deal with.

The Belgaum issue has been simmering for almost 30 years, but over the last few years it had slid into the background in the face of greater problems. Last fortnight, however, a joint delegation from Maharashtra, comprising among others N.G. Goray, former MP and envoy, Madhu Dandavate, Janata Party leader and N.K.P. Salve, deputy leader of the Congress(I) in the Rajya Sabha, met the Prime Minister and urged for a solution to the long-standing dispute. The members of the delegation later said that "the Prime Minister spoke freely and showed an attitude of understanding the issue and a desire to resolve it," in sharp contrast to the standard, "We will look into it" reply given to previous delegations. The Prime Minister is also reported to have said that after studying the issue in detail and discussing the matter with the Karnataka chief minister, he would call the delegation for another discussion, and perhaps even appoint a judge to look into it.

The next day, chief minister Ramakrishna Hegde wrote an angry letter to the Prime Minister, a copy of which was read in the state Assembly to pacify the agitated members. Expressing shock at reports that said the Prime Minister indicated he would refer the matter to a judge, Mr Hegde said: "...For heaven's sake do not give the impression that the matter has not been finally decided. The only thing the union government is duty-bound to do is to implement the Mahajan Committee report in toto." Opinion was unanimous in the house that Karnataka would settle for nothing less than implementation of the Mahajan report which states that Belgaum should remain in Karnataka and suggests a minor territorial exchange.

Madhu Dandavate (left) and N.K.P. Salve: united for Maharashtra

The reaction was predictable. Every time the Belgaum issue has been brought up by Maharashtra, Karnataka has clung steadfastly to the Mahajan Committee report. The state has also pointed out, that in spite of Karnataka's opposition it was at the insistence of Maharashtra that the Mahajan Committee was appointed to look into the border dispute. Maharashtra had also promised that it would abide by the decision of the committee which ultimately said Belgaum should remain in Karnataka. Relating personal incidents, Hegde said: "I remember that when the committee was appointed, the late Y.B. Chavan had held my hand in his and promised that the decision would be final and binding on both parties." Another Maharashtra chief minister V.P. Naik had also promised that Maharashtra would abide by the decision.

However, the joint delegation from Maharashtra argued before the Prime Minister that the Mahajan Committee awarded Belgaum to Karnataka when there were no proper terms of reference, especially the linguistic factor (Belgaum indisputably has a majority Marathi-speaking population) and that only "an extraneous issue like administrative convenience was taken into account." But in Bangalore, the Karnataka politicians were adamant that the issue was settled. Said G. Narayan Kumar, a pro-Kannada legislator: "It is either status quo or the Mahajan report. We won't settle for anything else."

Though it is possible that the latest round of rhetoric and rage will be typically shortlived, the implications cannot be wished away. As it was proved in Punjab, politicians are adept at creating explosive situations. Since 1957, the MES has won five seats to the Karnataka Assembly from Belgaum only by raising the merger issue. And the only way the MES can survive is by keeping alive the merger issue. In fact, as one observer pointed out: "If ever Belgaum merges with Maharashtra, it will be goodbye to politics for them. So I suppose, they must be hoping this problem will continue."

Chidanand Rajghatta, Bangalore

BOMBAY

Searches and Seizures

Raids on tax evaders are successful

A young collegian is the only person to be prosecuted in recent years by the Income Tax (I & T) department, Bombay, which has over the last few years, unearthed black money and tax frauds totalling crores of rupees. The college student convicted under the Indian Penal Code for impersonating an assessee had to pay a fine of Rs 20,000 and was given a day's simple imprisonment as she was to be married very soon.

The girl had opened a bank locker in another name and a large amount of jewellery of an assessee who was to be raided was transferred to her locker since the assessee was trying to dodge tax officials. The tax sleuths received the information and caught the girl who after much interrogation and enquiry finally confessed. It seems easier for the tax authorities

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

to catch a young girl than the powerful 'money-bags' who are neither afraid of tax laws nor lawcourts. The assessee whom the young lady was an accomplice of, is "being investigated" and this could take years like every other case in the metropolitan magistrate's court.

In the last four years, over 1,000 complaints have been filed in the courts and not one assessee has been convicted. Last year alone, according to the new prosecution wing of the income tax department, Bombay, 633 complaints were filed under various sections of the Indian Penal Code, like wealth tax, not filing returns, filing late returns, concealing of income, false declarations, falsification of books of accounts and wrong statements.

Assessees who have plenty of black money, have been taking adjournment after adjournment, indulging in delaying tactics and making it more difficult for the tax sleuths doing the investigation to prove their case. "We have to prove offence beyond reasonable doubt. The onus is on us to prove the offence," says a spokesman of the income tax department.

To prove the offence, says the department spokesman, the union minister of state for finance Janardhan Poojary has been talking about setting up special courts since April 1985. But these courts have still to become a reality. In Bombay, according to the prosecuting wing, the IT chief commissioner is consulting the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and the state government regarding setting up of special courts to try income tax cases. The Chief Justice will have to give his approval, allot a judge and constitute the court. Comprehensive legislation will also have to be framed by the centre. "Justice will be speedier under the special courts," the department officials told SUNDAY.

Meanwhile, in keeping with the union finance minister's efforts to collect resources in order to wipe out the budgetary deficit of Rs 3,349 crores, the intelligence wing of the income-tax department has been after suspected tax evaders. Incentives are also being provided to officers who unearth black money. According to the chief income-tax commissioner M.A. Twigg, between April and July 1985 search and seizure operations netted black money jewellery, cash and assets worth Rs 6.92 crores as against Rs 1.18 crores for the corresponding period last year.

In June, a woman who has been working as an agent for labourers going to the Gulf and has even gone into film making was found to have been taking between Rs 5,000 and Rs 25,000 per person and not declaring this income. Taxmen found unaccounted assets worth Rs 20 lakhs in her premises. According to taxmen, she had earned over Rs three crores in the last few years.

On 19 June, a raid on a customs house agent revealed that the assessee had concealed income to the tune of Rs 51 lakhs, Rs 30 lakhs and Rs 22 lakhs for the years 1984-1985, 1983-1984 and 1982-1983, respectively. Bogus books of accounts in the names of concerns, in which expenses were debited were found and later, these amounts were withdrawn in cash or transferred into other books of accounts or fixed deposit receipts. Such unaccounted receipts worth Rs 30 lakhs and fixed deposits and saving bank accounts worth Rs 25 lakhs have been frozen and jewellery worth Rs 29.40 lakhs have also been seized.

Olga Tellis, Bombay

HUMAN RIGHTS

Of Human Bondage

Women prisoners are illegally detained in West Bengal jails

"I don't want to stay here. The *durwans* make dirty proposals to me. When I told them that I would report to the authorities, they threatened me. If they come to know that I have written to you, they will beat me up. If you don't help me, I'll run away." So ran a letter written by an inmate of the West Bengal government-run Liluah Rescue Home for Women, Jyotsna Mistry, to advocate Shib Shankar Chakravarty of the Alipore Court in Calcutta.

Jyotsna Mistry, a young girl of 15 today, has spent the last seven years of her life in jail. She is one of the many unsuspecting girls who are lost, lured, kidnapped or brought to the cities from the villages with false promises of a better life, better jobs or even marriage. While many fall prey to flesh-traders, others are just abandoned. Eventually, they land in police custody. It is then that their woes start, for, the Presidency jail, where most of them are kept, till their relatives are traced out, is a world of torture and inhumanity. If no relatives are found, which is usually the case, the young girls are sent to protective homes, where conditions are no less worse than the prisons. Justice Jyotirindranath Hore of the district and sessions court, Alipore, recorded his disgust: "I have visited different jails and found that none of them are suitable for rehabilitation of these women (who had been kept in Presidency jail or the Liluah Home)... The task is to contact their parents, if any, or get in touch with private and public organisations and speed up the process of their rehabilitation."

Deviprasad Sinha

Women in Presidency jail: behind bars for no crime

Take the example of Jyotsna Mistry. She was lost somewhere in Calcutta when she was eight. Found by the police, Jyotsna Mistry was kept in police custody till she was produced for the first and only time in court. The judge ordered that she be kept in safe custody in Presidency jail. That marked the beginning of her life of misery. Along with other hardened female prisoners, she was housed in the filthy and grossly overcrowded wards of the jail. Jyotsna always suffered from skin diseases as she was hardly provided with clean clothes. In fact there were times when she had to sell her meagre quota of food to the jail staff to buy decent attire. Champa, another inmate, was exploited in yet another way. She had saved Rs 90 by working while in custody but when she was finally released she was handed Rs 10. To add to their miseries, these girls are hardly ever allowed to communicate their woes to the world outside. When Maya Barui, a rape victim, wanted to contact a lawyer, she was refused. Also, her letters written to

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the district magistrate for help were intercepted. Moreover, though the jail manual clearly states that these girls should be produced in court once every fortnight, the rules are hardly followed. The girls are locked up and deliberately denied all legal help.

Nor are the jails safe for the girls. Said Archana Mondol: "On many of my sleepless nights I have seen some of the jail staff enter the women's non-criminal lunatic (NCL) ward stealthily..." Most women inmates, often complain of molestation. Gita Ganguly was raped by her escorts on her way back from court and ordered to keep quiet. But when she was found to be pregnant, secret arrangements were made for an abortion. Outside the jail too, the young girls are not free to talk of their life in jail. When they are produced in court they are ordered not to disclose their living conditions to the judges. Medical facilities too are inadequate. According to a jail doctor, Presidency jail has just two doctors to look after the 2400-odd prisoners.

A few however, have been lucky. One such was Jyotsna Mistry who was released from Presidency jail. It was, in fact, a stroke of luck for her when Maya Barui, another inmate, mentioned her name along with those of other detenues in the jail. Both Jyotsna Mistry and Maya Barui got their release orders from Presidency jail only to find that their situation had not improved. Jyotsna Mistry had been shifted to the Liluah Home from where she had penned her letters of distress to advocate Shib Shankar Chakravarty, who has been waging a lone battle on behalf of the young girls to secure their release from prison.

The figures supplied by the jail authorities and that given by Maya Barui regarding the number of women detenues in Presidency jail is contradictory. While the authorities claim that there are only 11 women detenues in Presidency jail, Maya Barui spoke of 23 women to the press. Though the recent furore in the press regarding these illegally detained women detenues has shaken the West Bengal government out of its slumber and efforts are underway to help the girls, much remains to be done to rehabilitate them.

Sumita Ghosh, Calcutta

GERMANY

Summer Wine

Doctored Austrian wine floods German market

Summer is usually a good time for Austrian wines in Germany when almost two-thirds of the wine exported from Austria are guzzled down by thirsty Germans. But this year Austrian vino, be it the fresh, fruity dry wines or the succulent sweet wines, are conspicuous by their absence. There was not a bottle to be bought, anywhere in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) for the last week of July and now, it would be hard to find one in Great Britain or Switzerland. Also, the United States has ordered wine importers and wholesalers to stop selling Austrian wines until they are tested thoroughly.

At the heart of the matter is the scandal of doctoring wine with a toxic anti-freeze chemical, diethylene glycol, which can cause ailments like a damaged kidney. This practice seems to have been widespread among the suppliers of Austrian wine to the FRG where several thousand bottles containing the chemical have been found. This week the Bonn health ministry has issued a new list of 250 Austrian wines which have been found contaminated. Previously it had been believed that only the wine belonging to the *qualitaetspraedikat* or superior, had been doctored. In the meantime, carefree tourists in Austria are reported to be enjoying young vintages that are said to be free from contamination—ordering *ein viertl frostschutzmittel* (a quarter litre of antifreeze).

The general Austrian farmers union are trying hard to contain the damage. Officials of the union have journeyedto Bonn, accusing "a wine mafia of merchants with the backing of top politicians, of doctoring vintages to improve quality and profits." They have also launched a huge advertising campaign in the FRG papers aimed at offsetting the damage in the country which is by far the most important buyer of Austrian wines. But the health-conscious Germans are outraged by the scandal and trouble is brewing for the top official in the Rhineland's wine ministry, Herr Ferdinand Stark, who was told of the doctoring in late April but took over two months to make it public. German papers have attributed this silence to the strength of the wine lobby.

This scandal has rocked the £17 million Austrian wine export industry which had recently built up a reputation as a reliable source of good wine at fair prices. German wine *aficionados* were particularly fond of the Austrian *eiswein*, which has a concentrated and very sweet taste, being made from frozen grapes, and is available at a cost much less than the home produced *eisweins*. It is not yet clear how the scandal came to light. One of the people who became suspicious when large quantities of good Austrian wine were being sold at a cheap price might have decided to investigate. Another theory is that customs officials became suspicious and raised the alarm when a wine exporter asked for a tax refund on chemicals he had used in processing his wine. A key figure in the scandal is an unenterprising and unscrupulous chemist, Otto Nadraski. He is said to have discovered as early as 1976, that diethylene glycol boosts the sweetness and alcohol content of wine and unlike sugar it is difficult to trace. This meant that ordinary wines could be transformed into the most expensive categories of wine like *trockenbeerenauslese* which are normally reproduced by selected withered grapes. Nadraski is supposed to have sold his secret to one of Austria's biggest wine exporters, Herr Grill, who then produced large quantities of *trockenbeerenauslese* containing a potentially lethal 16 gm of glycol per litre. Both the men are now in prison and could face imprisonment upto ten years. Nadraski is alleged to have sold his recipe to several others so that the list of contaminated wines has kept on increasing. Indeed doctored Austrian wine of 1976 vintage have been found as far away as Japan.

This scandal is perhaps the first crack in the wall of malpractices in wine making. Investigations in the Federal Republic of Germany have resulted in the discovery of disinfectants in several bottles of Italian sparkling wine and, more seriously, diethylene glycol in four bottles of their own Rhine-Hessen wine. This is not the first time that wine has been laced, but previously what was added was crystal and liquid sweetners whereas the recent scandal was about adding a chemical known to be harmful to the body.

Kanta Talukdar, Bonn

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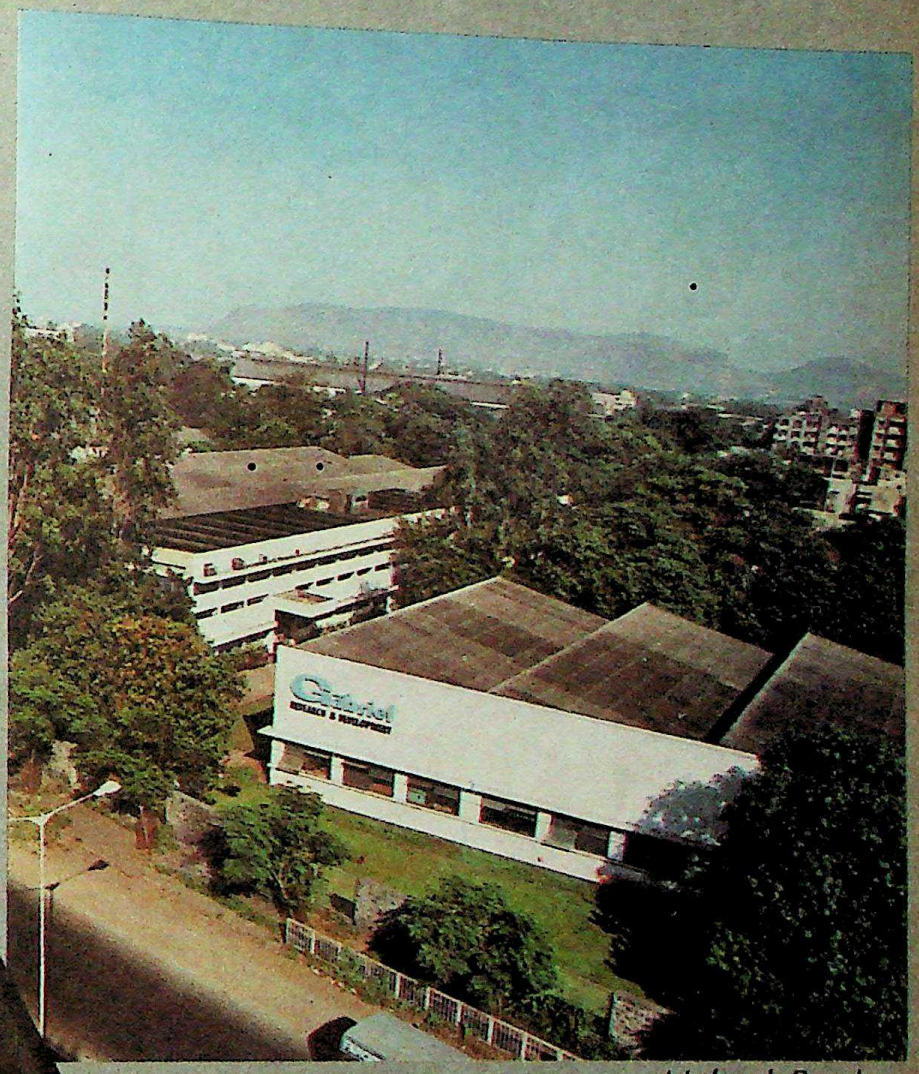
The birthplace of a leader— Gabriel shock absorbers.



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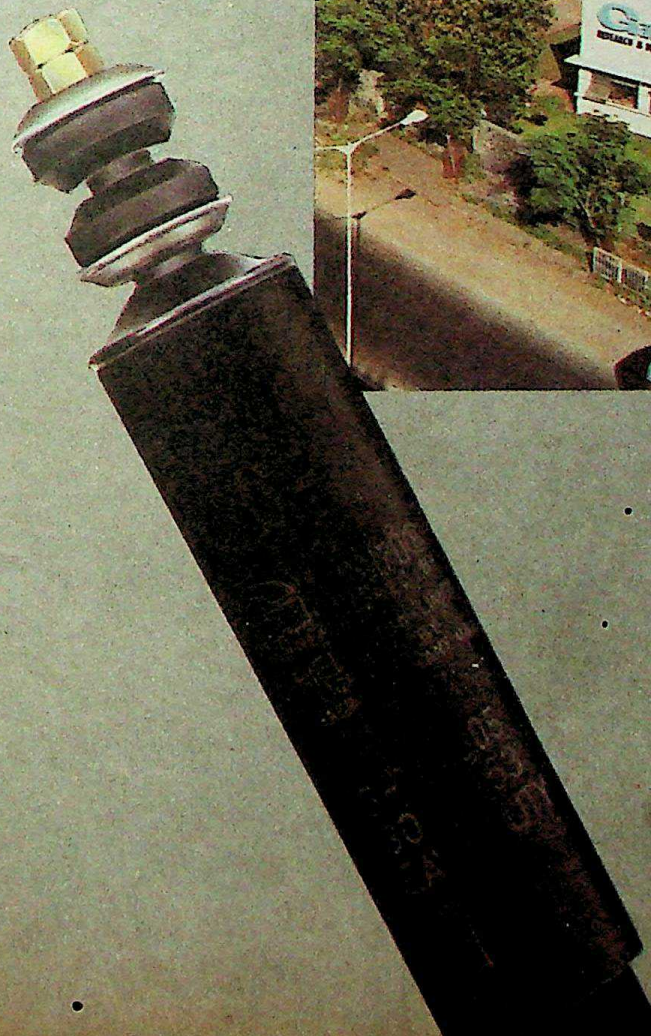

Gābriel

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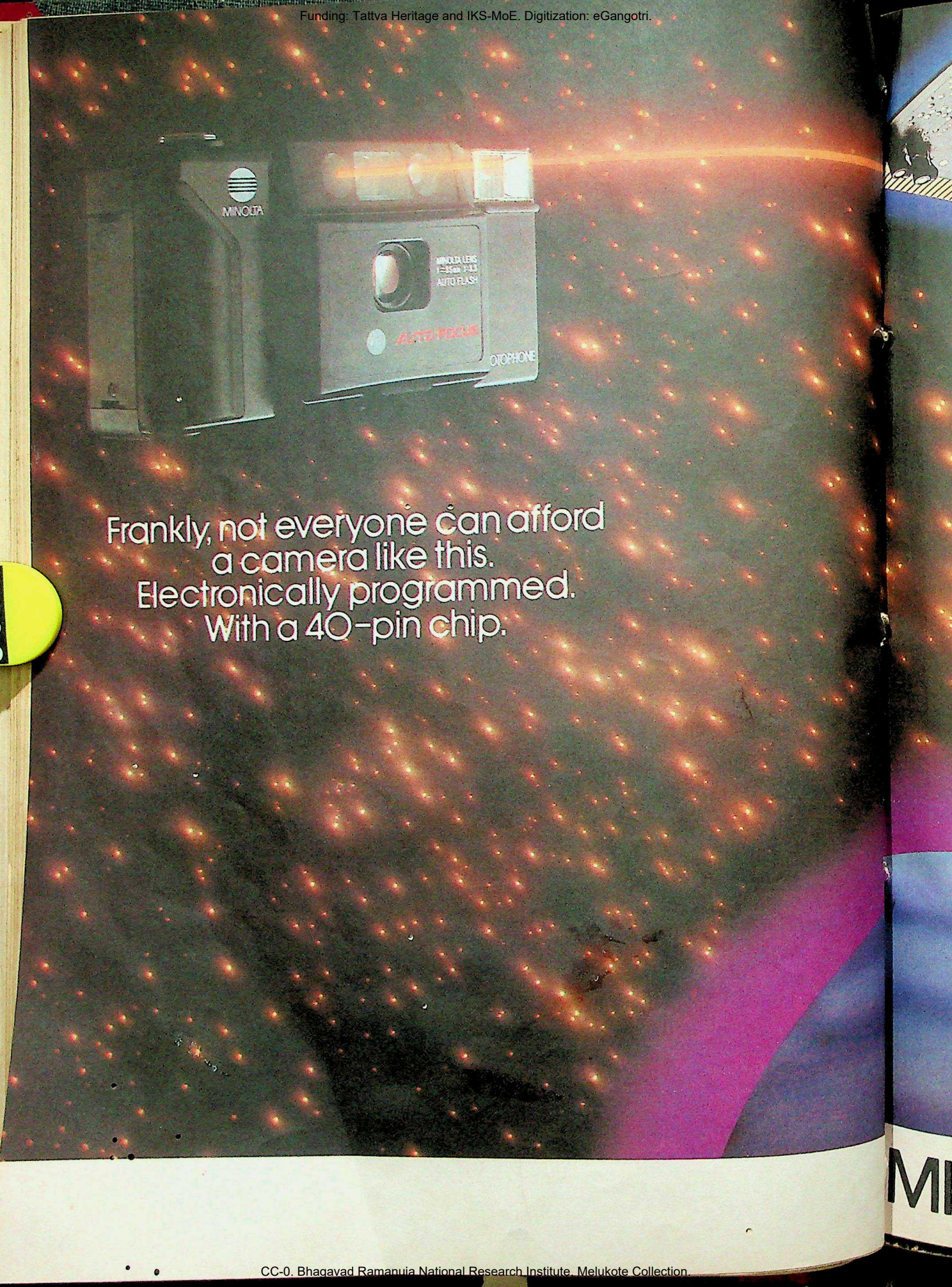

Frankly, not everyone can afford
a camera like this.
Electronically programmed.
With a 40-pin chip.

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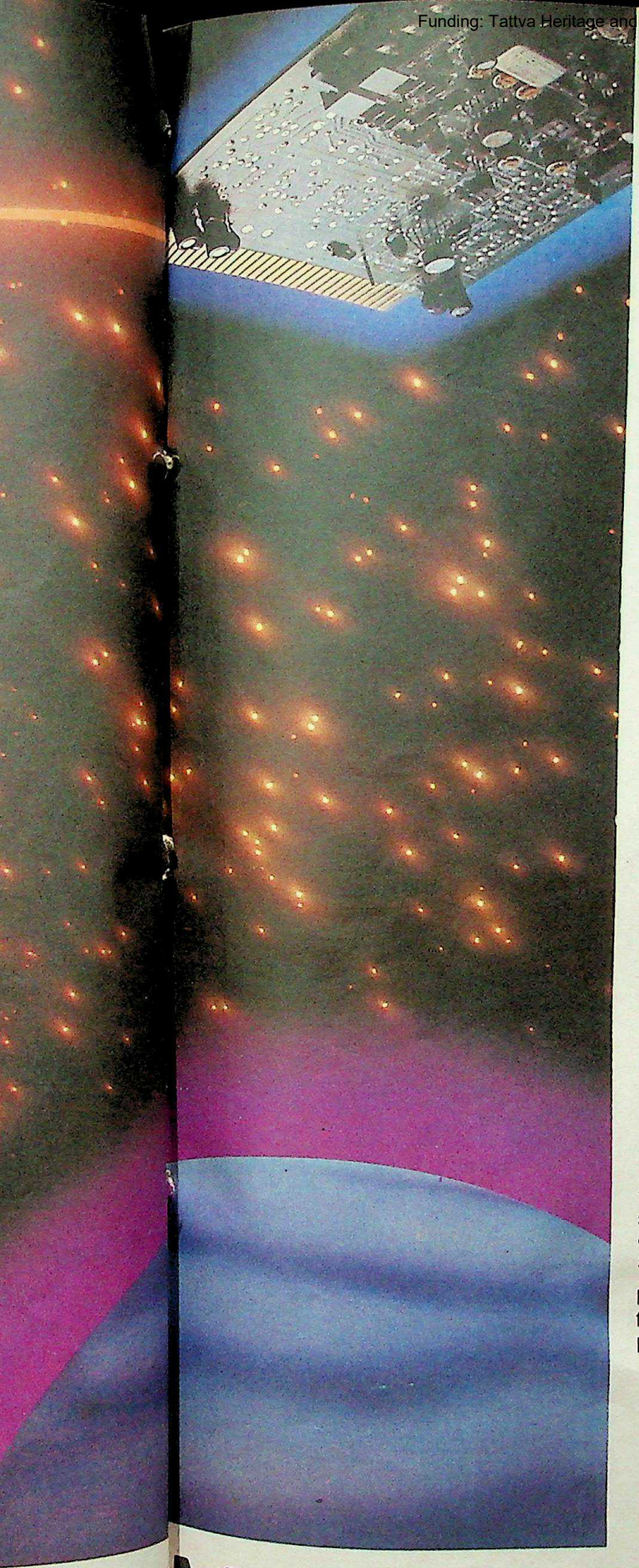

Yes, but if you buy it, every picture you get will be your reward.

The MINOLTA Photophone AF-E is one of the newest cameras in the world. The camera you'd choose if you were shopping today in Singapore or Dubai or New York. (The only problem is if you bought it abroad, you could end up paying a lot more for it!)

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

Five years ago, a producer called Kishore Sharma announced a big-budget film called *Chanakya Chandragupta*. It was to be directed by *B.R. Chopra* and *Dilip Kumar* and *Dharmendra* were to play the leading roles. The filmwasstated to be a very expensive one. In fact, thousands of rupees were spent on just a wig for Dilip, who was to portray Chanakya. That was all. Nothing new has been heard since. The grapevine has it that it may be revived. B.R. Chopra and Dilip Kumar are still in the film which may be an Indo-Soviet project, but Dharmendra is out. *Amitabh Bachchan* has been approached to play the role of Chandragupta, but he is yet to give his assent. He still has to go through the script.

Sarika is running into rough weather these days. No major offers are coming her way; producers apparently are shying away from her. She is being offered only sexy and revealing roles. It all started with that semi-nude scene she did in *Jalal Agha*'s *Nirvaan*, which she still considers one of the best films of her career. "I don't know why people are only obsessed with my body...they (the producers) are even offering me fantastic terms to play the vamp but I am not willing to fall into that trap. Not so soon," says Sarika. She is now busy with *Shart*, *Qatl* and *Dilwala*, in which she plays "important, revealing roles." Sarika has also taken to TV serials "because the money is very good and it comes in time."

Tina Munim: living without love? Gautam Rajadhyaksha

Sarika: can show her talent, too Gautam Rajadhyaksha

Has the *Rajesh-Tina* affair broken up? It started when Tina walked into a party alone. This was rather unusual since Rajesh was in town that night and having a good time with his friends. The story goes that Rajesh, who was openly having an affair with Tina after *Dimple* walked out on him shifted into her bungalow while his own bungalow "Aashirvaad" was being renovated. Rajesh even started his own film, *Alag Alag*, with Tina as his leading lady. Then something went wrong and Rajesh left Tina's bungalow. He now lives in his office.

Kamalahasan's desperate bid to make a comeback under the arc-lights with the lead role in the Tamil film *Zooirintha Ulam* failed. The film has all the ingredients required for a box-office hit: glittering sets, elaborate song sequences, a series of kissing scenes between Kamal and Ambika. Yet, it bombed at the box-office.

Nadia Moidu, who insists that she is not interested in a film career, is now being sought after by most Malayalam film producers. According to an insider, she is a "very level-headed and intelligent girl." No wonder she is demanding the same rates as Hindi film stars. Her first film, *Nokettapurathu Kannum Nattu* has now been shot in Tamil and will be shot in Hindi too. Will Hindi filmdom have to contend with one more belle from the South?

Namast

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Rolling India

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Namaste, Pope

If all goes well, 1986 should be seeing Pope John Paul II conducting mass on Indian soil. The response, apparently, has been rather belated: the invitation was extended to him more than five years ago—in March 1980—by Simon Pimenta, president of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India (CBCI) and was renewed by Mrs Gandhi during her trip to the Vatican. During his week-long stay in the country, the Pope is expected to meet the President, Prime Minister and address meetings of various religious and philanthropic groups.

Pope John Paul II

Masterpieces on TV

Authors who write in vernaculars have till now been deprived of media attention, unlike their counterparts who have won fame and money with their works in English. But Doordarshan's commercialisation has had at least one positive effect: that of bringing to the limelight the works of some of the best authors who write in their mother-tongues. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar, (94) last year's Jnanpith awardwinner whose prowess in fiction-writing was not known to many outside Karnataka, can now be relished by all when Doordarshan televises his delightful short story *The Curd Seller*. Besides, efforts are now on to film his epic, *Chikkaveera Rajendra*. Director M.S. Sathyu is already scouting for suitable locations in Coorg.

Masti, for whom recognition has come very late in life, might agree with the ode in the film *Jesus Christ, Superstar:* "If you had come today you could have reached a whole nation/Israel in 4 BC had no mass communication." But TV has come to his aid.

Rolling Around India

Promoting national unity through roller-skating? Quaint idea, perhaps, but this is what Uriah Suku, a 29-year-old sportsman from Calcutta is apparently aiming to do. He is soon to be off on an "around-the-country-in-89-days" trip—on a pair of roller-skates. Uriah, who has been skating since the tender age of 11, has a penchant for hard journeys: in 1978 he toured South India on any army-disposed motorbike, covering about 8,000 miles. For his next adventure on roller-skates, he is planning to travel 8,503 kms in 89 days for which he is being egged on by the international skating coach, Prof. Arturo Grecce, who has trained many a skating enthusiast in New Delhi.

Rajesh Kumar

Uriah Suku: rolling on

Prof. Grecce describes Uriah as one "who fights for something he believes in." But the young adventurer has no misgivings about his tour as he confidently says: "As I am the first, it only gives me greater prowess and strength." As he rolls on to the remotest corners of India, he will carry out studies on rural development, and also distribute pamphlets for various social service organisations.

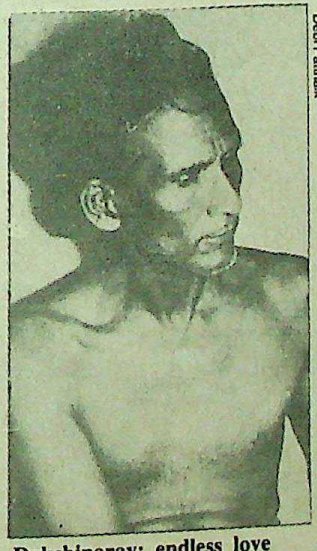
Rita Shukla: distinctive style

The Young Jnanpith-winner

Fiction is her mainstay. Dr Rita Shukla, who by profession is a teacher at the Mahila Mahavidyalaya in Ranchi has been publishing her short stories in different publications from time to time. Though the turning point in her writing is still to come, she has every reason to be elated: she has won the Bharatiya Jnanpith title as the best young short story writer for her collection entitled *Kronchvadh* and she has more or less clinched her ticket to fame. The 35-year-old author's forte is life in rural India and the author weaves a rich tapestry of characters, who lead simple lives in the rustic locales of rural India.

Sire Who Does Not Tire

The more the merrier. That seems to be the motto of Udayanath Dakshinaray who, at the age of 61, has as many as 89 wives. His target, at the moment, is 100: a feat which will be difficult to achieve. Once known to be the richest man in Urali village in Keonjhar district of Orissa, he is now insolvent with less than ten acres of land. However, this has not stopped parents of teenaged girls from offering their daughters' hands in marriage to the sixty-year old Dakshinaray. He is said to have supernatural powers and knows a bit of yoga and *tantra*. Today, he is left with only six wives. Among the 89 women—most of whom he married according to Vedic rites—57 have deserted him while 26 have died. Despite his numerous matrimonial exploits, he has only ten children—seven sons and three daughters—and for this low count of offspring, he boasts about knowing a "secret" of sex.



Debi Patnaik

Dakshinaray: endless love

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"Numbers aren't
What quality
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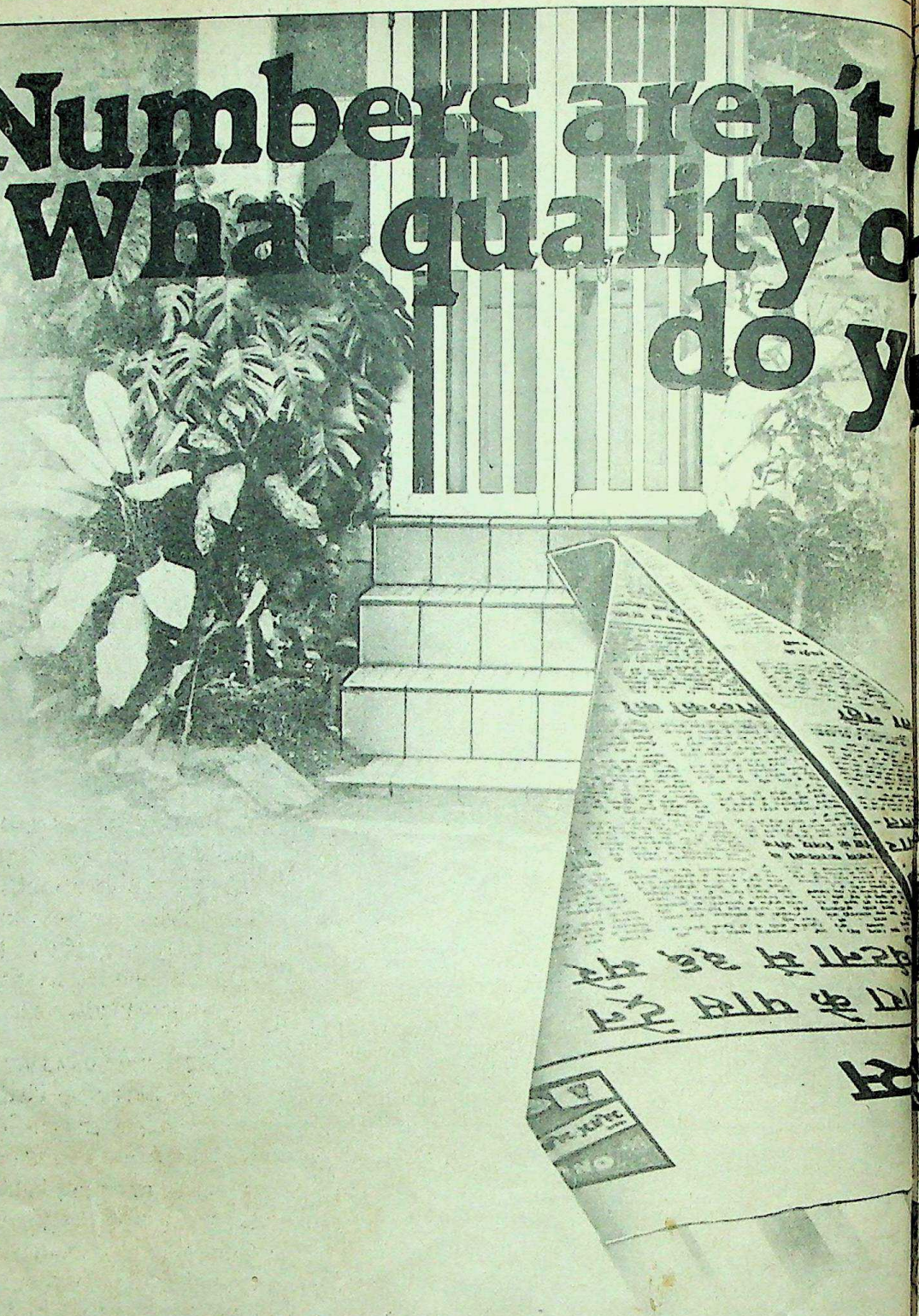

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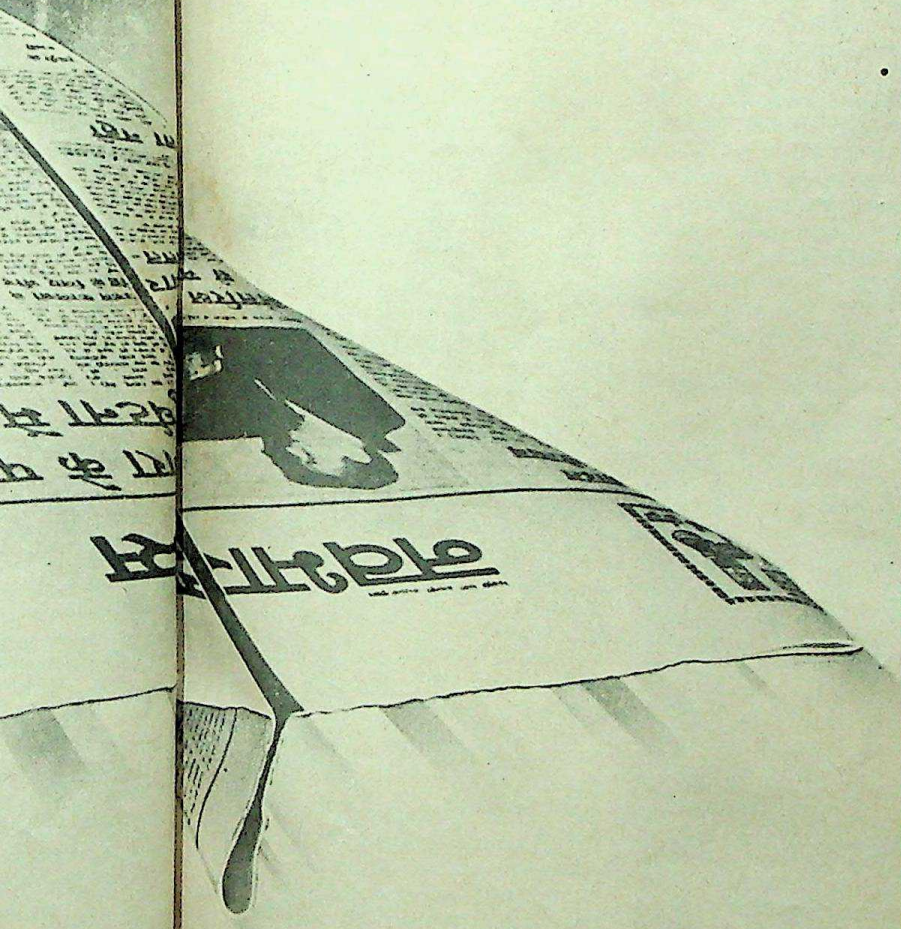
n't erything y readership p y reach?"



The quality of readership of any publication is largely dependent on the quality of its editorial content. And this is an area where The Times Group has always been ahead. Its editorial staff list reads like a veritable Who's Who of Indian journalism.

Its contributors are drawn largely from the most respected, best-read writers in their chosen fields. Even in production values and other related areas, Times Group Publications stand apart. Not surprisingly, this has earned a choice readership for the Group: in terms of standard of education, level of employment and income.

With such a high quality of readership, it's only natural that The Times of India Group forms the backbone of any media plan.

The Times of India Group of Publications

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Dhruva: Critical Despite Snags

6 August 1985. As the world mourned the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima, the countdown for commissioning India's largest research reactor began in Bombay. Scientists of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) turned on the pump that began filling heavy water inside the cavernous core of the Dhruva reactor that was being loaded with fuel: natural uranium. Then came the shock. A valve that should have closed automatically failed and the precious heavy water began to overflow. By the time scientists detected the failure, four tonnes of heavy water valued at Rs 15 million had been lost. "The spillage was not an accident but a pre-criticality hazard," said an embarrassed BARC spokesman. The incident was quickly forgotten as two days later scientists rejoiced when Dhruva became critical, 12 years after the project began and Rs 2,000 million having been spent.

Much of the spilled heavy water could be salvaged and purified but the incident was a warning to BARC which had been overanxious to commission Dhruva before fully testing the interlock systems and safety devices. If the valve had failed during normal operation the consequences would have been worse. Sources say that BARC should have been extra cautious, particularly after a previous accident when one of Dhruva's coolant pumps imported from West Germany was totally damaged while it was being tested with ordinary water. The pipings which were supplied by the BARC workshop were not cleaned, and so the steel fillings inside the pipe were sucked into the pump, damaging its parts. In fact, a tussle is going on between the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) and the independent Nuclear Regulatory Board (NRB) responsible for safety of nuclear reactors. While the NRB has been insisting that it should approve Dhruva before commissioning, DAE maintains that the board's responsibility covers only power plants and not research reactors. To be fair, NRB has neither the expertise nor the manpower to carry out its functions, an argument used by DAE to justify the commissioning of Dhruva without waiting for the board's approval. Besides the coolant interlock that failed, there are three or four more similar systems in Dhruva that would have to be thoroughly tested before the reactor's power level could be safely raised to the maximum of 100 mw.

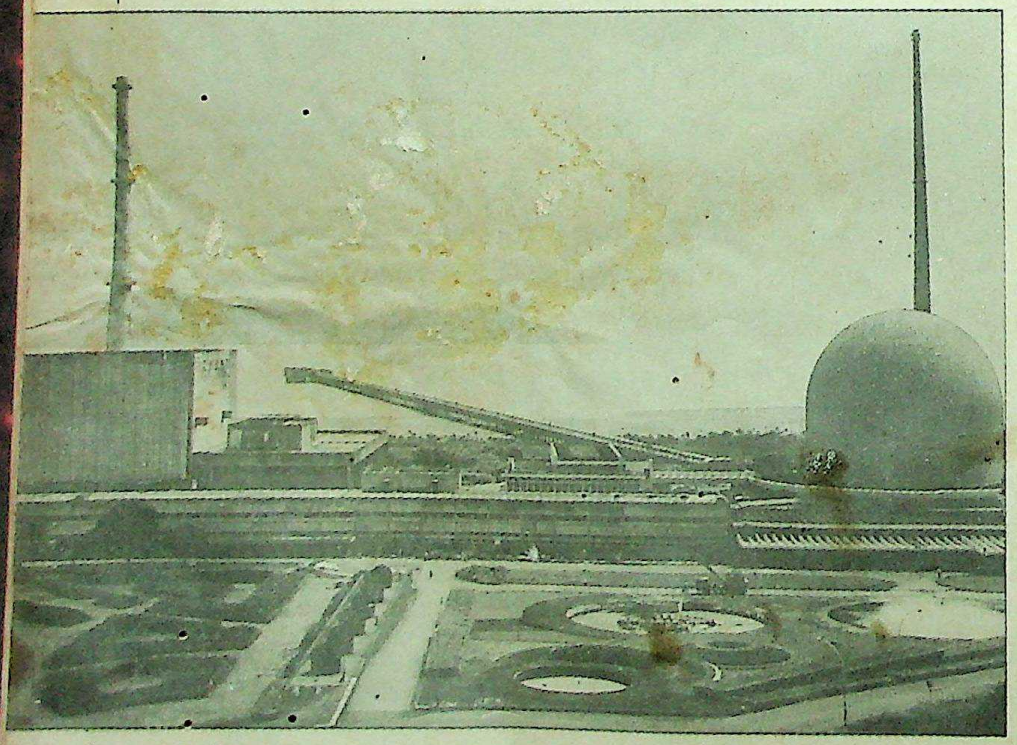
That deadline is likely to be many months away as Dhruva is plagued by a more serious problem: vibration of the fuel rods. BARC engineers say that the rods vibrate as coolant heavy water flows under pressure through the aluminium flow tube.

The vibrations can rupture the fuel rods and contaminate the coolant. "The reactor will never be able to reach higher power until this problem is solved," said one BARC expert. The fuel bundles were made in the Fuel Fabrication Plant in Trombay while all the power reactor fuel elements are made at the Nuclear Fuel Complex in Hyderabad.

Once Dhruva overcomes these problems and begins normal operations, hopefully, next year, BARC scientists will have a new and better facility for research. Being a research reactor, Dhruva will not produce electricity. The heat produced is extracted by coolant heavy water, passed on to ordinary water in a heat exchanger, and then the hot water is thrown into the sea. The only thing Dhruva will produce is a stream of particles called neutrons which is a basic tool for nuclear research, particularly in the study of solid state. At its peak operation of 100 mw, Dhruva will generate at the centre of its core 180 trillion (million times million) neutrons per square centimetre per second. Beam tubes surrounding the core will transport these neutrons through the reactor vault into the experimental area. Isotopes for medicine and agriculture can also be produced by loading the elements inside a tube and irradiating it inside the core.

Dhruva will be the largest among India's research reactors (India has five more) and about 2.5 times bigger than Cirus, the 25-year-old Canada-built reactor which will have to be decommissioned in five-to-seven years. But the emergence of Dhruva in India's nuclear sky comes at a time when research reactors are becoming out of fashion the world over. Most of the experiments that can be done with neutrons have already been done. The five or six reactors of the type of Dhruva operating elsewhere are primarily used for training. Accelerators are replacing reactors as source of isotopes and for nuclear research.

Dhruva will, however, be an additional source of plutonium, a material used in nuclear bomb. According



A view of the Dhruva research reactor (left) at the BARC

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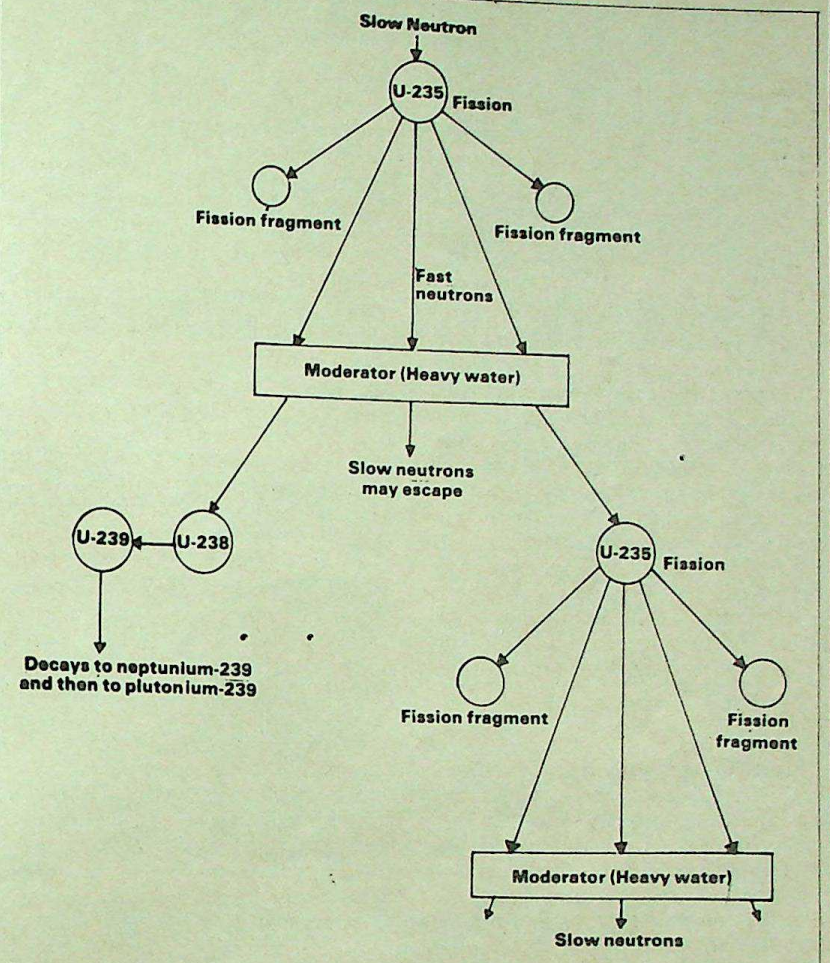
Chain Reaction, Critical Size, Criticality

A slowly moving neutron hitting a nucleus of Uranium-235 has a good chance of splitting it. Besides energy, the fission gives out on the average 2.5 neutrons as a bonus. These may escape from the reactor system, be absorbed by impurities and can get lost in many other ways. But at least one neutron must be available to cause fission in another nucleus so that a chain reaction can continue *(see diagram).*

This condition is conveniently expressed in terms of multiplication factor, denoted by the letter "K," which is defined as the ratio of the number of neutrons in any one generation to the number in the immediately preceding generation. If K is equal to or greater than one, the chain reaction will continue. If it is less than unity, even by a small amount, the chain cannot be maintained.

Take, for instance, a reactor system with multiplication factor one. If a particular generation starts with 100 neutrons there will be again 100 neutrons at the beginning of the second generation. The number of neutrons will be the same even after 100 generations. If K is less thanunity, say 0.95, the number of neutrons will decrease to 95 in the second generation. Only one will be left at the beginning of the 93rd generation and so the chain reaction will stop. On the other hand, if a system has K greater than unity, say 1.05, the number of neutrons will increase to 105 at the beginning of the second generation and reach 14,800 at the 100th generation. A few neutrons could thus initiate a growing chain of fissions. In a bomb this chain is allowed to proceed without control. In fact, the key to an efficient bomb is to make K very high so that a very large number of fissions take place in an extremely short time. This will be a very small fraction of a second as the duration between one generation and the next is less than a millionth of a second if the fission is caused by fast neutron, and less than a thousandth of a second if initiated by a slow neutron as is usually the case in a thermal reactor.

Critical size is the size for which the number of neutrons produced just balances those lost by leakage and non-fission capture. The critical size is not a constant but depends on fuel composition, the moderator used, shape and geometrical arrangement of fuel assemblies, and presence of extraneous materials.



Chain Reaction: Fission of Uranium-235 produces more than two fast neutrons. One is absorbed in Uranium-238 turning it into plutonium. The second neutron causes fission in another nucleus of U-235 and the process goes on. Natural uranium is a mixture of 0.7% U-235 and 99.3% U-238. Since U-235 is fissioned by slow neutrons, moderator is used to slow them down.

to DAE, it will annually breed as a byproduct about 30 kilograms of plutonium which will be outside international safeguards. However, officials have denied reports that Dhruva was meant expressly for the production of plutonium for bombs to counter Pakistan's nuclear threat. All nuclear reactors in the world using uranium as fuel do produce plutonium and Dhruva is no exception. It may be incorrect to link Dhruva with nuclear weapons programme as this purpose can be better served by building dedicated facilities exclusively making plutonium for bombs. In fact, all the nuclear powers began their bomb projects by setting up what are known as production reactors to make plutonium and later switched to dual purpose reactors that made plutonium and some quantity of electricity as a bonus.

In fact, India is not dependent on Dhruva for plutonium in case it decides to go nuclear. It had been reprocessing spent fuel of Cirus since 1964, accumulating some 400 kilograms of plutonium over the years. The plutonium for the Pokhran blast in 1974 came out of this and another 100 to 120 kilograms were used to make fuel rods for the fast breeder test reactor nearing completion at Kalpakkam near Madras.

A Special Correspondent

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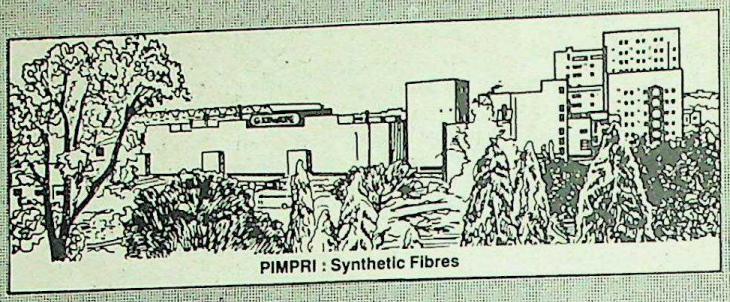
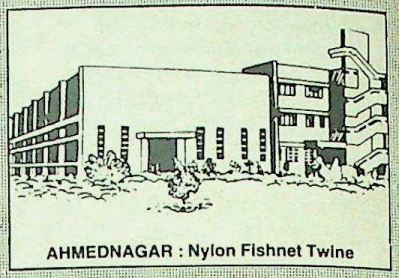
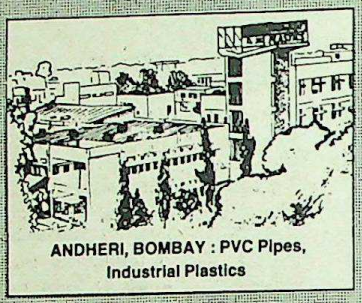
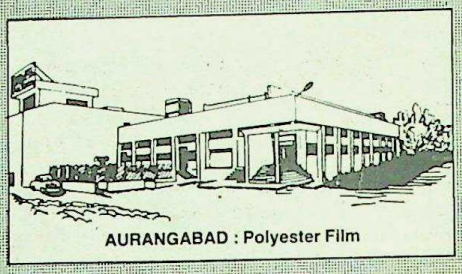
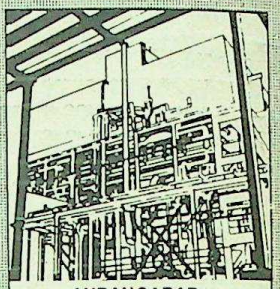

PIMPRI : Synthetic Fibres

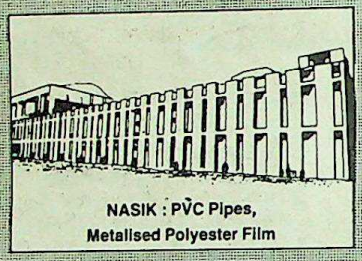

AHMEDNAGAR : Nylon Fishnet Twine

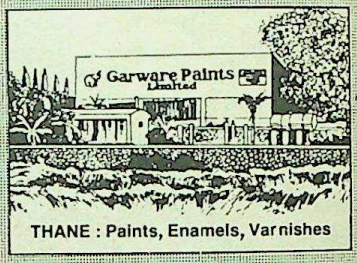

ANDHERI, BOMBAY : PVC Pipes, Industrial Plastics


AURANGABAD : Polyester Film

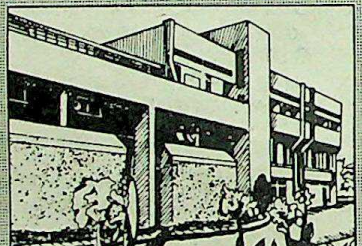

AURANGABAD : Polyester Chips

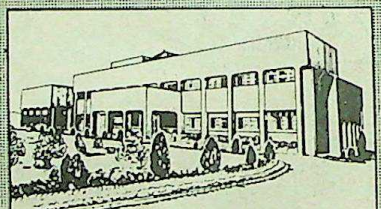
THE INDUSTRIAL 'AVATĀR' OF GARWARE

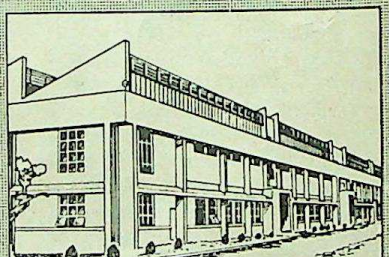

NASIK : PVC Pipes, Metalised Polyester Film

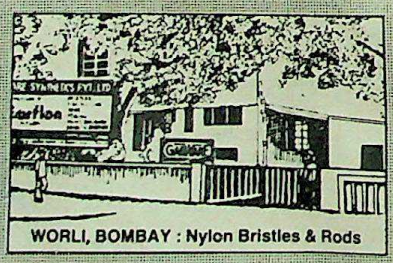


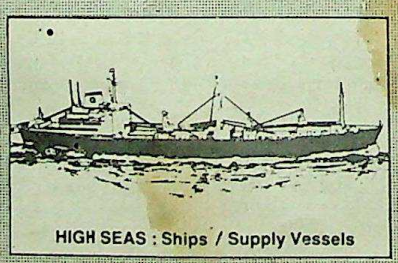
THANE : Paints, Enamels, Varnishes

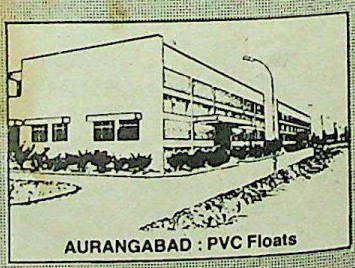

AKURDI : Synthetic Ropes


AHMEDNAGAR : Nets


SAROLE : Nylon Tyre Cord Fabrics


WORLI, BOMBAY : Nylon Bristles & Rods


HIGH SEAS : Ships / Supply Vessels


AURANGABAD : PVC Floats

ShreePadma

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BEGINNING 1 SEPTEMBER 1985 BY AMRITLAL

ARIES (15 April—14 May) This week you will be busy with social engagements but do not overstrain yourself as this will have an adverse effect on your health. Professionals will not be in the good books of their superiors, while businessmen are likely to suffer a setback. This is not the opportune time to get married. However, at home, your children will be a source of joy.
Good dates: 1, 3 and 4.
Lucky numbers: 2, 3 and 4.
Favourable direction: South-west.

TAURUS (15 May—14 June) This is a favourable time for those employed in the public sector. Those in love will also find this a good period. However, this is not an opportune time to solve legal problems. Postpone all important plans. Businessmen are advised not to take hasty decisions and politicians should be cautious while dealing with the masses. Prospects are bright for gamblers.
Good dates: 2, 4 and 5.
Lucky numbers: 5, 6 and 7.
Favourable direction: East.

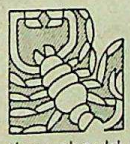
GEMINI (15 June—14 July) The professional front will continue to be inspiring. Businessmen and public sector employees will prosper. You will come in contact with an influential person. Matters pertaining to property will be resolved in your favour. A journey towards the middle of the week will prove financially profitable. The homefront will remain peaceful.
Good dates: 3, 5 and 6.
Lucky numbers: 1, 2 and 3.
Favourable direction: West.

CANCER (15 July—14 August) This is a favourable week to solve legal problems. Social engagements will keep you busy throughout this week, but avoid late night parties. Students will get opportunities to study abroad or in reputed institutions. Businessmen and professionals will make steady headway but they should guard against deception. A letter will bring good news. Your health will improve.
Good dates: 4, 6 and 7.
Lucky numbers: 6, 7 and 8.
Favourable direction: North-east.

LEO (15 August—14 September) An extremely lucky week for lovers: You can go ahead with marriage plans. Businessmen should check all documents meticulously before signing a contract. Professionals, especially those in government service, should be cautious while dealing with their superiors. Students are advised to be more careful about choosing their careers.
Good dates: 2, 4 and 6.
Lucky numbers: 2, 5 and 6.
Favourable direction: South.

VIRGO (15 September—14 October) Success on all fronts is a certainty for you this week. Professionals will make steady progress while businessmen will bag lucrative contracts. On the financial front, gains through unexpected sources are indicated. At home, your children will succeed in competitions and give you a lot of pleasure. This is an ideal time for marriage negotiations.
Good dates: 3, 5 and 7.
Lucky numbers: 3, 4 and 5.
Favourable direction: North.

LIBRA (15 October—14 November) Rare honours are in store for creative artists and writers. But your success is likely to arouse the jealousy of your relatives. You will need a lot of tact and patience to overcome embarrassing situations at home. Your deteriorating health will add to your worries. Policemen will receive awards for gallantry. A lucky time for lovers.
Good dates: 1, 4 and 5.
Lucky numbers: 7, 8 and 9.
Favourable direction: East.

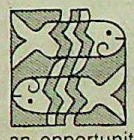


SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) A fair measure of success lies in store for you this week. Businessmen will make steady progress but they should guard against deception. This is also a favourable week for lovers but try and avoid adventurous plans. A pleasure trip you were looking forward to is in the offing. At home, your children will come out with flying colours in coompetitions. A pleasant surprise awaits you.
Good dates: 2, 6 and 7.
Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 6.
Favourable direction: South-west.

SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) The time is ideal for love and marriage negotiations. Businessmen will find this period favourable. A pleasant surprise at the end of the week is in store for you. Your financial prospects will look up. A friendship that will blossom this week will prove very beneficial in the near future. However, avoid legal complications and stay away from politics.
Good dates: 3, 4 and 5.
Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 6.
Favourable direction: North.

CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) This is not a lucky phase for love and courtship: misunderstandings may lead to estranged relations. Domestic worries will continue to plague you. Do not take even your close friends for granted as enemies will be active during this period. Your financial prospects will look up: do not be extravagant and try to repay your debts.
Good dates: 1, 5 and 6.
Lucky numbers: 3, 5 and 9.
Favourable direction: South-east.

AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) This is not a good week, financially. You may have to borrow money to tide over this lean period. Lovers are advised to steer clear of all controversies. You health will add to your worries. At home, one of your relatives may fall ill adding to your financial burden. Consult your elders before you change your job. A lucky week for students.
Good dates: 2, 4 and 7.
Lucky numbers: 1, 6 and 8.
Favourable direction: North.



PISCES (15 March—14 April) This is the opportune time to carry out marriage negotiations and the domestic front will be inspiring. You will get an opportunity to change your career, but do not take hasty decisions and consult your elders before finalising plans. Financial and job prospects are bright this week. A letter will bring good tidings. Some of you may gain through inheritance or even win a lottery.
Good dates: 2, 3 and 4.
Lucky numbers: 2, 5 and 9.
Favourable direction: South.

For those born between 15 September and 14 October

You have a tendency to criticise men and their manners with the result that you inspire a lot of hostility. People generally avoid your company and even your friends steer clear of you. You are also very diplomatic in your dealings with others. Some of you are very energetic and do not hesitate to undertake challenging assignments. By temperament you are fastidious and you are not satisfied with things easily. Take up the creative arts as your profession. Women born during this period are generally arrogant but they are hardworking.

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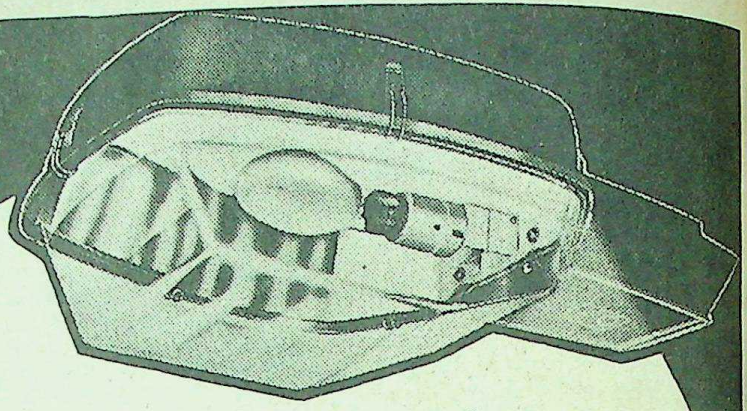

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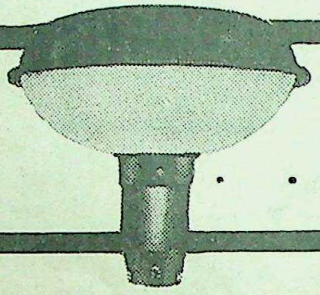

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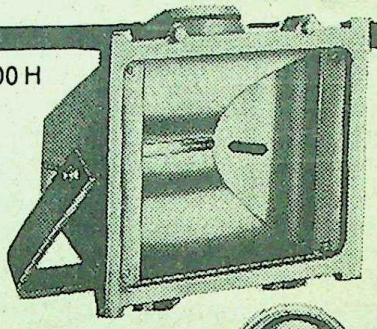

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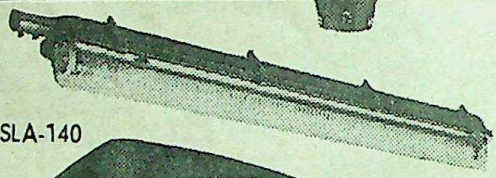

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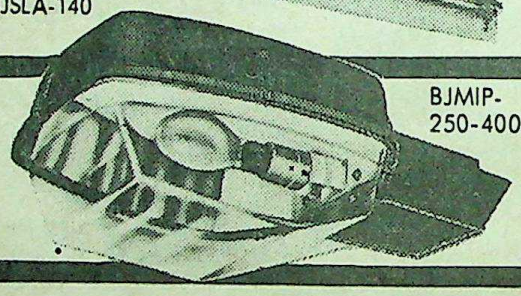

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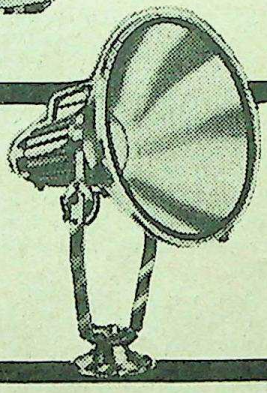

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THIS INDIA

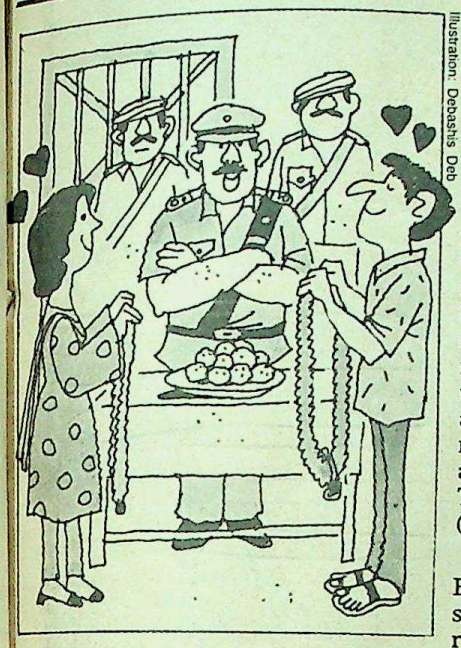

Illustration: Debashis Deb

KARAIKAL: The three-month old love affair between a fisherman's son and a merchant's daughter ended happily in the police station here recently, with the parents of both blessing them. Saktivel, 21, and Shanti, 18, were sure their parents would not agree to their inter-caste marriage and so they took their problem to an inspector of police. The inspector consulted his superintendent and on his advice, met the parents and persuaded them to give their consent to the match. The marriage was solemnised in the town police station—*Deccan Chronicle* (Avula Ramesh Chander, Hyderabad)

BANGALORE: It looks like a telephone, a notebook, a lighter and a bottle but all of them are pens—the prized possession of a Bangalore journalist who is aiming to enter the *Guinness Book of World Records*. The journalist, Mr Ishwar Bhat, showed a PTI correspondent his 15-year collection of some 2,000 pens of different varieties acquired from nearly 50 countries of the world. His collections include a rose pen, the writing from which smells like rose, the cherry pen which gives off a strong cherry essence, pens which look like carrot, stethoscope, toothbrush, pipe, comb, rifle and even fork. While the three-centimetre jotter is the smallest of pens in his collection so far, the longest was a 53 cm-pen-cum-pointer specially designed in the United States for use by teachers. The pen is just like the antenna of a transistor. Another pen from Germany can house 13 refills at a time—*Indian Express* (M.R. Jayaprakash, Bangalore)

DHARMAPURI: For an unhappily-married tribal inhabitant of the verdant Sitheri forest range in the district, freedom from the bonds of wedlock is just a matter of raising Rs 650. Among the tradition-ridden tribals, a woman can divorce her husband by paying him Rs 650 and can live with any man of her choice. But the offspring of any unhappy marriage would always remain in the custody of the husband. Inspite of this easy way of untying the nuptial knot, divorce is not a common affair as differences between man and wife are, in most cases, settled by village elders, according to the inhabitants of Kalnadu, a tribal hamlet in Sitheri hills. In appearance, the tribals are no different from the Tamils living in the adjoining rural areas but they speak Tamil with a slang—*Deccan Chronicle* (L.N. Srinivasan, Hyderabad)

BHUBANESWAR: Orissa's electric supply system fell victim to a snake recently. The snake got tangled with a transformer at Rourkela and snapped off the power supply system. The power draw in Rourkela being high, the incident resulted in the tripping of the Hirakud power project's supply system. This led to a chain reaction and caused tripping of Balimela and Machhkund power project's distribution system. The state was without any power supply for half an hour between 2 am and 2.30 am, when the supplies were restored— *Indian Express* (Ravi Sharma, Hyderabad)

LUCKNOW: The Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr Narain Dutt Tewari, passed his intermediate examinations only as recently as in 1982, according to a certificate issued by the UP Board of High School and Intermediate Education, a few days ago. The certificate gives Mr Tewari's roll number as 445032 and his subjects as Hindi, English, Psychology, Civics and Sociology. It also reveals that he had passed the examination in the first class. The Lok Dal member, Mr Shatrudra Prakash, displayed a copy of the certificate in the state Assembly, on Saturday. A rather startled Mr Tewari informed the House that a Hindi magazine *Maya* had procured the certificate to prove that a racket dealing in fake certificates was active in the state. The chief minister said stern steps would be taken to bust the racket. In a tongue-in-cheek statement, Mr Shatrudra Prakash said it was unfortunate that while most students had to wait for years for their results the chief minister had easily procured his certificate. — *The Telegraph* (M.S. Shah, Bombay)

WITHOUT COMMENT

I want a state in which there is peace, where there is no fear, where people of all religions live like brothers Sant Longowal, in his last speech at Sherpur

A man of peace has fallen to the bullets of assassins. The tragic death of Santji...is a tragedy not just for Punjab but for the whole country—Rajiv Gandhi

There are no words to condemn this dastardly act—President Zail Singh, on the assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal

A brave man who had the interests of his people and the country at heart has been tragically shot down by cowards—Arjun Singh, Governor of Punjab

The light has gone out of our lives. We are directionless. But we are determined to follow the path shown to us by Santji—Balwant Singh, senior Akali leader.

Those who strived and struggled for peace achieved it at the altar of martyrdom—Madhu Dandavate, Janata Party MP

Sant Longowal is dead. But his death can be the beginning of the rebirth of Punjab—Editorial in *The Telegraph*

His (Longowal's) martyrdom will have served a great purpose as did Mahatma Gandhi's in 1948 if it shakes the Sikhs as the Mahatma's shook the Hindus into an awareness of their duty to fight the agents of hate and violence—Editorial in *The Times of India*

prize Rs 30 for the entry given first

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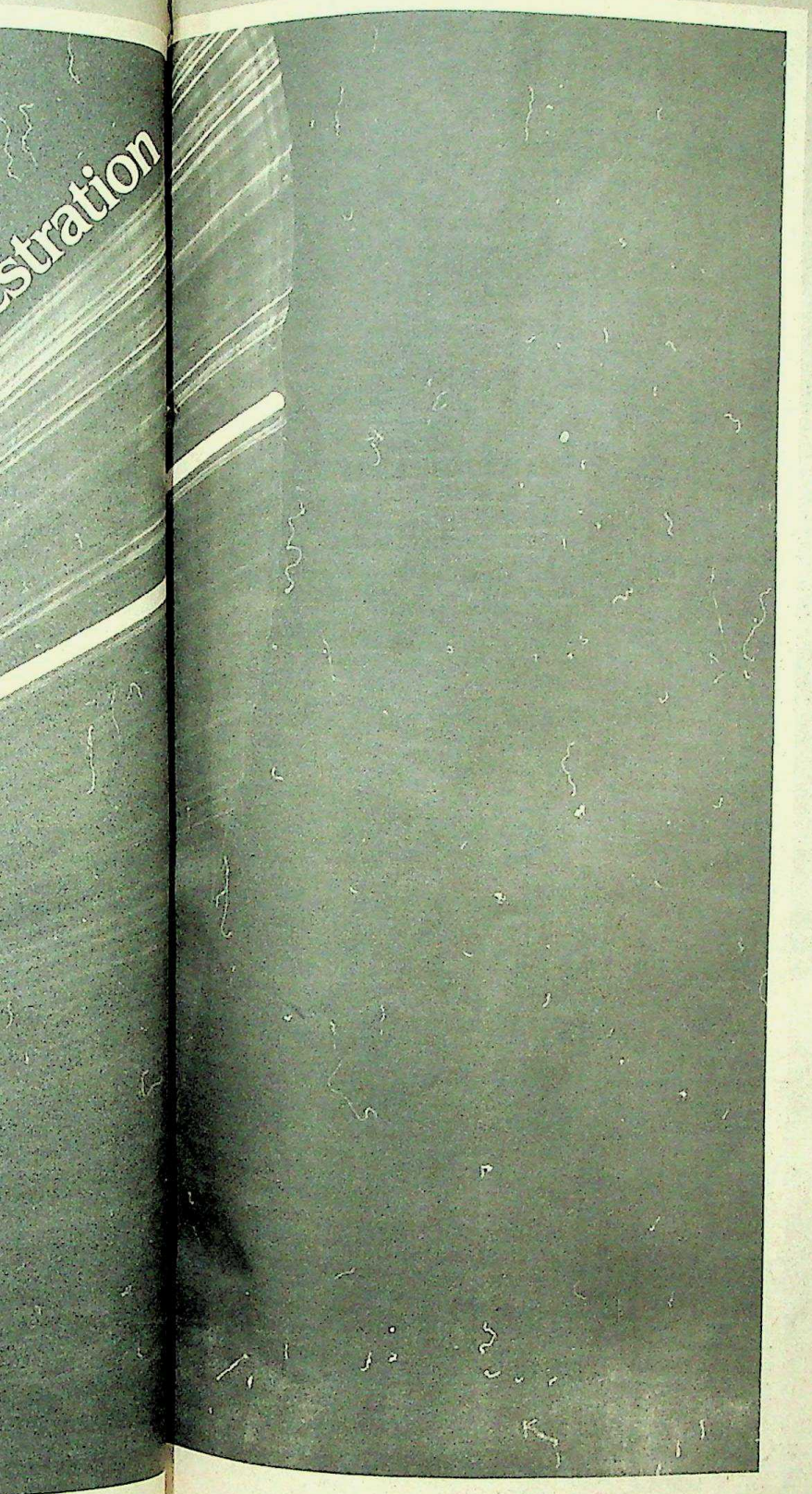

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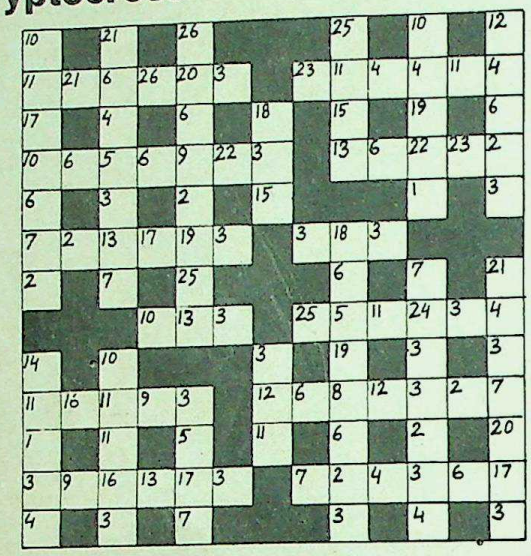
TEASERS

BY SHAMLU DUDEJA AND CHAMPAK BASU

Cryptocross

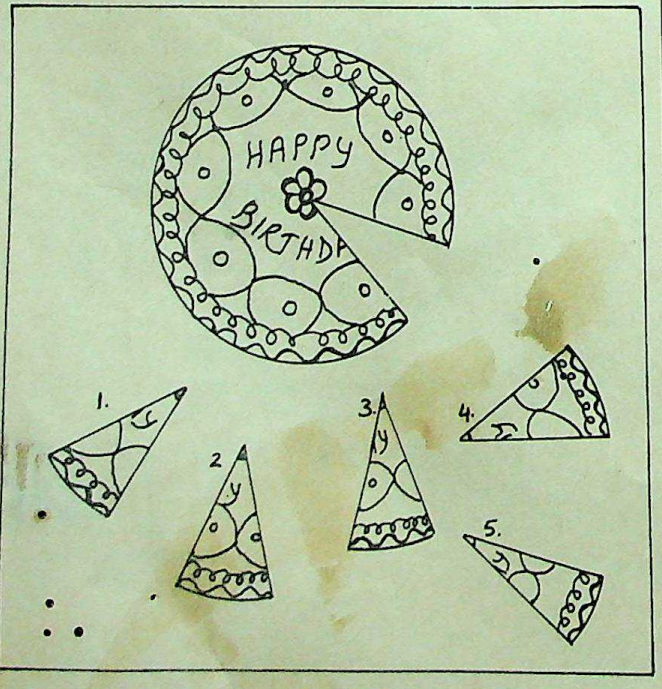


1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
					A	S						

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
			M									

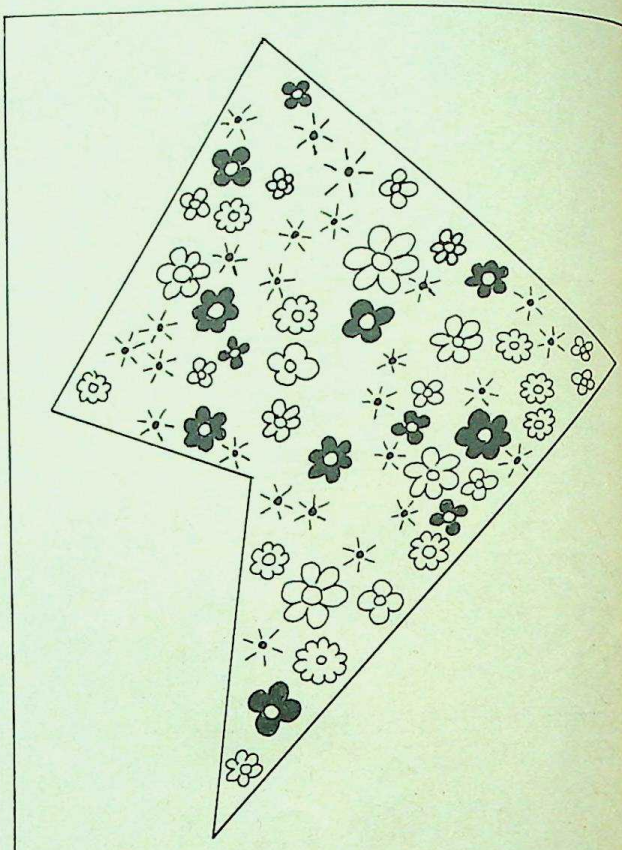
Each number in the main grid represents a letter. The same number always stands for the same letter. To help you make a start, three letters are given. Can you now substitute the rest to complete the grid?

Quick Look



How quickly can you spot which wedge was cut out of the cake?

Figure it Out



Can you draw four straight lines so that there are 1, 3, 5, 7, etc., flowers in each section? The flowers can be of any size or shape.

Word Power

S T M A

N O R E

E N S N

B R A D I E R

The groups of letters given above can be transformed into words by the insertion of the same two letters. What are they?

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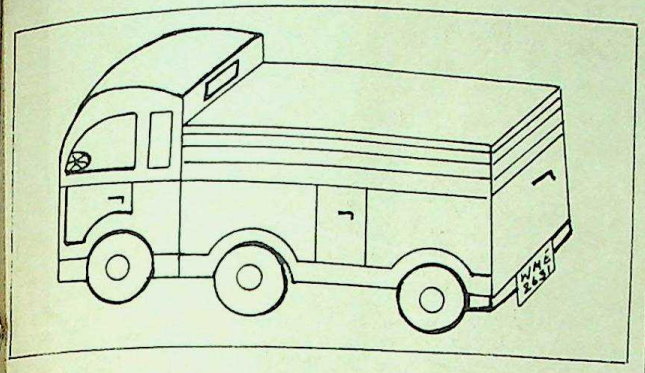
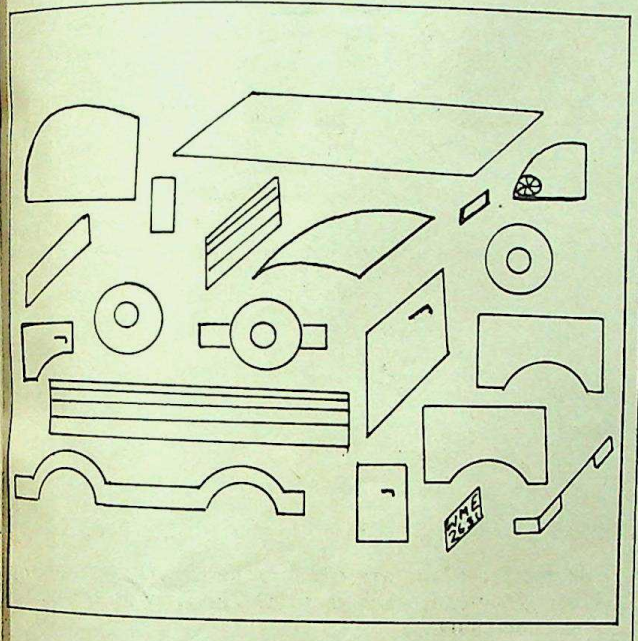
Shape Sleuth





Oh! Oh! This mechanic is in trouble! Having dismantled this truck to overhaul it, he now finds that he can't put it together again because one piece is missing. To make matters worse, he does not know which piece it is. Can you help him?

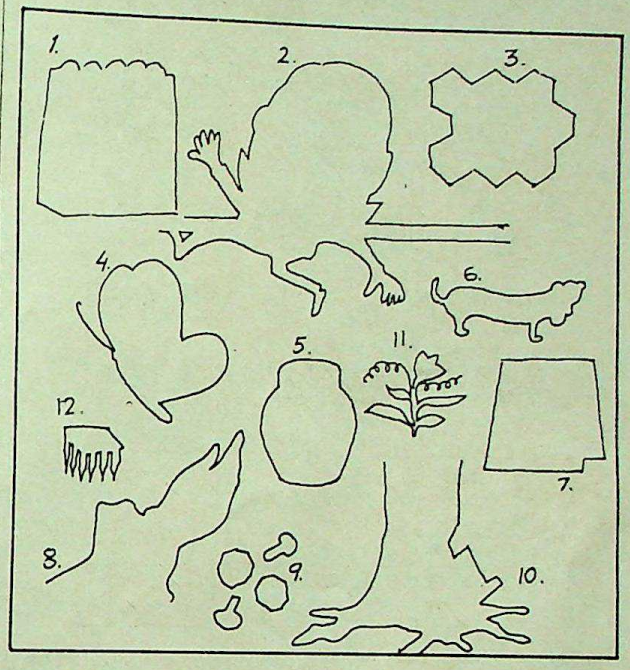
Quick Think

How quickly can you work out mentally, the sum of all the numbers from 1 to 200?

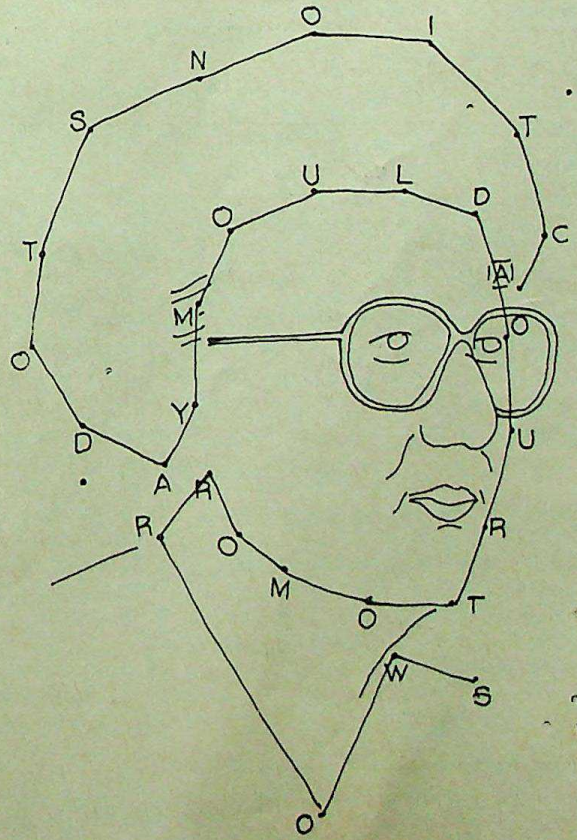
Solutions to last week's Teasers:
Really: The numbers 1 to 16 add up to 136. All the numbers face-up will also add up to 68.
Witsharpener: Rana cannot be a musician or a banker, and he was planning to become a mason, originally. So he must have finally become an astronaut. Mac Soni didn't wish to become an astronaut and become neither a banker nor a musician, since the banker played golf and the musician tennis. So, Mac Soni became a mason. That leaves us with N. Akber and Mini Sica who must have ended up becoming a banker and a musician respectively. If you ignore the clues, they indicate the eventual profession of each one. Rana Stout is an anagram of *astronaut*, Mac Soni of *masonic*, N. Akber of *banker* and Mini Sica of *musician*.
Eyeball Bender: 112 Blocks.

Blockbuster: Rage, Rags, Raps, Rape, Rips, Ripe, Risk.
Mind Bender: Armband, Backwaters, Cheekbone, Finger Print, Foot Step, Head Rest, Hip Flask, Jaw Breaker, Leg Spinner, Lip Stick, Mouth Piece, Nail Polish, Neck Line, Palm Candy, Skeleton Service, Tooth Ache.

What's in a Word: (Beginning clockwise, at the top righthand corner) 1. Dates 2. Egg 3. Honey 6. Sausage 7. Cheese 10. Chop 9. Nuts 8. Lady's Finger 12. Chip 4. Butter 5. Cream 11. Peas.



Shape Sleuth: Actions today mould our tomorrows.



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VARIETY

CHESS

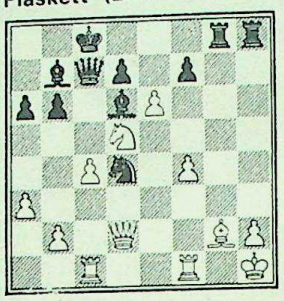
In chess, it is not enough to play brilliant moves; it is also necessary to win. There is a philosophy of play, most prevalent in the Soviet Union, which sees the game first and foremost as a spectacle and only secondly as an adversarial contest. It is perhaps in reaction to this, dare I say, somewhat imperialist school of thought that the Karpovian cult of pragmatism has grown and flourished over the past decade.

I give an enthralling but rather sad example of what can happen when these two great philosophies come face to face.
C. Hansen (White). J. Plaskett (Black). English Opening. Copenhagen 1985.

1 P–Q4	**N–KB3**	**2 N–KB3**	**P–B4**
3 P–B4	**PxP**	**4 NxP**	**P–QN3**
5 N–QB3	**B–N2**	**6 B–N5**	**P–QR3**
7 BxN	**NPxB**	**8 P–K4**	**P–K3**
9 B–K2	**Q–B2**	**10 0–0**	**P–KR4**

Black's play is provocative and adventurous, meanwhile White takes a more taciturn approach.

Plaskett (Black) to move



Hansen (White)

11 P–QR3	**N–B3**	**12 K–R1**	**P–R5**
13 P–B4	**P–B4!**	**14 PxP**	**P–R6!**
15 B–B3	**PxP+**	**16 BxP**	**0–0–0**

White has been outplayed. At the cost of a pawn his opponent has been able to open dangerous lines to the White king and the two bishops are beginning to look most menacing. Nevertheless Hansen keeps his cool

17 R–B1	**B–Q3**	**18 Q–Q2**	**QR–N1**

19 N–Q5!

A necessary attempt to plug the lon diagonal without which the threat . . .RxB would be terminal.

19 . . . NxN!

For if 20 NxQ RxB wins.

20 PxP!!? DIAGRAM

A mind-bending attempt to confuse ma ters which demands a relatively simp reply viz. 20 . . .BPxP 21 QxN PxN 22 P B–B4 23 Q–Q2 Q–Q3 24 P–N4 RxB! Instea Jim Plaskett gets carried away with t brilliance of his own attack.

20 . . . N–B4??

With ideas of . . .N–N6+ and . . .B–B4 but the attack is an illusion.

21 PxBP	**R–N2**	**22 NxQ**	**KxN**

A sad admission that all has gone wro as can be seen from:
(i) 22. . .N–N6+ 23 K–N1 B–B4+ 24 R–B
(ii) 22. . .RxB 23 QxR BxQ+ 24 KxB N–K
25 K–B3 NxR 26 N–Q5 NxP+ 27 K–
and the knight never escapes.

23 P–B5!	**PxP**	**24 Q–R5+**	**K–N1**
25 BxB	**KxB**	**26 R–QB3**	

and White soon won.

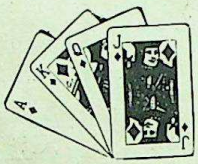
MICHAEL STEAN

BRIDGE

For many years players from Canada have felt that they did not have a fair chance to qualify for the Bermuda Bowl. This time they could hardly complain, for they were able to contest against Mexico and Bermuda for the second north American berth. In the final round they easily defeated Bermuda. This deal occurred in the qualifying round:

Dealer South N–S vulnerable

	♠ 2 ♥ J 10 6 3 ♦ 10 6 2 ♣ A Q 8 7 2	
♠ J 9 8 4 ♥ — ♦ A K Q J 9 8 7 4 ♣ 3	N W E S	♠ K 10 7 6 5 ♥ 9 8 7 4 2 ♦ 5 ♣ 9 4
	♠ A Q 3 ♥ A K Q 5 ♦ 3 ♣ K J 10 6 5	



When Bermuda was North–South the bidding went:

South	*West*	*North*	*East*
1♣ (1)	5♣ (2)	dble	5♦ (3)
6♣ (4)	No	No	No

(1) Strong, artificial.
(2) Not a misprint: a transfer to diamonds.
(3) Slightly better than leaving t transfer to his partner; his own hand unknown to the opposition.
(4) A good decision.

Can you guess how the play went? N too difficult, really. Gupta led the 4 diamonds. South, slow-witted, played t 2 from dummy. East played the 5, realis eventually that it was his trick and c returned a heart. for one down.

The Bermuda Bowl will be played at S Paulo in October. The intended venue w India. The change was made because I could not be relied on to grant entr teams from certain countries. It seem pity that bridge players cannot be le make their own decisions.

TERENCE REESE

QUIZ

QUESTIONS

1. Name the first man to fly over the South Pole.
2. He was Prophet Mohammed's successor as well as the first Caliph. Name him.
3. What is the method of writing used by the ancient Sumerians by making impressions on wet clay tablets which were later dried and hardened?
4. How many men have landed on the moon?
5. Which war in Africa lasted from 1899 to 1902 when concentration camps were first set up?
6. Who is regarded as the father of modern China?
7. In which year was the English East India Company set up?
8. What do the following have in common: Enrico Fermi, Lise Meitner and J. Robert Oppenheimer?
9. How is Roy Schrer Jr better known as?
10. Name the odd one out: Ivan Pavlov, Ernst Rutherford, Robert Kochi, Sir Ronald Ross and Hargovind Khorana.

tions to medicine and physiology; Rutherford was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry.

ernst Rutherford. All the others were ded Nobel Prizes for their contribu-

Rock Hudson, the ailing American

of the atom bomb.

ay all worked towards the develop-

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Sun-Yat Sen.

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ard Byrd in 1929.

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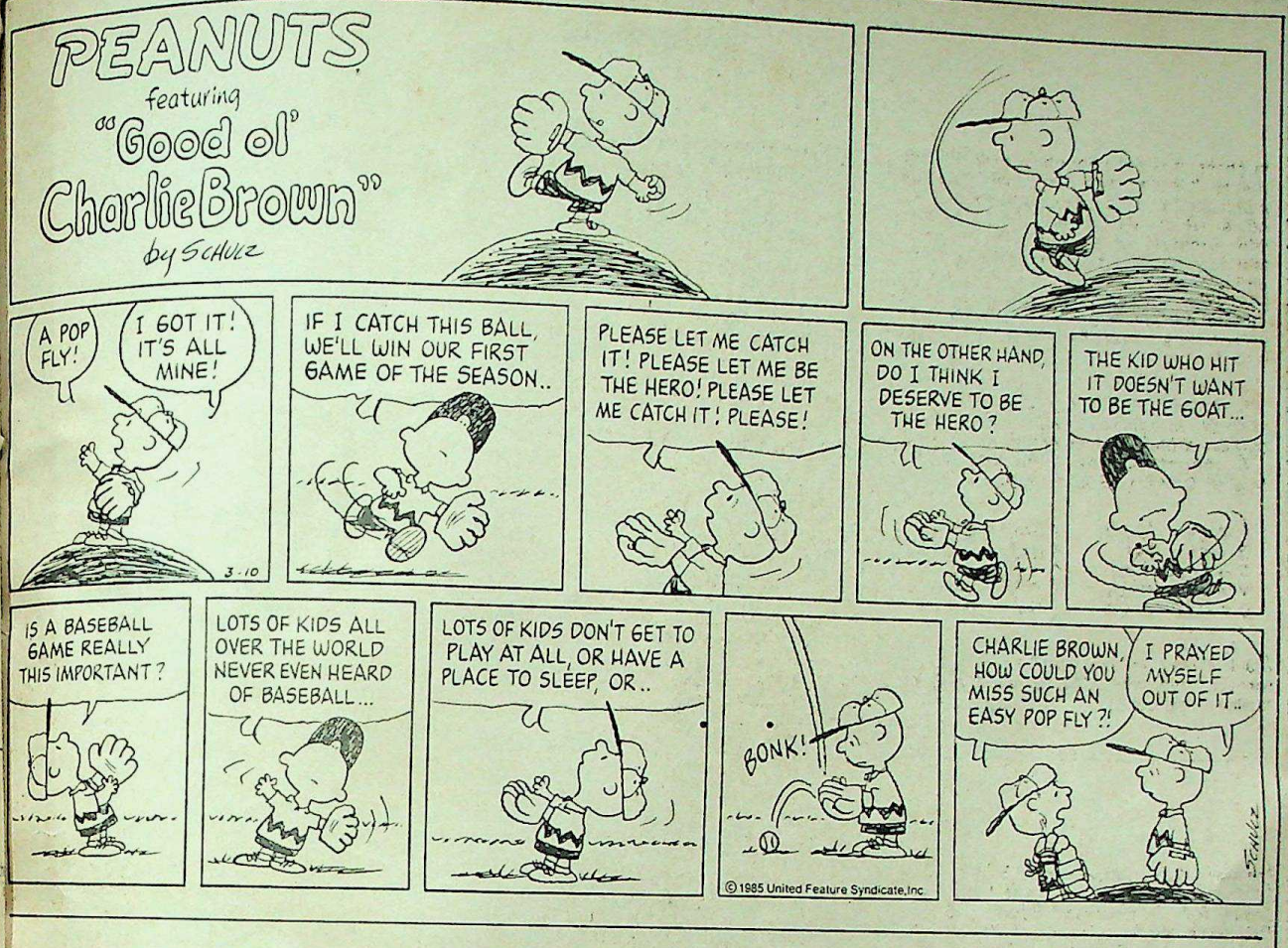

VARIETY/SCIENCE

The Social Barrier

A treatment developed five years ago in India promises the eventual elimination of leprosy but doctors say that the stigma attached to the disease inhibits people from seeking treatment. Of the world's 11 million lepers, four million are in India. The so-called multi-drug treatment (MDT) is "very effective" said Dr R.H. Thangaraj, head of International Leprosy Association. MDT consisting of three drugs can "shorten the duration of the disease and kill the bacilli" that cause leprosy in two weeks to three months, he said.

Identifying the Hurdles

A radar system is under development which should reduce the number of accidents in which helicopters—military ones in particular—are involved when they collide with hardly visible obstacles such as power cables. The innovation by a team of researchers at Redhill, Surrey, England exploits an old technique called frequency modulated continuous wave (FMCW) by using the latest microprocessor and computer technology. Instead of transmitting short pulses as is the case in conventional radars, the FMCW sends a continuous signal to the obstacles being detected. The signal is fired at the target and is reflected back at a slightly different frequency. The height of the obstacles is colour coded so that red will locate the top of the cable tower, blue a mid-point height and green the lowest elevation.

The Racist Puff

Cigarette smoking inflicts disproportionately high damage on black Americans, according to a study whose authors say research in this area is inadequate and who call for an increase in anti-smoking programmes directed towards blacks. Dr Richard Cooper and Dr Brian E. Simmons, cardiologists at Cook County Hospital in Chicago said in a special issue of *The New York State Journal of Medicine* that blacks had the highest rates of coronary heart diseases and lung cancer, the main smoking-related diseases in the US. The death rate from cancer among black men is 40 per cent higher than that for white men, the report said. However, smoking could not be the sole reason for the high death rate.

Changes in the Climate

Scientists have been collecting data to study the factors that influence climactic changes over the years. Researchers at the Climactic Research Unit of University of East Anglia, at Norwich have already assessed the impact of climatic changes on men. Prof. Hubert Lamb of the Research Unit has focussed some of his work on the influence of man's discharging carbon-dioxide into the atmosphere. Data collected by Dr Tom Wigley shows that a commonly accepted amount of 290 parts of carbon-dioxide per million should in fact be 270 parts per million. This "greenhouse effect" is believed to be one of the causes for the erratic changes in climatic conditions.

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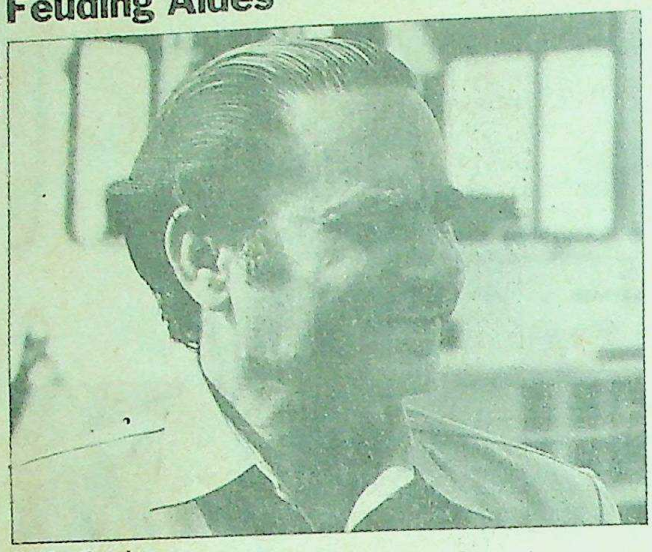
Feuding Aides



Mediaphoto

M. L. Fotedar

Infighting among prime ministerial aides is not unique to the Rajiv Gandhi regime. If we take stock of the last decade alone, at first there were stories about the differences between N. K. Seshan, the aide whom Mrs Indira Gandhi inherited from Jawaharlal Nehru's staff, and R. K. Dhawan, who began his career with her as a stenotypist and later rose to hold the rank of a joint secretary (Seshan lost out to Dhawan because he refused to quit the PM's office when the Janata Party won and ultimately he could not last in the new regime). After 1980, Dhawan's supremacy was challenged at first by J. N. Mishra (who had to quit government service and join Menaka Gandhi's Sanjay Manch) and later by V. S. Tripathi (who still is in the PM's office, but due to serious illness has been undergoing treatment abroad for the past few months). Makhan Lal Fotedar also took on Dhawan and managed to last out in the new regime while Dhawan had to quit. Now Fotedar is having differences with Arun Singh, the parliamentary secretary, who is the super-boss of the Rajiv Gandhi outfit. While the popular stories about infighting in the highest echelons centre around differences between Arun Singh and Arun Nehru, the minister of state for power, the reality is that the real feud is the one between Arun Singh and Fotedar. Things have come to such a state that attempts have been made by a particular camp to plant stories against the other in the press. Will Fotedar be able to endure Arun Singh's wrath? With Rajiv Gandhi having met Farooq Abdullah, Fotedar's confrontationist policy in Kashmir seems to be under strain. Apparently the new order is replacing the old. And the only relic from Mrs Gandhi's times, in the new setup, is finding things difficult.

Calling BBC

Whether it is Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's own decision or his current public relations planner, Mani Shankar Aiyer's, the British Broadcasting Corporation—the BBC as it is generally identified—is out to reap a rich harvest. BBC has never been a favourite with the Indian rulers and its correspondent Mark Tully was thrown out of the country during the Emergency. Although the correspondent was readmitted after the Emergency was lifted, the people who mattered in the government eyed the BBC suspiciously, not without reasons always. Barely has the storm over the protagonist of a separate Sikh state, Jagjit Singh Chauhan's highly provocative statement on a BBC domestic service died down, the BBC has been pleasantly surprised by the knowledge that it can have not just one but two interviews with the Prime Minister during his projected tour of the United Kingdom this October.

Two in hand is obviously worth more than one. But sometimes plenty can cause problems as it must be to the BBC which has to schedule both the interviews in such a manner without appearing to be repetitive (translation: boring). Success in his recent media encounters has surely given confidence to the Prime Minister (or, is it Mr Aiyer?) to take two at a time. The BBC is not a four-letter word, after all. Certainly not till Tully's book on Punjab is out.

A 'Hand' for 'Charkha'

In the Congress centenary year, it would be unfair to ignore the other "Congress": the party led by Sharad Pawar. While the fate of Pawar's merger moves with the Congress(I) hangs on a string, the party has gone ahead with the centenary celebrations. To begin with, in Kerala, it has started distributing *charkhas* to freedom fighters. (The party's election symbol too is *charkha*). One Congress(S) leader mocked a Congress(I) MP the other day in the central hall of Parliament: "We are at least distributing *charkhas*, what are you doing?" Pat came the reply, "providing a 'hand' to run the *charkha*."

Unaccounted Accounts

Can an Indian Police Service (IPS) officer deposit Rs 17,83,380 in a bank in his own name and in the names of his family members over a period of just three years? The vigilance sleuths of Himachal Pradesh have just discovered that an IPS officer who has been on deputation in the state government's undertakings has acquired wealth disproportionate to his income and deposited the money in the Chandigarh branch of the Corporation Bank. The income tax authorities have been in the dark about these deposits. It was a chance discovery. The offices of a firm which had been supplying material to a Himachal undertaking were being raided in connection with an enquiry. The sleuths suddenly found a bank deposit slip which showed that Rs 30,000 had been deposited in the name of the officer who headed the undertaking which was under vigilance scrutiny. A trip to the bank opened the sleuths' eyes. In separate accounts, the officer's family had deposited Rs 2,21,557, Rs 5,65,382, Rs 3,79, 393, Rs 4,65,520, Rs 56,213 and Rs 95,313 over the last few years. The officer, who was a blue-eyed boy of former chief minister Ram Lall, has been under a cloud since Veer Bhadra Singh became the chief minister. The vigilance report is now lying on the chief minister's desk. If action is taken, then for the first time an officer of the rank of deputy inspector general may be charged with graft.

TAILPIECE: The PM has his own way of striking balance: while Arun Singh rushed to see Longowal in the hospital, it was Arun Nehru who was sent to the funeral.

D.E. Nizamuddi

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Nizamuddi

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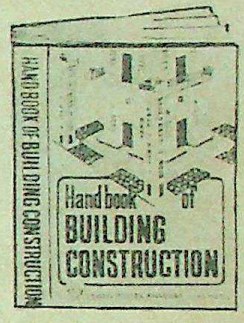

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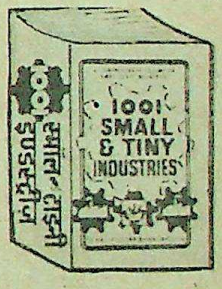

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चांदनी चौक, दिल्ली-११०००६
उत्तरी भारत में ऊनी तथा टैरीन वस्त्र का प्रमुख भण्डार

नाक आपरेशन नही
बहती नाक, पुराना नज़ला जुकाम, एक ही बार में दज़नों छीकें इक्कठी आना, नाक की हड्डी बढ़ना, या उसमें मस्से पैदा होना सांस लेने में कठनाई होना, सदा ही नाक का बंद रहना गला खराब रहना, सर दर्द सर में चक्कर आना 25 साल से अजमूदा, बिना अप्रेशन ईलाज खाने तथा लगाने वाले कोर्स के लिये लिखें
डाः प्रकाश क्लिनिक
P 7 गांधी बाजार, अमृतसर-2

आपसे कहना है...

अभी ऐसी बहुत सामग्री हमारे पास बच गई है, जो इच्छा होने के बावजूद स्थानाभाव के कारण हम प्रस्तुत नहीं कर सके। किन्तु उस सामग्री को हम आगामी अंकों में अवश्य प्रस्तुत करेंगे—यह पाठकों से हमारा वायदा है। हम सहयोगी लेखक बन्धुओं के दाक्षिण्य के प्रति हार्दिक आभारी हैं

●

इस अंक में यत्र-तत्र कुछ गीत प्रस्तुत किये गए हैं। इन गीतों को सन् १९३० ई० के आसपास प्रकाशित राष्ट्रीय-गीतों की उन विभिन्न पुस्तकों से हमने उद्धृत किया है जिन्हें ब्रिटिश सरकार ने प्रतिबंध लगाकर जब्त कर लिया था। इन गीतों के रचयिता कौन कविबन्धु थे, यह पता नहीं लग सका क्योंकि पुस्तकों पर प्रकाशक का नाम तो मुद्रित था, किन्तु रचयिता का नाम नहीं था। हम राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार, दिल्ली के पुस्तकाध्यक्ष के आभारी हैं, जिन्होंने हमें उक्त पुस्तकों से गीतों का चयन करने की सुविधा प्रदान की।—सम्पादक

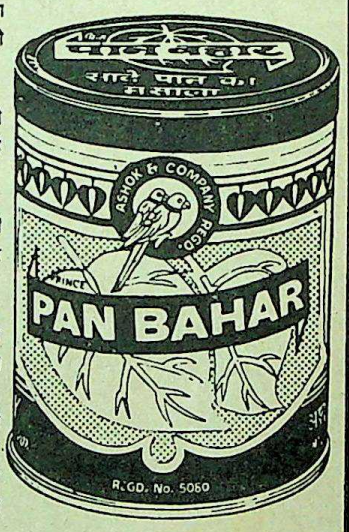
आ गया
फिर वही स्वाद व
खुशबु लेकर
प्रिन्स
पान बहार पान मसाला
जिसे देश और विदेश के लाखों लोग खाते हैं, सिर्फ इसकी कुछ विशेषताओं के कारण

• इसमें नेपाल के मशहूर कत्थे व देहरादूनी चूने का एक ऐसा अनोखा सम्मिश्रण है जिसके कारण आपका मुह नही कटता और न ही गले को पकड़ता है।

• दक्षिण भारत की मशहूर छोटी इलायची को अच्छी प्रकार छीलकर व साफ करके प्रयोग किया जाता है जिससे कि आपकी भूख व पाचन शक्ति बढ़ती है।

• इसमें मिला मैसूर की चन्दन की लकड़ी से निकला हुआ असली चन्दन आपके दिल और दिमाग को ठंडक देता है और मजबूत बनाता है।

• इसमें मिली गुलाब और केवडे के फूलों से निकाली गई खुशबु के क्या कहने जो आपकी मुंख की दुर्गन्धि को दूर करके आपको सारा दिन महकायें रखती है। इसके अलावा इसमें सुपारी गोला व 14 प्रकार की अन्य जड़ी बूटियों को प्रयोगशाला द्वारा अच्छी प्रकार जांच करा कर ही प्रयोग किया जाता है, जो आपके शरीर में निरन्तर चुस्ती व स्फूर्ति बनाये रखती है।



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क्रान्ति कथा अंक
दीपावली–१९८१

आ ! अभिव्यक्त हो !!

हे प्रभुवर ! तेरी इच्छा पूर्ण हो, तेरा कार्य पूरा हो । हमारी भक्ति को दृढ़ बना, हमारे समर्पण को पूर्णता प्रदान कर, हमारा पथ आलोकित कर । हम अपने अंदर तुझे सर्वोच्च अधिपति के रूप में स्थापित कर रहे हैं जिससे कि तू संपूर्ण पृथ्वी का अधिपति बन जाए ।

हमारे शब्द अभी भी अज्ञानमय हैं, उन्हें ज्ञानोज्ज्वल बना ।
हमारी अभीप्सा अभी तक दोषपूर्ण है, उसे शुद्ध कर ।

हे नाथ ! यह पृथ्वी कराह रही है और पीड़ा भोग रही है, अस्तव्यस्तता ने इस जगत को अपना घर बना लिया है ।

यह अन्धकार इतना अधिक है कि तू ही इसे दूर कर सकता है । अतः आ, हम सबमें इस प्रकार अभिव्यक्त हो, जिससे कि तेरा कार्य सम्पन्न हो ।

—श्री माँ

२५ अगस्त, १९१४

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सज्जाकार
सूरज नारायण लाल

मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक हेमनदास मोटवानी द्वारा भारत प्रकाशन (दिल्ली) लिमिटेड, २६ रानी झांसी मार्ग नई दिल्ली-५५ के लिए प्रकाशित तथा इंडियन प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स; ४-ई, रानी झांसी मार्ग, दिल्ली-५५ में मुद्रित । दूरभाष-व्यवस्था-५२९५६३ सम्पादकीय-५२४२४१

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अपनी बात

प्रिय पाठक बन्धुओं,
सप्रेम नमस्कार।

देश की स्वतंत्रता और सम्मान के लिए जिन लोगों ने स्वयं को उत्सर्ग कर दिया उनकी शृंखला लम्बी है। किसी एक अंक में उसका समाहित हो पाना शक्य नहीं—तथापि इस अंक के सीमितप्रायः पृष्ठों में कुछ ज्ञात, कुछ अज्ञात शहीदों का पुण्यस्मरण संजोने का एक प्रयास प्रस्तुत है। इनमें कई ऐसे महाप्राण हैं जिनके बलिदान की अर्द्धशताब्दी समारोह देश ने मनाये हैं—इसलिए भी यह अंक निकालना ही था और इसलिए भी कि देश के सामने आज नये सिरे से फिर से ऐसी चुनौतियाँ सिर उठाकर खड़ी हैं जिन्हें नये रक्त को—युवा पीढ़ी को—स्वीकारना ही होगा। त्याग-बलिदान की परम्परा का निर्वाह किये बिना उन चुनौतियों का उत्तर नहीं दियां जा सकता।

जो लोग देश के लिए संघर्ष करते हैं, बलिदान होते हैं, वे जाति किंवा देशकाल की सीमाओं में बंटे नहीं होते। उनकी एक ही बिरादरी होती है—उनकी अंतस्थ उदात्त भावनाएं भी समत्व रखती हैं।

अपना नहीं, अपने देश के सम्मान की कामना। क्रांति-वीर की केवल इतनी सी इच्छा होती है। इसी भावना को काकोरी केस के अमर हुतात्मा पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल ने इस तरह व्यक्त किया था—

"बाकी न मैं रहूं, न मेरी आरजू रहे
जब तक कि तन में जान, रगों में लहू रहे
तेरी ही फिक्र या कि तेरी जुस्तजू रहे।"

—मैं नहीं—सिर्फ तू। तेरी ही आरजू, तेरी ही फिक्र और तेरी ही जुस्तजू!!

आज की सत्ता की राजनीति, कुर्सी की छीना झपटी और कोटा-परमिट, लायसेंस के युग में अतीत के ये नंदादीप समाज को क्या वह आलोक नहीं देते जिसकी इस अंध तमिस्रा में अपरिहार्य आवश्यकता है, हर क्षेत्र में जिस संजीवनी की जरूरत है?

यह 'क्रांतिकथा अंक' देश के युवकों को वह समझ और वह उद्दाम विचारोत्तेजना किंचित भी स्पर्श करा सका तो इसका प्रकाशन सार्थक हो रहेगा। अपेक्षा है आज कवि नजरुल इस्लाम की उस भावना की—

आमि विद्रोही चिर अशांत
आमि धूर्जटि, आमि जमदग्नि
आमि परशुरामेर कठोर कुठार....

दीपावली की हार्दिक शुभकामनाओं और इस आशा और विश्वास के साथ कि दीपावली के पर्व पर कुछ दीये क्रांति-कारियों, शहीद सपूतों के नाम पर जलाकर हम अपना अन्तस् अवश्य आलोकित करेंगे।

आप सबकी सेवा में
सम्पादक

इस अंक में

- आवरण-लेख
  - क्रांति की धारा में राष्ट्रवादी लहरें
- भेंटवार्ताएं
  - दुर्गा भाभी
  - स. ही. वात्स्यायन 'अज्ञेय'
  - पं० परमानन्द
- कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम
  - तुम कहां हो!
  - हिमांशु सेन और माखन घोषाल
  - विप्लवी देबू
  - कोई न जाने
  - एक थे फुटु दा
  - तुम लड़ाई जारी रखना
  - शालिग्राम शुक्ल
  - गेंदालाल दीक्षित
  - प्रीतिलता का बलिदान
  - अर्धेन्दु दस्तीदार
  - विनय, बादल, दिनेश
- संस्मरण
  - भगतसिंह ने कहा था
  - वृद्धा की कैद में किशोर क्रांतिकारी
  - चढ़ना नाग का आजाद के पांवों पर
  - ऐसे थे बिस्मिल
  - वह बन्दूकें बोने वाला लड़का....
  - शहादत की होड़ में तीन महामृत्युंजय
  - जब सांडर्स की गोलियों से जड़ दिया
  - केवल बहरों को सुनाने के लिये
  - उन्हें डाकू समझा गया
  - शाहों का शहंशाह
  - आजादी की देवी को पहला रक्त अर्घ्य
  - जब ८५ सिपाहियों का कोर्ट मार्शल हुआ
  - फांसी की कोठरी में...
  - विदेश में प्रथम शहीद
  - और अश्फाक ने जवाब दिया
  - वह बीहड़ क्रांतिकारी
  - कल्पना दत्त
- क्रांति-दस्तावेज
  - कायर मत बनो सुखदेव
  - अब दीप तुम्हारे हाथों में
  - अत्याचारी अंग्रेजो सुनो
  - होली के दिन खून के छींटे
  - "मैं अपनी गिरफ्तारी शुभ समझता हूं"
  - इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद सिर्फ नारा नहीं है
  - मैं अपना बचाव नहीं चाहता
  - अदालत में बयान
  - साथियो, क्या तुम तैयार हो?
  - बम का दर्शन

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization

क्रान्ति की धारा में राष्ट्रवादी लहरें

'क्रांति' तथा 'विप्लव' शब्द को लेकर यह सोचना कि भारतीय क्रान्ति का सुदीर्घकाल भौतिकवादी वामपंथ से ही प्रेरित-प्रभावित और अनुप्राणित था, युक्तियुक्त नहीं।

वचनेश त्रिपाठी

वस्तुतः "संन्यासी-विद्रोह" (१७६१), अनन्तर "१८५७ की क्रांति" और फिर सन् १८७२ में "कूका-विद्रोह" से लेकर "बंग-भंग आंदोलन" से सम्बद्ध बंगाल का विप्लव "अलीपुर बम केस" आदि, "गदर पार्टी", "दिल्ली षड्यंत्र", "मैनपुरी केस" एवं "काकोरी केस" (सन् १९२५) तक का १६४ वर्षों का जो कालखण्ड है और उसमें ये सब जो विप्लवी प्रयास हुए हैं, वे धर्मोन्मुखी क्रांति के ही अंतर्गत आते हैं। जहां तक क्रांतिकारी इतिहास के लेखन की बात है, "काकोरी केस" के श्री मन्मथनाथ गुप्त का नाम सर्वविदित है। वह भी मानते हैं कि "बंग-भंग आंदोलन मुख्यतः एक हिन्दू आंदोलन ही रहा, क्योंकि हिन्दू भद्रलोक श्रेणी के लोग ही अंग्रेजी शिक्षित थे।.... धार्मिक भावों से अधिक लाभ उठाया गया। पूर्वीय देशों के उत्थान का प्रारम्भिक इतिहास सब इसी प्रकार धार्मिक रंग में रंगा हुआ है। चाफेकर ने "हिन्दू धर्म-बाधा-निवारिणी समिति" बनाई थी। सावरकर बंधु भी धार्मिक रहे। बंगाली क्रांतिकारियों ने भी धर्म के सहारे लोगों की भावनाओं को उभारा था। इस वाक्य से शायद यह गलतफहमी हो कि वे धर्म को नहीं मानते थे, उससे केवल उभारने का काम लेते थे। इसलिए यह कह देना जरूरी हैं कि वे स्वयं धर्म के कट्टर मानने वाले थे।" (भारतीय क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन का इतिहास, पृष्ठ ४३-४४)। यहां यह उल्लेखनीय है कि स्वयं मन्मथनाथजी मार्क्सवादी विचारों के हैं तथा ईश्वर या धर्म कुछ भी नहीं मानते।

राष्ट्रीयता का हिन्दू रूप

अपने उक्त ग्रन्थ के पृष्ठ ७-८ पर वे लिखते हैं: "केशवचन्द्र सेन (सन् १८६०), स्वामी दयानन्द, रामकृष्ण परमहंस तथा उनके शिष्य विवेकानन्द ने साम्राज्यवाद के द्वारा कुचले हुए भारतीय आत्म-सम्मान को पुनः स्थापित करने में बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया।.... किसी ने कहा, तुम्हारा धर्म और संस्कृति औरों के बराबर है। किसी ने कहा, तुम्हारा धर्म और संस्कृति सबसे ऊंची है।.. हम धर्म को मानें या न मानें, यह मानना पड़ेगा कि इन सुधारकों ने भारतीयों में एक नई जान फूंक दी। पद-दलित तथा पराधीन भारतवासियों ने इनके मुंह से धर्म के रूप में ही सही, नवीन युग की नई वाणी सुनी। यह सब तो हुआ, पर साथ ही ये लोग हिन्दू थे, इनकी भाषा हिन्दी थी, इनके व्याख्यानों में ऐसे दृष्टांत तथा ऐसे युगों का उल्लेख रहता था जिसे हिंदू ही समझ सकते थे। नतीजा यह हुआ कि इनकी वाणियों से पुष्ट होकर जो राष्ट्रीयता बनी, उसका रूप बहुत कुछ हिन्दू हो गया।" वह आगे लिखते हैं, →

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"....जब हिंदू अपनी नवजागृत चेतना में जोर पहुंचाने के लिये राजपूतों के इतिहास, सिखों के इतिहास तथा शिवाजी आदि से अनुप्रेरणा लेते थे, तो उसमें भी मुसलमानों का कोई स्थान नहीं हो सकता था।...हिन्दू राष्ट्रीयता तथा मुसलमानों की मनोवृत्ति ने विभिन्नमुखी दिशाएं लीं। यह कहना मूर्खता होगी कि हिन्दुओं की राष्ट्रीयता जिस तरह उत्पन्न हुई और बढ़ी, यह दूसरे तरीके से ही हो सकती थी। यह सब कल्पना में ठीक है, पर जिस तरह शक्तियों ने अपना विकास किया उसमें इस प्रकार के अटकलपच्चू की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं।....इसमें संदेह नहीं कि प्रारम्भिक युग में राष्ट्रीयता ने धर्म की आड़ में, बल्कि धर्म से अनुप्रेरणा लेकर उन्नति की। यह अनिवार्य था।...."

क्रांतिवीर

वीरसिंह

आपका जन्म वहीवाल (जिला होशियारपुर), में हुआ था आपके पिता का नाम सरदार बूटासिंह था। आप सन् १९०६ में कनाडा चले गये थे। अस्तु, एक तो पराधीन देश, फिर आंदोलन की तेजी, आप भी इस लहर से खाली न रहे। विचार-प्रवाह तो चल ही चुका था। इन्हीं दिनों कामा-गाटा-मारू की घटना, डेपूटेशन की असफलता तथा युद्ध के छिड़ जाने के कारण चारों ओर से गदर की ही आवाज सुनाई देने लगी। गाढ़ी कमाई के रुपये को गदर के काम में देकर लोगों ने भारत की ओर आना आरम्भ कर दिया। इस समय शायद ही कोई ऐसा बचा हो जिस ने इस कार्य में भाग न लिया हो। प्रायः सभी जगह यही सुनने में आता था कि चलो, देश चलकर आजादी के लिए युद्ध करें। अस्तु-इन्हीं सब बातों से प्रभावित होकर आप भी भारत वापस आए और इधर-उधर घूमकर गदर का प्रचार शुरू कर दिया।

६ जून, सन् १९१५ का दिन था। आप चिट्टी गांव में एक कुएं पर स्नान कर रहे थे कि पुलिस ने आ घेरा। गिरफ्तार कर आप लाहौर लाए गए और दूसरे केस में १०० आदमियों के साथ आप पर भी अभियोग चलाया गया। आप पर मेगजीन पर हमला करने तथा डाके डालने का अपराध लगाकर मौत की सजा दी गई।

उक्त १०० अभियुक्तों में से आपके अतिरिक्त पांच को फांसी और ४२ को आजन्म काले पानी का दंड दिया गया था, साथ ही उनकी सारी सम्पत्ति भी जब्त कर ली गयी।

—यादव

(शहीद भगतसिंह द्वारा छद्म नाम से लिखा गया लेख).

यहां यह कह देना जरूरी होगा कि स्वयं मन्मथनाथ जी हिन्दू राष्ट्रीयता के हामी नहीं रहे हैं किन्तु वे पाकिस्तान बनने के भी पक्ष में नहीं रहे। जबकि औसत मार्क्सवादी की दृष्टि में पाकिस्तान बनना कोई आपत्तिजनक बात नहीं, वे उसे "आत्म-निर्णय के अधिकार" के अन्तर्गत मानते हैं। यहां तक कि जिन दिनों शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान अपने हजारों साथियों के साथ पूर्वी बंगाल में याह्या खां और टिक्का खां के दमन से जूझ रहे थे—मन्मथनाथ जी ने मुझे एक लेख भेजा जिसका उन्होंने शीर्षक लिखा था, "याह्या खां को फांसी पर लटकाया जाये।" यह लेख एक मार्क्सवादी साहित्यकार श्री मुद्राराक्षस को बहुत खल गया। वे उन दिनों दिल्ली में आकाशवाणी से सम्बद्ध थे। मुद्राराक्षस जी ने तत्काल दिल्ली से "मुक्तधारा" में मन्मथनाथजी के लेख के विरोध में लेख लिखा कि "मुजीब ही क्यों, याह्या क्यों नहीं?" यही नहीं, उन्होंने बड़ा गुस्सा व्यक्त किया कि "ऐसे (मन्मथनाथजी के उक्त शीर्षक के जैसे) लेख हिंदुस्तान में छपते हैं।"

यहां मात्र मुझे यह कहना है कि साम्यवादी दृष्टिकोण राष्ट्रीय हिताहित को भी किस तरह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय तराजू पर चढ़ाकर अपने पक्ष में डंडी मारने की कुचेष्टा करता है। मन्मथनाथ जी ने आजादी की लड़ाई में १५ साल की लम्बी सजा काटी है। "बंग भंग" के वे पहले भी विरोधी रहे और भारत विभाजन के भी वे उतने ही खिलाफ रहे। पूर्वी बंगाल के ढाका, चटगांव, कुमिल्ला, मेमन सिंह, मिदनापुर, रंगपुर क्रांति-केन्द्र रहे हैं। क्रांतिकारियों ने वहां की भूमि को, घाटियों को अपने तरुण रक्त से सींचा है। वह सब प्रदेश पाकिस्तान में चला जाय, यह कोई विप्लवी कैसे सहन कर लेता? इसीलिए क्रांतिकारी नेता त्रैलोक्यनाथ चक्रवर्ती पाकिस्तान बन जाने पर ढाका नहीं छोड़ा। वह अनेक वर्ष, यहां तक कि बांग्लादेश बनने तक वहां की जेलों में ही पड़े सड़ते रहे। "काकोरी केस" के क्रांतिकारी गोविन्द चरण कॅर महाशय पाकिस्तान बनने के बावजूद वहीं चले गये थे कि "यह हमारा देश है, यहीं रहेंगे।" लेकिन बाद में वहां जब भीषण दंगे हुए तब अल्पसंख्यकों को बीन-बीन कर मारा जाने लगा तो गोविन्द चरण कॅर भी उस लपेट में आ गये, मारकाट में देह पर अनेक जख्म खाकर वे ढाका अस्पताल में भर्ती रहे। उनकी जान तभी बची जब उन्होंने दंगाइयों को विश्वास दिलाया कि "मैं भी मुसलमान हूं"। कहते हैं, दंगाइयों ने जब उनके इस कथन का परीक्षण किया तो प्रकृति की अनुकम्पा किंवा करतब से वे अपने इस दैहिक परीक्षण में भी मुसलमान साबित हो गये। इस तरह जान बची भी तो एक दिन ढाका अस्पताल में उनके मुहल्ले की एक मुस्लिम लड़की जो उस अस्पताल में नर्स थी, उन्हें पहचानकर पुकार उठी—"चाचा!" कॅर महाशय ने घबराकर उसे मना किया कि "तुम किसी को यह न बता देना कि मै मुसलमान नहीं हूं वरना मार दिया जाऊंगा।" वह नर्स चली गयी। इलाज होता रहा और फिर वहां के एक मुस्लिम सज्जन के ही सहयोग से नेहरू जी ने दा को भारत बुलवा लिया।

ऐसे क्रांतिकारी मन्मथनाथ जी की तरह समाजवादी शिविर में हो भी जायें तो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कम्युनिज्म की वेदी पर वे राष्ट्रीय हित की कभी बलि चढ़ाना गवारा नहीं करेंगे। यह नहीं कह सकते कभी कि "मुजीब ही क्यों, याह्या खां क्यों नहीं?" आज के कम्युनिस्ट विचारक मुजीब और याह्या खां में कोई फर्क नहीं समझते। वे भारतीय क्रांति-इतिहास को समग्रतः वामपंथी किंवा मार्क्सवादी रंग में रंगा दिखाना चाहें तो किमाश्चर्यम्!

अध्यात्म और क्रांति

एक अन्य उदाहरण दूंगा स्वनाम-धन्य प्रसिद्ध विप्लवी शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल का। वे वरिष्ठ तथा समर्पित क्रांतिकारी भगतसिंह को उनकी शादी की चर्चा के समय उन्होंने ही घर से देने को कहा था तथा उन्हें चिट्ठी देकर गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी के पास कानपुर भेज दिया था। और यही भगतसिंह थे जिन्होंने प्रयास और चिन्तन से पार्टी में "सोशलिस्ट" शब्द पहली बार संयुक्त हुआ। कारण, भगतसिंह पक्के समाजवादी थे, ईश्वर में उनका विश्वास या आस्था कभी देखी नहीं गई। परन्तु इनके जो थे-शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल, वे अध्यात्मवादी क्रांतिकारी थे। वे निस्टों के आर्थिक पक्ष को स्वीकार करके भी कम्युनिस्ट क्यों बन सके, इस संदर्भ में यहां मैं स्वयं उन्हीं का कथन उद्धृत करता

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGang

"मेरा यह पूर्ण विश्वास है कि पाश्चात्य सभ्यता का श्रेष्ठ दान है-कम्युनिज्म का महान आदर्श । इस आदर्श के अनुसार समाज के कल्याण के सामने व्यक्तिगत लाभ या क्षति की कोई परवाह न करना परम कर्त्तव्य समझा गया है । कम्युनिज्म ऐसे सिद्धांत की प्रतिष्ठा करना चाहता है, जिसमें व्यक्तिगत लाभ या मुनाफे के ख्याल को हटाकर मानव सेवा की भावना को ही चरम स्थान दिया जा सके ।.....इस सिद्धांत के साथ भारतीय प्राचीन आदर्श का कोई विरोध नहीं दिखाई पड़ता । लेकिन कम्युनिज्म के सिद्धांत को ग्रहण करते समय मेरे कितने ही साथियों ने भारत के अध्यात्मवाद को तिलांजलि दे दी है । मैं ऐसा नहीं कर पाया । इसलिये जेल में रहते ही मेरे साथियों से मेरा प्रचंड विरोध पैदा हो गया ।...."

".....कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में रहते हुए यह सम्भव नहीं है कि रूस के थर्ड इन्टरनेशनल की एक्जीक्यूटिव का कोई भी विरोध कर सके । ऐसी अवस्था में कोई भी विचारशील पुरुष कैसे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में योगदान कर सकता है ?....."

जिस व्यक्तित्व की मर्यादा के लिए मैं सर्वस्व त्याग कर सकता कम्युनिस्ट समाज में उस व्यक्तित्व के विकास का कोई अवसर नहीं है, बल्कि उल्टा कम्युनिस्ट समाज में वैसे व्यक्तियों का जीवित रहना ही कठिन है । स्वामी विवेकानन्द, स्वामी रामतीर्थ, श्री रामकृष्ण परमहंस या श्री अरविन्द जैसे महान व्यक्तियों के लिए कम्युनिस्ट समाज में स्थान कहां है ? जिस समाज व्यवस्था में परमहंस रामकृष्ण जैसे योगी ऋषियों का उद्भव होना सम्भव नहीं है वैसी समाज व्यवस्था संसार के कल्याण के लिए नहीं हो सकती ।....."

"मेरा यह दृढ़ विश्वास है कि संसार की भलाई के लिए भारतीय अध्यात्मवाद परम कल्याणप्रद है । इस बात का मुझे गौरव है कि हमारे समाज में मनुष्यों को मर्यादा देते समय हम उसे देवता के स्थान पर बैठाते हैं । उसे हम ईश्वर का अवतार कहने में भी नहीं हिचकते, किन व्यक्तिगत विचार-स्वातंत्र्य का महत्व हम इतना अधिक समझते हैं कि जिसे हम आज ईश्वर का अवतार कहने में नहीं हिचकते, कल उसे भ्रान्त कहने की भी हिम्मत रखते हैं । हमें इस बात का भी अभिमान है कि हमारे ही देश में, हमारेही समाज में, आचरण की भी इतनी आजादी है कि यदि पिता बौद्ध है तो पुत्र वेदाचारी हो सकता है, यदि पति शाक्त है तो पत्नी वैष्णवी हो सकती है ।"

".....जो लोग इस सिद्धांत के पक्षपाती हैं, उनका परम कर्त्तव्य है कि राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में संगठित शक्ति के द्वारा, अपने राजनैतिक-सामाजिक एवं आध्यात्मिक आदर्श को सक्रिय एवं फलीभूत करें । इनको यह समझना चाहिये कि राष्ट्र-शक्ति को दूसरी संस्थाओं के हाथ में जाने न देकर उसे अपनी कार्यकुशलता के लिये एवं सुनियंत्रित और संगठित शक्ति के द्वारा अपने हाथों में रखना चाहिये । इस दृष्टि से अगर संगठन नहीं किया जायेगा तो वह समय आयेगा जब पछताने का अवसर भी नहीं मिलेगा ।"

विचार-विनिमय, पृष्ठ–४, ७, ८, ९, १०, व ११, सन् १९३८.

अग्निमय कर्म-पथ

इसी तरह बंदी जीवन के पृष्ठ ३४७ पर वे लिखते हैं :—

"आज भी मेरा हृदय हर्ष, अभिमान और गुमान से भर आता कि हमारे देश में अभी ऐसे साधु-संत हैं जिन्हें मेरे जैसे विद्रोही के अग्निमय कर्मपथ से आन्तरिक प्रीति है । और हम अपनी सामाजिक संस्था की निगूढ़ बातों के प्रति ध्यान देने से आज भी पीछे नहीं हटे । कर्त्तव्य-कर्म चाहे कितना ही संकटपूर्ण और अग्नि मय क्यों न हो, हमारे समाज के शीर्ष स्थानीय संन्यासी आज भी उससे विचलित नहीं होते और मेरे ऐसे विद्रोहियों के कठोर कार्यों का वे हृदय से समर्थन करते थे ।" स्पष्ट है, वामपंथी विचारों और आचरण से इन उद्गारों का कोई मेल नहीं बैठाया जा सकता ।

शचीन्द्र सान्याल की यह पुस्तक (बन्दी जीवन) ब्रिटिश दासता के दिनों में दो खंडों में छपी थी तथा जब्त कर ली गई थी । अनेक वर्षों तक इस पुस्तक ने आजादी के दीवानों को प्रेरणा और कर्मण्यता का उत्साह प्रदान किया है । इसके लेखक शचीन्द्र दा को दो-दो बार जन्म कैद की सजा मिली । जेल में उन्हें यक्ष्मा हुई और वे उसी में गलते-छीजते रिहा होकर भी संसार त्याग गये । वे रासबिहारी बोस के परम विश्वस्त थे, उनके दाहिने हाथ थे । उन्होंने फौजों की छावनियों में विप्लव ज्वाला धधकाई थी । जमशेदपुर में मजदूरों में भी काम किया था । इसलिये उनके विचारों को जहां तक क्रांतिकारियों के वैचारिक जगत का प्रश्न है, अनदेखा नहीं किया जा सकता ।

बन्दी जीवन (प्रथम खंड) के प्रथम परिच्छेद में शचीन्द्र दा लिखते हैं कि "भारत की छाती पर जो यह महान आंदोलन हुआ और हो रहा है, यह भगवान की इच्छा से ही हुआ और हो रहा है । यही हम लोगों का विश्वास है ।"

क्रान्तिवीर

बसंती कुमार

आप बंगाल के नदिया जिले के रहने वाले थे और जिस समय श्री रासबिहारी जी देहरादून में थे । आप उनके पास हरिदास के नाम से नौकर बनकर रहते रहे । बाद में १९१२ में आप लाहौर की एक डिस्पेन्सरी में कम्पाउण्डर हो गए थे ।

उस समय भाई बाल मुकुन्द के साथ मिल कर आप पंजाब प्रांत में विप्लव दल का संगठन करते थे । कहा जाता है कि १९१२ में दिल्ली में बम फटा था तब आप लाहौर से गायब थे ।

अवध बिहारी की सहायता से लाहौर लारेंस गार्डन का बम भी आप ही का रखा हुआ बताया जाता है । बाद में आप दो और भी बम लाये थे, जो दीनानाथ के कहे अनुसार भाई बालमुकुन्द के पास रखे गये थे ।

दिसम्बर १९१३ में आप बंगाल चले गये और १९१४ में वहीं से गिरफ्तार कर लाहौर लाये गए । अदालत से पहले आपको आजन्म काले पानी की सजा मिली थी, किन्तु सर ओ-डायर को दिल्ली में बम फेंकने वाले का पता न लगने से बड़ा क्रोध आ रहा था और उसने आपको भी फांसी की सजा दी जाने की अपील की, इसे उसने स्वयं माना है । भला पुलिस की अपील और उस पर सिफारिश सर माइकेल ओडायर की, फिर कैसे न मानी जाती ? अस्तु, आपको भी बाद में फांसी की सजा सुना दी गई । आपके बारे में जज ने कहा था—"ही लुक्ड टु मी ए मैन आफ सम फोर्स आफ कैरेक्टर, विद नन आफ दि फेमिलियर मार्क्स आफ वीकनेस इन हिज फेस ।" "वह मुझे एक चरित्र की शक्ति से सम्पन्न व्यक्ति लगा जिसके चेहरे पर कमजोरी के कोई लक्षण नहीं थे ।" फांसी के समय आप की आयु केवल २३ वर्ष की थी ।

—विद्रोही

(शहीद भगतसिंह द्वारा छद्म नाम से लिखा गया लेख)

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"हमने जो आध्यात्मिक साधना ग्रहण की थी, एक शब्द में उसे आत्मसमर्पण योग कहा जा सकता है। भक्ति-योग अथवा प्रेम-साधना से इसका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। मैं भगवान से प्यार करता हूं, इतना प्यार करता हूं कि उसके सिवा अन्य किसी वस्तु को अपना नहीं कह सकता। मैं जो कुछ करता हूं वास्तव में वह मैं स्वयं नहीं करता, मैं तो केवल निमित्त मात्र हूं।"

क्रान्तिवीर

अवध बिहारी

बी० ए० पास करने के बाद आपने लाहौर सेंट्रल ट्रेनिंग कालेज से बी० टी० पास किया था। आप एक बुद्धिमान तथा चतुर युवक थे। जज ने भी फैसले में कहा था—

"अवध बिहारी इज ओनली ट्वेंटी फाइव यीएर्स आफ एज, बट ही इज ए हाइली एजुकेटिड एंड इन्टेलीजेण्ट मैन।"

—अवध बिहारी अभी मात्र २५ वर्ष की आयु के ही हैं किन्तु वह उच्च शिक्षित और प्रतिभावान व्यक्ति हैं।

राजा बाजार कलकत्ते में पता मिल जाने पर आप अमीर चन्द के मकान पर ही गिरफ्तार कर लिए गए। उस समय यू० पी० तथा पंजाब का नेतृत्व आपके हाथ में था। शचीन्द्र बाबू ने 'बन्दी जीवन' में आपकी मुक्त कंठ से प्रशंसा की है। आप प्रायः निम्नलिखित पद्य गाया करते थे—

एहसान नाखुदा के उठाए मेरी बला,
किश्ती खुदा पे छोड़ दूं, लंगर को तोड़ दूं

अदालत में आप पर कुल १३ अपराध लगाये गये। कहा गया कि लाहौर लारेंस गार्डन के बम की टोली इन्होंने बसन्त कुमार के साथ मिलकर लगायी थी और उसमें इनका पूरा हाथ था।

आपको फांसी की सजा दी गयी। जिस दिन फांसी होने को थी, उस दिन एक अंग्रेज ने आपसे पूछा, "आपकी आखिरी ख्वाहिश क्या है?" आपने उत्तर दिया—"यही कि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य नष्ट-भ्रष्ट हो जाए।" उसने कहा, "शांत हो जाइए। आज तो शांतिपूर्वक प्राण दीजिए, अब इन बातों से क्या फायदा?" इसका आपने उत्तर दिया—

"मैं तो चाहता हूं कि आग भड़के, चारों ओर आग भड़के। तुम भी जलो हम भी जलें, और हमारी गुलामी भी जले, और अन्त में भारत कुन्दन बनकर रह जाए।"

फांसी के समय आपने स्वयं कूदकर रस्सी गले में डाल ली और 'वन्देमातरम्' के साथ हंसते-हंसते विदा हो गए।

—विद्रोही

(यह लेख शहीद भगतसिंह द्वारा 'प्रताप' में छद्म नाम से लिखा गया था)

यह है बंगाल की अनुशीलन समिति तथा उससे सम्बद्ध होकर उत्तरप्रदेश, राजस्थान से लेकर पंजाब तक विप्लव-प्रयास में सक्रिय शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल एवं उनके अमृत (शशांक) हाजरा प्रभृति अनेक समर्पित साथी क्रान्तिकारियों का विचार-दर्शन।

जिस शशांक हाजरा का ऊपर जिक्र आया है वे बंगाल की प्रसिद्ध बरहा डकैती में शामिल थे। क्रांतिकारी दो बड़ी नावों में सवार हो एक धनी नवाब के यहां रातों रात बरहा पहुंचे थे। वापसी में नदी तट पर तथा धारा में पीछा कर रही सशस्त्र पु से संघर्ष करते हुए लौटे थे। यही शशांक हाजरा बाद में सं हो गये थे। सिद्ध है कि धर्म भावना उन्हें प्रेरणा और शक्ति थी। त्रैलोक्यनाथ चक्रवर्ती ने जीवन के तीस वर्ष जेलों में ही संसार में किसी विप्लवी के कारावास का शायद यह अन्यतम है। अलीपुर जेल में उन्होंने "गीता" के चार अध्यायों की व्या लिखकर संतोष पाया था और समझा था कि उनका वह सार्थक हुआ और यह उन्होंने पुण्य संचय के लिये नहीं कि वरन उनका आह्वान था कि देश के युवक संघर्ष के लिए तैया कर्मक्षेत्र से विविध बहाने बनाकर पलायन न करें। त्रैलोक्य म का कहना था—"विप्लवी मौन कार्यकर्त्ता थे। उनके जीवन में का निष्काम कर्मयोग और उसकी साधना चरितार्थ हुई थी। य ईप्सा उनमें नहीं थी। दल में भर्ती होते ही उन्हें आचरित होता था कि नाम तथा यश-प्राप्ति अथवा नेतापद की स्पृहा लिये त्याज्य है। न उनके सामने कोई प्रलोभन था, न स्वार्थ और फूलमालाएं। अवश्य ही इधर रूस की क्रांति सफल हो दुनिया में समाजवाद का आदर्श फैलने लगा। अनुशीलन सम क्रांतिकारियों से भी वह ओट में नहीं रहा। अतः सन् १९२० में अनेक विप्लवी रिहा हुए तो उन्होंने अपनी पहले की कार्य-पद्ध परिवर्तन किये और पुनः नये सिरे से देश में युवकों को स करने में लग गये।"

विप्लवी सर्जक हैं!

इसी कारण "बांगलाय विप्लवाद" के यशस्वी लेखक तथा की प्रसिद्ध "बरहा डकैती" एवं "ढाका षड्यन्त्र केस" के क्रांति नेता श्री नलिनी किशोर गुह कहते थे :—

"सच्चा विप्लवी ध्वंसकामी नहीं, असल में वह होता है धर्मी। उसका काम है नवीन रूप देना, रूपान्तरण। एक अविभाज्य परम-सत्य के बीच में जब अनैक्य भिन्नभेद और सत्य को विकृत-विच्छिन्न करता है, तब विप्ल होता है। उसके विरुद्ध एक अविभाज्य सत्य की प्रतिष्ठा लिए वस्तुतः विप्लवी ऐक्य में, सृजन में तथा नव-रूपान्तर में रखता है। मिथ्या, असत् के विरुद्ध विप्लवी वह ध्वंसकर्त्ता धारण करता हैं जिसका प्रयोजन सामयिक या क्षणिक—कुछ लिये ही भले हो, किन्तु दरअसल विप्लवी के हाथ में रहता है का कमण्डलु। नवपत्र पल्लव के उद्यम से ही जराजीर्ण झड़ते हैं, गिरते हैं। मृत अमृत होता है। मृत संजीवनी का ही सृष्टि के कमण्डलु में रहता है। अतः संख्या वृद्धि तथा लोक के कार्य में वह, चाहे जो विषम स्थिति हो, निराश, हताश होता।"

बटुकेश्वर दत्त सरदार भगतसिंह के साथ ही असेम्बली फेंकने के बाद गिरफ्तार हुए थे। वे भगतसिंह के साथी ही उनके अंतरंग मित्र भी थे। अन्तिम दिनों में दत्त बाबू ने व्यक्त की थी कि उनकी चिताभस्म भगतसिंह की बगल में ही की जाय। हुसैनीवाला में यही किया गया। विप्लवी विचा के संदर्भ में उनका भी कहना है—

"फांसी की रस्सी से झूलते हुए शहीद को तो लोगों ने परन्तु संसार के सारे बन्धनों का अतिक्रमण करने वाले, तथा वासना रहित वैरागी विप्लवी हृदय से लोग अपरिचित विप्लवी की मोह, वैराग्य-साधना, जिससे उसका चरित्र सर्वोच्च शिखर तक पहुंच सका; उनके आत्म-बलिदान की प्रतिक्रियाएं लोगों की दृष्टि से ओझल रह गईं।.....उनके का मूल्यांकन केवल राजनीतिक कसौटी पर करना पर्याप्त न

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization.

उनका असली कर्मयोगी स्वरूप लोगों की दृष्टि में नहीं ही आ सका। इसे कभी समझने की चेष्टा नहीं की गई कि ये कैसे सर्व त्यागी पुरुष के स्तर तक उठ सके। मानव-कल्याण बोध द्वारा प्रेरित होकर वे अपने विश्वास की वेदी पर निज जीवन तथा यौवन का स्वेच्छापूर्ण बलिदान इतनी सरलता से क्योंकर दे सके? देशप्रेम के मूल्यों से दीक्षित होकर पूर्ण संन्यासी की तरह घर छोड़ा। संन्यासी जीवन के कठोर संयम द्वारा उनका मन "प्रवृत्तियों" की शृंखला से मुक्त हुआ। आदर्श के लिये निज प्राण की आहुति देने में ही अपने जीवन की सार्थकता तथा परिपूर्णता समझी कि मानों कर्मयोग के साधन मार्ग द्वारा सारे दर्शन-शास्त्र के तात्विक निचोड़ को उन्होंने अपने जीवन में आत्मसात् कर लिया था। लक्ष्य की पूर्ति अथवा उसी प्रयास में मृत्यु उनका प्रण था।"

"सन् २९ के जून में "असेम्बली बम कांड" के केस में आजन्म कारावास की सजा का अभिनन्दन करते हुए हमारे (मेरे और भगतसिंह के) हृदय से उसी प्रण की प्रतिध्वनि निकली थी कि "तुम हमारे सरीखे कुछ व्यक्तियों को तो नष्ट कर सकते हो किन्तु यह हमारा राष्ट्र है उसको नष्ट नहीं कर सकते।"

विवेकानन्द का कर्मयोग

आजाद भगतसिंह, बटुकेश्वर दत्त, राजगुरू, सुखदेव के क्रांति-ग की प्रेरणा के संदर्भ में भी कोई भ्रांति नहीं है। इसके बावजूद कि दल के नाम में सोशलिस्ट शब्द संबकी सहमति से जुड़ा था, बटुकेश्वर दत्त स्पष्ट कहते हैं—"स्वामी विवेकानन्द द्वारा निर्देशित कर्मयोग का सिद्धांत ही "क्लास रेवोल्युशनरीज"—विप्लवियों के जीवन का आधार रहा है, लेकिन उन कर्मयोगी विप्लवियों का दार्शनिक दृष्टिकोण उनके आत्म बलिदान से उत्थित राजनीतिक कोलाहल में दबा रह गया। दर्शन-शास्त्र के ग्रन्थों को पढ़कर तात्विक ज्ञान लाभ करना उनके लिये संभव न था, परन्तु विप्लवी जीवन में प्रतिक्षण निर्भीकता से मृत्यु का इंतजार करते हुए "कर्मयोग" के साधन-मार्ग द्वारा दर्शनशास्त्र के तात्विक निचोड़ को उन्होंने अपने जीवन में अपनाया था। अपनी छोटी-सी जिन्दगी में व्यक्तिगत जीवन की तंग सीमा का अतिक्रमण करके वे संसार की माया-ममता से ऊपर उठे।"

वह आर्त अकुलाहट

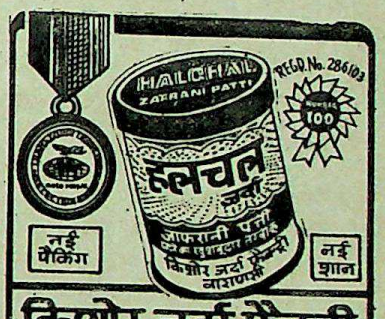
मनुष्य के चरम ध्येय के प्रति बटुकेश्वर दत्त क्या सोचते थे, यहां स्वयं उन्ही के विचार उद्धृत करता हूं :

"मनुष्य मात्र का हृदय संवेदनशील है। ब्रह्माण्ड की विशाल कर्मशाला में वह प्रतिक्षण विचित्र अनुभूतियों से गृहीत होता चल रहा है। अपने अलग-अलग दृष्टि-कोण तथा कार्यक्षेत्र के अनुसार मनुष्य की अनुभूतियां भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार की हैं। अनुभूति की इस

पुलिस को चकमा

दल की दो बम फैक्टरियां कानपुर चल रही थीं। उनकी सफलता से आजाद हृष्ट थे। ये फैक्टरियां इस के खोल ती थीं। एक बार पुलिस को मूर्ख ने के लिए आजाद ने एक बम फैक्टरी ता ठिकाना पुलिस को अवगत करा और फैक्टरी से सारा सामान पुलिस ने के पहले ही हटा दिया। पुलिस बदल दौड़ी आई। बड़ा जबर्दस्त छापा वह लेकिन वहां क्या था! अलबत्ता लेने के लिए आजाद पास ही सामने ड़क पर मौजूद थे और पुलिस को पसीना बहाते देखकर खुश हो रहे थे। ऐसा मजाक और वह भी पुलिस से, वही कर सकते थे और वह भी तब जब उनके सिर पर अंग्रेज सरकार का इनाम घोषित था तथा "काकोरी केस" के फरार रूप में उनके पोस्टर थानों पर चिपके रहते थे।

एक बार आजाद खुद भी कानपुर के एक थाने तक जाकर अपनी गिरफ्तारी के इनाम वाला इश्तहार जो थाने के फाटक पर ही लटका था, पढ़-देख आये। थाने के गेट पर उस वक्त दो पुलिसकर्मी मौजूद थे, आजाद उनसे कुछ देर खड़े-खड़े हास-परिहास भी करते रहे।



होंगे बच्चे स्वस्थ
फले फूलेगा बचपन
इन्हें पिलाओ....
मुग़ली घुट्टी 555

निर्माता :
श्रीराम आयुर्वेद भवन
दिल्ली-११००३२

अ...हा.....!
मीठी-मीठी

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

प्रकार की विचित्रता के बावजूद मनुष्य के हृदय में अन्तस्तल से सर्वदा एक आर्त अकुलाहट का करुण स्वर उठता सुनाई देता है। कर्म के कोलाहल तथा स्वार्थ के संघात में फंसे हुए आत्म केन्द्रित मनुष्य को इसकी सुधि नहीं है। दिनान्त के पश्चात् इस कर्म व्यस्त जगत के कोलाहल तथा जीवनधारा की इस विषम प्रतियोगिता से कुछ क्षुब्ध होकर जब हम घर पहुंचते हैं, रात्रि की निस्तब्धता को भुलाने के लिए अपनी आंखें बंद कर लेते हैं, संसार के थपेड़ों की याद को सुख-निद्रा में विलीन कर देने की चेष्टा करते हैं, ठीक उसी क्षण मनुष्य-मात्र के हृदय से एक करुण क्रन्दन स्वर फूट पड़ता है—"मुक्ति! मुक्ति! मुक्ति! मुझे मुक्ति दो!"

क्रान्ति वीर

जगतसिंह

आपके जन्म, निवास स्थान आदि का पता तो लग न सका, हां इतना अवश्य मालूम है कि आए दिन बहुत से सिखों को अमेरिका जाते देख आप भी वहीं चले गए थे, और गदर की बात छिड़ने पर देश के स्वाधीनता समर में दो-दो हाथ करने की लालसा से फिर वापस आ गए थे। इनका शरीर बड़ा सुदृढ़ तथा बलिष्ठ था और सिक्खों में भी इनके समान दैत्याकार शरीर वाला और कोई न था।

उस दिन कृपाल की कृपा से विप्लव का सारा प्रयास विफल हो जाने पर एक बार भाग्य परीक्षा के तौर पर, फिर से कार्य आरम्भ किया। रास बिहारी के सब साथी तो पकड़े जा चुके थे। पुलिस का आतंक अभी उसी भांति जारी था। प्रत्येक पल पर विपत्ति की संभावना थी। अस्तु किसी काम से जगतसिंह को दो और साथियों के साथ कहीं बाहर रवाना किया गया।

तीन सिखों को तांगे पर जाते देख पुलिस ने आ घेरा और थाने में चलने को मजबूर करने लगे। वे वीर जानते थे कि थाने में जाना मौत के मुंह में जाना है और वहां जाकर नाम धाम का ठीक- ठीक पता वे न दे सकेंगे। अतः अन्तिम बार भाग्य-परीक्षा करने का निश्चय कर उन तीनों ने ही गोली चलाना शुरू कर दिया।

कुछ देर तक गोली चलने के बाद इनमें से एक तो निकल गया और एक पुलिस के हाथ आ गया। तीसरा व्यक्ति जगत सिंह जिस समय पुलिस के हाथ से बचकर एक पाइप पर पानी पीने के बाद हाथ पोंछ रहे थे तो पीछे से एक इनसे भी अधिक शक्तिशाली मुसलमान ने आकर इनके दोनों पैर इस मजबूती से पकड़ लिए कि ये फिर वहां से न हिल सके।

जमीन पर गिरते ही इन्हें भी गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। अन्य लोगों के साथ अभियोग चलने पर इन्हें फांसी की सजा हुई और इस प्रकार ये भी अपना पार्ट पूरा कर विप्लव नाटक के एक और दृश्य को समाप्त कर गए।

—सुरेन्द्र

(शहीद भगतसिंह द्वारा छद्म नाम से लिखा गया लेख)

मैं कौन हूं ?

"परन्तु किसकी मुक्ति के लिए यह आर्त पुकार, कहां से मुक्त होने के लिए यह सरिता बह रही है? वैभव विलास का ठाठबाट हमारी आंखों को चकाचौंध कर रहा है। पद-प्रतिष्ठा तथा यश नशे में मनुष्य चूर है, फिर भी क्यों "मुक्ति" प्राप्त्यार्थ मानव यह असहाय क्रन्दन कर रहा है? इसी क्रंदन के स्वर में प्रतिपल ध्वनित हो रहा है मानव हृदय का यह चिरंतन प्रश्न—मैं कौन कहां से आया और किधर चला हूं? कौन इसका उत्तर दे? मान इस अन्तर्द्वंद्व का समाधान भारतीय दर्शनशास्त्र में इस प्रकार लिखित है :

"पहचानो, अपने को पहचानो। अपने अन्दर स्थित अनन्त के स्वरूप को उद्घाटित करो तभी समाप्त होगी यह छटपटाहट मिलेगी मुक्ति।" संस्कृत में इसी को कहा है—"आत्मानं वि

"फिर भी स्वभावतः यह प्रश्न रह जाता है कि किस साधन मनुष्य अपने अंतर्निहित दिव्य-स्वरूप का पता लगाये? महापुरुषों ने एतदर्थ कई मार्गों का संकेत किया, यथा "ज्ञान "भक्तियोग" और "कर्मयोग" आदि। इन योगों के व्याख्या बनकर इस संसार में अनेक महानुभाव आये। शंकराचार्य तथा नुज जैसे व्यक्ति अवतीर्ण हुए, इसी भारत में। यहीं महाप्रभु और रामकृष्ण परमहंस जैसे अवतारी पुरुषों ने जन्म लिया। संन्यासी स्वामी विवेकानन्द जैसे युग-मानव भी यहीं पैदा सभी लोग विभिन्न मार्गों के पथ-प्रदर्शक रूप में चिह्नित हमारे बीच से चले गये। पर संसार के अति साधारण व्यक्ति लिये दिव्य ज्ञान के इस उन्नत शिखर पर पहुंचना आसान इसीलिए परमहंस श्री रामकृष्ण देव ने सहज तथा सरल संकेत किया, "भक्ति मार्ग"। विश्वास तथा भक्ति के सहारे पूर्वक यदि मनुष्य अपनी व्यक्तिगत सत्ता का ज्ञान भूलकर उस अनन्त शक्ति में अपने को विलीन कर सके तो अवश्य मुक्त पुरुष बन सकता है। अविचल भक्ति के सहारे ही गए परम पुरुष श्री रामकृष्ण।"

"मैं" की जगह समाज

"कर्मवीर स्वामी विवेकानन्द कर्मयोग की बारीकी लेकर हुए। प्राणी रूप में जब मनुष्य ने इस संसार में जन्म लिया कर्मकांड से अछूता नहीं रह सकता। पर कर्म का उद्देश्य जगह परमार्थ होना चाहिये। तभी "मैं" बोध की जगह राष्ट्र तथा मानव-समाज के कल्याण बोध की चेतना आयेगी। नन्द ने कहा है, "तुम अपनी मुक्ति चाहोगे तो जहन्नुम चले इसीलिये तुम्हें औरों की मुक्ति की चेष्टा करनी चाहिये। चेतना से मनुष्य की आत्म केन्द्रित दृष्टि के समक्ष प्रकृति रूप प्रकट हो जायेगा। ····आत्मत्यागी क्रांतिकारियों का गठन और जीवन-चिन्तन "निष्काम कर्मयोग" के इसी मुख्यतः साधा हुआ था। स्वेच्छापूर्वक जीवन की बाजी अपने विचार तथा राष्ट्र के भविष्य के सम्बन्ध में जो पूर्ण हमारे हृदय से व्यक्त हुआ था वही गतिशील विप्लवी जीवन था। विवेकानन्द ने कहा है, "जब श्रद्धा नष्ट हो जाती है, भी नष्ट हो जाता है। अतः श्रद्धा को स्वयं में जीवित रखो उस पर मर मिटने के लिए तैयार रहो। उस श्रद्धा से ही अन्दर स्वाभिमान जागृत होगा।"

राष्ट्र-जीवन के विभिन्न स्तरों पर क्रांतिकारियों अलग विचार आये।

स्वतंत्रता, राष्ट्रीयता से इंक्लाब और समाजवादी धारा तक निस्संदेह क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन का राजनीति रहा। फिर भी इस आंदोलन के आरम्भ से अन्त तक विप्ल में आध्यात्मिक मूल्य बोध का स्थान सर्वोपरि रहा।

····लक्ष्य प्राप्ति के लिये एकाग्र चिन्तन ही के जीवन में "ध्यान" स्वरूप रहा। आदर्श के दृढ़ प्रति

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उन्हें आत्मबल से बली बनाया। कठोर शारीरिक यातना सहकर उन्होंने आचरण में निष्ठा प्राप्त की। उपवास की आग में निज देह और मन को झुलसाना उनके जीवन में तपश्चर्या स्वरूप ही था। और आत्म-बलिदान उस तपश्चर्या में पूर्णाहुति स्वरूप था। उनके इस भांति प्रस्थान को आप किस नाम से पुकारेंगे मालूम नहीं, पर हमारे कानों में महात्मा गांधी के वे शब्द प्रतिध्वनित हो रहे हैं कि "जो मानव स्वतंत्रता के लिए बना है, उसको सर्वस्व होम देना पड़ता है।"

फांसी नहीं, पुनर्जन्म

विप्लवी जीवन-दर्शन का यह गंभीर तथा मर्मस्पर्शी विश्लेषण भटुकेश्वर दत्त की अन्तिम देन है, एक ऐसा ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज, जो क्रांतिकारी इतिहास के प्रति व्याप्त विविध विवादों तथा भ्रांतियों का न केवल निराकरण करता है वरन् उस मार्ग में एक ज्योतिपुंजमय दीप-स्तम्भ प्रस्तुत करता है। इस आलोक में यदि हम विप्लवी जीवन को समझने का प्रयास करेंगे तो कोई भी विदेशी कुलना हमारी आंखों को अपनी चकाचौंध से भ्रांत नहीं कर सकेगी। दत्त बाबू के विचार देश में कम ही प्रकाशित हुए हैं, इसलिए भी विप्लवियों के वैचारिक पक्ष को उजागर करने की गरज से मैंने विस्तार से उनके दृष्टिकोण, ऊहापोह को उद्धृत करना जरूरी समझा। हम देखेंगे कि ये विचार शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल के दृष्टिकोण से विलक्षण साम्य रखते हैं, उनमें कहीं भी द्वैत नहीं है। बकौल मन्मथनाथजी गुप्त के जब वे लखनऊ स्टेशन पर रोशन सिंह के पास से गुजरे तो देखा, वे निरन्तर "ओम् ! ओम्" की ध्वनि कर रहे हैं। उन्हें फांसी की सजा सुनाई जा चुकी थी और उस समय वे इलाहाबाद की मलाका जेल भेजे जा रहे थे जहां रोशन सिंह को फांसी दी जानी थी। रोशन सिंह ने सजा सुनने के बाद जज हैमिल्टन को कहा था—"मुझे पुनः जीवन देने के लिये आपको धन्यवाद है।" 'काकोरी केस' के ही रामदुलारे त्रिवेदी ने मुझे बताया था कि रोशन सिंह के चेहरे पर उस समय अटल शांति दीप्त थी तथा रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल, राजेन्द्र लाहिड़ी तथा रोशनसिंह तीनों फांसी असामी मुस्कराते हुए पुलिस लारी में जा बैठे थे।"

उन शहीदों की यह मुस्कराहट ही दत्त बाबू की उस वैचारिक व्याख्या की ज्वलंत साक्षी है। फांसी वाले दिन प्रातः स्नानादि करके बिस्मिल ने नित्य की तरह संध्या-वन्दन किया। मां को एक चिट्ठी लिखी और जब फांसी देने के लिये सिपाही उन्हें बुलाने आये तो "वन्देमातरम्" की ध्वनि के साथ वे यह कहकर आगे बढ़ गये—

मालिक तेरी रजा रहे और तू ही तू रहे,
बाकी न मैं रहूं न मेरी आरजू रहे।

जब तक कि तन में जान रगों में लहू रहे,
तेरा ही जिक्र यार तेरी जुस्तजू रहे।

कोई मुक्तप्राण संन्यासी ही जीवन के अन्तिम क्षणों में यह कामना व्यक्त कर सकता है, "मैं नहीं तू ही"। मृत्यु की कसौटी पर बैठे उस युवा पुरुष ने विप्लवी जीवन-दर्शन की व्याख्या अपने रक्त-बिन्दुओं से अंकित कर दी है और वह अमिट है। फांसी के प्रभात पूर्व पिछले दिन की संध्या को जेल कर्मचारी उनके लिए बैरक दूध देने आया तो बिस्मिल ने उसे वापस कर दिया। कहा—यह दूध अब मुझे नहीं चाहिये। माता का आँचल मेरे लिए आकुल हो रहा है। प्रातः मुझे वह आँचल अपना लेगा, तब अन्नपूर्णा के स्तन का नवजीवन दान देंगे।" इसी तरह फांसी के दिन अश्फाक ने जेल में कुरान शरीफ का बस्ता लटकाया, कुरान की आयतें पढ़ते आग फांसी की कोठरी की तरफ बढ़ते गये थे और कहा था—"मेरा इन्साफ खुदा करेगा।" उन्होंने लिखा था—

कुछ आरजू नहीं है, है आरजू तो यह है,
रख दे कोई जरा-सी, खाके वतन कफन में।

आखिरी वक्त में, महाप्रयाण वेला में सिर्फ देश की मिट्टी को अपने कफन में संजोने की कामना ! काश ! यह निष्ठा हर भारत-वासी को छू जाय। पंडितों-मौलवियों के दिल में घर कर जाय। अश्फाक ने कहा था—

वतन हमेशा रहे, शाद काम और आजाद,
हमारी क्या है अगर हम रहे, रहे न रहे।

शहीद राजेन्द्र लाहिड़ी ने भी गोंडा जेल से फांसी के पूर्व पत्र में लिखा था :—

"हमारे लिए मृत्यु शरीर का परिवर्तन मात्र है, पुराने कपड़ों को त्याग कर नये कपड़े पहन लेना है। मृत्यु आ रही है। मैं प्रसन्नचित्त और प्रसन्नमुख से उसका आलिंगन करूंगा।....वन्देमातरम्।"

ये पंक्तियां किस जीवन-सिद्धान्त का निर्देश करती हैं, हर कोई समझ सकता है।

बंगाल की सर्वज्ञात "अनुशील समिति" भी गीता के "कर्मयोग" को आधार बनाकर, उससे प्रेरित हो अग्नि-पथ पर अनेकों जीवन्त आहुतियां देती चली थी। समिति के एक जाने माने विप्लवी नेता त्रैलोक्य महाराज का कहना है, "अनुशील समिति के तरूण कार्यकर्त्ता अंधकारमय मार्ग से, नैराश्य के हावी होने पर भी "गीता" के निष्काम कर्मयोग की साधना के व्रती हुए। वे मौन कार्यकर्ता थे। उन्होंने गीता के निष्काम कर्मयोग की साधना को ही अपनाया था इसीलिए वे चरित्र को पवित्र और निर्मल रखने की चेष्टा करते थे।....वस्तुतः "अनुशील" नाम में ही अनुशील समिति का जीवन-दर्शन निहित है। समिति द्वारा कल्पित समाज में प्रत्येक स्त्री-पुरुष के मनुष्यत्व का पूर्ण विकास होगा। आर्थिक, सामाजिक, संप्रदायगत, प्रांतगत सभी विषमताएं मिटाकर सभी मनुष्यों में, समाज में समता लानी होगी। इसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये भारत को पूर्ण स्वातंत्र्य चाहिये क्योंकि जातीय सरकार ही ऐसा परिकल्पित समाज कायम कर सकती है।"

यह उन विप्लवी-जनों का सपना था, साध थी और संघर्ष का हेतु था।

विप्लवी विचार-दर्शन का जब प्रसंग आया है तो गदर पार्टी के नेता लाला हरदयाल का भी स्मरण अप्रासंगिक न होगा। वे देशभक्त तो थे ही, अखिल मानव समाज के भक्त थे। संसार के पीड़ितों के परम मित्र थे। साथियों से कहते थे—"बन्धु ! यदि भारत में स्वराज्य आ जाए तो मैं इंग्लैंड से स्वदेश न लौटूंगा वरन् रूस चला जाऊंगा तथा वहां के लोगों की सेवा करूंगा क्योंकि वे बहुत दुख उठा रहे हैं। न तो मुझे अपने जीवन से प्रेम है और न उसके सुखों से—**"कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्त्तिनाशनम्।"**

वे दल में भर्ती होने के इच्छुक युवकों को जो पुस्तकें शुरू में देते थे, वे थीं :—१. गैरीबाल्डी २. काबूट का इटालियन आंदोलन ३. बिस्मार्क द्वारा जर्मन-साम्राज्य का निर्माण ४. जापान का उत्थान ५. फ्रांस की राज्य-क्रांति ६. जार के विरुद्ध रूसी क्रान्ति तथा ७. जर्मनी का राष्ट्रवादी आंदोलन।

ऑक्सफोर्ड से लौटने के बाद भी उन पर पश्चिमी धर्म, सभ्यता तथा संस्कृति का रत्ती भर भी असर नहीं परिलक्षित हुआ। वे उन्हीं दिनों कानपुर में २२ दिन ठहरे। रोज गंगा स्नान करते। घुटनों तक ऊंचा धोती, ऊंचा ग्रामीण ढंग का बिना क्रीज का कुर्ता, कन्धे पर लाठी और उसी के एक छोर पर धोती टांग लेते। यह वेश था उस उद्भट क्रांतिकारी का जो अनेक वर्ष विदेश में रहकर लौटा था। वे रामायण खूब सुनाते, उनकी उसमें बड़ी रुचि रहती लेकिन राम-

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute. Mel...

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कथा की व्याख्या करते-करते राष्ट्रीय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय तमाम राजनीतिक प्रश्नों का भी विश्लेषण कर डाला करते ।

"पागल ही हूं"

राष्ट्रवाद से लाला हरदयाल के दृष्टिकोण का क्या साम्य था, इसे स्पष्ट करने के लिये मैं स्वयं उन्हीं के उद्‌गार उद्‌धृत करता हूं । एक बार कांग्रेस के सर्वोच्च नेता गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले ने कह दिया, "हरदयाल तो देश के लिये पागल हो रहे हैं ।" इस पर लाला हरदयाल ने लिखा—"मैं तो वास्तव में पागल हूं और कुछ हिन्दुओं को भी अपने साथ पागल बनाना चाहता हूं । **यदि केवल एक करोड़ हिन्दुओं के दिल और दिमाग में मेरी अपेक्षा आधा पागलपन आ जाय तो हिन्दू राष्ट्र न केवल कुल भारत का स्वराज्य ले लेगा वरन् पूर्वी अफ्रीका, फिजी, मारीशस आदि देशों पर भी अधिकार कर लेगा । यह हिन्दू संगठन पागल भक्तों का आदर्श होना चाहिये । निस्संदेह मैं तो हिन्दू नवयुवकों को वीरों और हुतात्माओं के उस गौरवमय पागलखाने में प्रविष्ट कराना चाहता हूं जहां त्याग को लाभ, गरीबी को अमीरी और मृत्यु को जीवन समझा जाता है ।** मैं तो ऐसे पक्के एवं पवित्र पागलपन का प्रचार करता हूं । पागल ! हां, मैं पागल हूं । मैं खुश हूं कि मैं पागल हूं ।"

इस विचारधारा के विरुद्ध जब उन्हें कई लोगों ने उनके पास स्वीडन में पत्र भेजे तो लाला हरदयाल ने पुनः लिखा :—

"कुछ वेसुध राजनीतिज्ञ चुपके से मेरे कान में कहते हैं—'सावधान ! इतना न चिल्लाओ । कहीं मुसलमान नेता न सुन लें । वे नाराज हो जायेंगे और समझौता न करेंगे फिर वे कांग्रेस में न आएंगे चुप ! चुप ! दिल में तो हमारे भी यही विचार है क्योंकि हम भी हिन्दू हैं लेकिन इस प्रकार खुल्लमखुल्ला कहने और लिखने से विच्छेद बढ़ जायेगा, इसलिये चुप रहो । ऐसी बात कहने की आवश्यकता ही क्या है ?' मेरा उत्तर यह है कि 'यह मेरी आत्मा का सन्देश है । न मुझे मतांधों से समझौता करना है, न कांग्रेस की सभा में जाना है । न मुझे ऊपर के दिखावे से काम है, न समाचार-पत्रों के सम्पादकों का डर है । मेरे हृदय में एक विचार काम करता है और उसके प्रति मेरा कर्त्तव्य है । वह यह है कि यदि हिन्दू राष्ट्र की देह के अंतस्थल में कहीं भी जरा सुलगती हुई आग शेष है तो उसे फूंक मारकर ऐसी ज्वाला पैदा की जाय कि उसमें हमारी गुलामी और गरीबी, जिल्लत और ख्वारी हमेशा के लिए भस्म हो जाये ।"

सन् १९२५ में अपने स्वीडन प्रवास काल में ही उन्होंने लिखा था—"हिन्दू राष्ट्र में बहुत से पंथ और संप्रदाय हैं और उनके अलग-अलग प्रचारक हैं । कोई पंथ अद्वैत को मानता है, कोई द्वैत को सत्य समझता है । कोई आत्मा को सर्वव्यापी मानता है तो कोई इसका विरोधी है । परन्तु हिन्दू राष्ट्र में शतियों से पूरी धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता तथा सहिष्णुता रही है । इसी कारण इतने विभिन्न धार्मिक विचार प्रचलित हैं । यही हाल सभ्य यूरोप तथा अमेरिका का भी है । मानव मस्तिष्क को किसी सिद्धांत के पिंजरे में कानून की सहायता से बन्द नहीं किया जा सकता····धार्मिक प्रश्नों पर बहस-विवाद करने से ही सत्य का भेद खुल सकता है, जिन राष्ट्रों ने धार्मिक सहिष्णुता का उच्च सिद्धान्त नहीं सीखा है, वे जरा-जरा से मतभेद के कारण सदाचारी और नेक आदमियों को जीवित जला देते हैं या पत्थरों से मार डालते हैं । परन्तु हिन्दू सभ्यता ऐसे पापों से बिल्कुल मुक्त रही है ।" राष्ट्रवाद, संस्कृति तथा धर्म के प्रति ये विचार एक ऐसे सुविख्यात क्रांतिकारी के हैं जो दुनिया की १७ भाषाओं का ज्ञाता था और यूरोप के कई देशों में जिसके व्याख्यान सुनने की होड़ मचती थी, इसके बावजूद कि वे एक निर्वासित थे । भारत आने पर उन्हें अंग्रेज फांसी पर चढ़ा देते, यह तय था । अनंतर सन् १९३३ में जब वे लंदन में रहकर "हिंट्स फार सेल्फ कल्चर" नामक अपना ग्रन्थ लिख रहे थे, भाई परमानन्द ने उन्हें पत्र लिखा कि "आप हिन्दू राष्ट्रवाद पर भी एक पुस्तक जरूर लिख दें क्योंकि आज भारत में कितने ही लोग हैं जो राष्ट्रीयता का अर्थ मूलक अर्थ लेते हैं ।"

सच्ची राष्ट्रीयता

लाला हरदयाल ने यह आग्रह स्वीकार किया । सन् '३३ के १० अगस्त को पेरिस से एक पत्र में वे लिखते हैं—"हिन्दू राष्ट्र पर वह पुस्तक मैं अभी समाप्त नहीं कर पाया, देर लग रही है ।"

यही नहीं पत्र में आगे बड़ी तल्खी से वे लिखते हैं—"यदि हिन्दू सनातन धर्म छोड़कर आर्य समाजी बन जाये या देव धर्म छोड़कर राधास्वामी पंथ में सम्मिलित हो जाय या सिख सम्प्रदाय चला जाय तो राष्ट्रीय राज्य-मर्मज्ञ की दृष्टि से कोई हानि नहीं क्योंकि हिन्दू राज्य में इन सभी संप्रदायों को पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता है । परन्तु यदि कोई कपूत विजयादशमी का त्यौहार न मनाये या गोविन्द सिंह की निंदा करे····तो वह राष्ट्रीय राज्य की जड़ों को कमजोर करता है और राष्ट्र की जड़ काटता है । ऐसे मनुष्य के लिये स्वतंत्रता और सहिष्णुता नहीं है । स्वतंत्रता मजहबी विकास के लिए है, राष्ट्रीय नमकहरामी के लिए नहीं ।"

यही वजह है कि लंदन में रहते हुए भी उनकी इच्छा थी कि वे नेपाल जाकर वहां ईटन और हैरो सरीखे पब्लिक स्कूल खोलें ताकि वहां उनके राजमर्मज्ञ तथा राष्ट्र-निर्माता निर्माण हों क्योंकि वे ही होंगे जो जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में लोगों को उचित दिशा दे सकेंगे ।" नेपाल इसलिये कि वह स्वतंत्र देश था ।

भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद पर बंगाल के उग्रवादी नेता विपिनचन्द्र पाल ने अपनी पुस्तक "दि स्पिरिट् ऑफ इंडियन नेशनलिज्म" में लिखा है :—

"हिंदुओं की तथाकथित मूर्त्ति-पूजा अधिक आध्यात्मिकता का उदात्त रूप ग्रहण कर रही है । यह प्रक्रिया वास्तव में बंकिम से प्रारम्भ हुई जिन्होंने सर्वाधिक सर्वप्रिय हिन्दू देवियों का अर्थ किया कि ये तो राष्ट्रीय विकास की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं की प्रतीक हैं ।"

लाला लाजपतराय ने भी सन् १९१६ में एक पुस्तक लिखी "यंग इंडिया" । इसमें उन्होंने भारत के विप्लवियों को दो वर्गों में बांटा । लिखा—"एक तो वे हैं जिनको कोई नैतिक या धार्मिक संकोच नहीं है । वे शून्यवादी हैं परन्तु उनकी संख्या बहुत ही कम है । वे लोग अनैतिक नहीं हैं । व्यक्तिगत जीवन में वे कोई ऐसा काम नहीं करेंगे जो प्रचलित आचारसंहिता के विरुद्ध हो । वे न चोरी करते हैं, न लूटते हैं परन्तु अपने आंदोलन के निमित्त वे कुछ भी कर सकते हैं ।"

"दूसरे जो लोग हैं वे बहुत ही धर्मनिष्ठ या अध्यात्मवादी हैं । उनमें से कुछ काली के भक्त हैं, अन्य वेदान्ती । कुछ ईश्वरवादी आस्तिक भी हैं । जो भी हो, ये धार्मिक उग्रवादी समझते हैं कि अंग्रेज हमारी मातृभूमि के शत्रु हैं और हमारे धर्म के भी । मातृभूमि की उपासना एवं भक्ति वे इसलिये करते हैं कि उसके द्वारा वे जगदम्बा, विश्व की मातेश्वरी की पूजा के योग्य हो जायेंगे ।

"सूली शब्द उचारेगा"

धर्मोन्मुखी क्रांति के सन्दर्भ में जब लिखने बैठा हूं और देखता हूं कि गदर पार्टी के अन्यतम नेता लाला हरदयाल जहां बार-बार गोविन्दसिंह और उनके चार शहीद पुत्रों को याद करते हैं, स्वाभाविक ही पंजाब एक अन्य महान क्रांतिकारी नेता गुरू रामसिंह का उल्लेख आवश्यक समझ पड़ता है । ये सन् १८१५

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१८७२ वि०) की शुक्ल पंचमी, गुरुवार को लुधियाना जिला के अंतर्गत ग्राम राईआं में जन्मे। यह गांव भैणी के निकट है। इनके जन्मोपरांत इनके माता-पिता भैणी में ही रहने लगे। पिता थे बाबा जस्सासिंह और मां थीं सदाकौर जी। गुरू रामसिंह को "बारहवें पातसाह" भी कहते हैं। इनका आंदोलन विप्लवी इतिहास में "कूका-विद्रोह" नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। जन्म-साखी, बड़ी, भाईवाले में इनके प्रति दर्ज है—

"भाई अजितिआ, बारवांजामा सदगुरू होवेगा, निरल्भ सवते निरलेप, सब दुनियां ते न्यारा रहेगा अते आपको बनायगा नहीं कौर निरमोद होवेगा और आसरा जो लवेगा, इक अकाल पुरुष का लवेगा तिसको कोई लख न सकेगा। "सूली" शब्द उचारेगा और शब्द मायेगा और जो सिख होवनगे जिनको बी शब्द ही दस्सेगा।"

इसी तरह **'सौ साखी'** में जिक्र है :—

"रामसिंह मेरो होई नामा। बाढ़ी सुत भैणी को धामा॥
रामसिंह उठे नीचत डेरे। अवनी एक रसौदी केरे॥
कलयुग में सतयुग बरताऊं। तबै बारवां बाप कहाऊं॥"

"पंथ प्रकाश" भी कहता है, "मेरो अवतार अस रामसिंह ह्वै रं।" भैणी साहब में शुरू में ये लोहे और वस्त्रों के व्यवसायी थे किन ये तो प्रेमा-भक्ति के अग्रदूत थे अत: दुकान का माल-भत्ता भक्त डली को खिलाने-पिलाने में स्वाहा कर दिया। मुनाफा कमाना खा नहीं। बस, "शब्द" की "मस्ती" में हाल-वेहाल रहा करते। म प्रचार में तन्मय रहने से "नामधारी" कहलाये। गुरू रामसिंह ड़े उच्च स्तर से भगवन्नाम की पुकार लगाते थे। इसी कारण ये कूके" कहे जाने लगे क्योंकि कूकना चिल्लाने का ही पर्याय माना या है।

"सद्गुरू" कहलाने के पूर्व आपने महाराज रणजीत सिंह की ना में नौकरी की। यह खालसा फौज थी। फौज एक बार हजरी कैजलपुर) गई। वहाँ रामसिंह जी की भेंट हुई गुरू बालकसिंह ी से। उनके उपदेश आत्मसात कर कालांतर से आपने खालसा ौज की नौकरी छोड़ दी। आपने यह प्रचार प्रारम्भ किया कि ब तक देश को राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता नहीं मिलती, धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता से रहेगी ?" अत: गुरू रामसिंह ने व्यापक संगठन कार्य के साथ-थ ब्रिटिश सरकार का बहिष्कार करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। उसके ० साल बाद गांधीजी ने भी वही रास्ता अपनाया। गुरू रामसिंह संगठन में तीन लाख लोग शामिल हो गये। उनका सिद्धांत —१. सरकारी नौकरियों का बहिष्कार करना, २. सरकारी ल-कालेजों का त्याग यानी बहिष्कार, ३. सरकारी अदालतों का हिष्कार, ४. विदेशी वस्त्र और वस्तुओं का बहिष्कार तथा ५वां कि वह कानून मत मानों जो तुम्हारी आत्मा के प्रतिकूल पड़े। स्पष्ट असहयोग था।

"२२ सूबों" (जिलों) के नाम से पूरे पंजाब को विभाजित कर रामसिंह ने वहां अपने प्रचारक रखे। एक बार दीवाली पर ने २० हजार सशस्त्र शिष्यों के साथ अमृतसर पधारे थे। आगे लेरकोटला-कांड हो गया। यह घटना २३ जनवरी सन् १८७२ में टित हुई। कोटला बाजार से गुरू रामसिंह का एक शिष्य जा था कि उसने एक मुसलमान गाड़ीवान को बैल पीटते देखा। ने से मना किया, इससे झगड़ा हो गया। पुलिस ने दोनों को भेज दिया। दरोगा मुसलमान था। उसने उस कूके के सामने बैल को कटखा डाला। कूका दु:खी हो भैणी पहुंचा। फलत:. रामसिंह के लाख समझाने के बावजूद कूके उत्तेजित हो निकल । १५० कूकों ने मलौंध दुर्ग पर धावा बोल दिया। शस्त्रास्त्र लिये। दूसरे मालेरकोटला और महल पर भी छापा मारा। ने पर चढ़ाई की। फलत: पटियाला की सीमा पर रढ़ गांव के जंगल में संघर्ष के बीच ६८ कूके पकड़ लिये गये, इनमें ५० को

"भगवन्नाम के साथ देशभक्ति तथा आजादी की अलख जगाने वाले जैसे कूके थे, वैसे ही थे महाराष्ट्र के चाफेकर बन्धु। वे कीर्तनकार और भजन-गायक होकर भी अंग्रेज अफसर को मौत के घाट उतार गये। इन सबके प्रेरणा-स्रोत धर्म में ही समाहित थे। विदेशों में इनका प्रेरणा-स्रोत खोजना अन्याय होगा।"

डिप्टी कमिश्नर कॉवन ने तोप से उड़वा दिया। उड़ाये जाते समय हर कूका हर्षित हो जय बोलता था। इसी दिन वहां एक १३ वर्ष का बालक कत्ल करवाया गया क्योंकि गुरूजी को जब कॉवन ने गाली दी तो उसने कॉवन साहब की दाढ़ी पकड़ ली—छोड़ा नहीं। तब बालक के दोनों हाथ काटे गये, फिर हत्या कर दी गई। बाकी ३० कूके मलौंध में फांसी पर चढ़ा दिये गये। कहते हैं, बालक से कॉवन ने कहा था—"अगर तुम कूका होने से इंकार कर दो तो हम रिहा कर देंगे।" पर वह दृढ़व्रती बालक कहता रहा कि वह गुरू रामसिंह का शिष्य है, कूका है। अंग्रेज कूकों द्वारा रेल, डाक, तार आदि के बहिष्कार-कार्यक्रम से चिढ़े थे ही, गुरू रामसिंह को भी देश निकाला देकर बर्मा में कैद कर दिया जहां सन् १८८५ में उनका निधन हो गया। कूकों की गो-भक्ति प्रसिद्ध थी तथा गो-रक्षा उनके कार्य-क्रम में सम्मिलित थी। भगवन्नाम के साथ देशभक्ति तथा आजादी की अलख जगाने वाले जैसे ये कूके थे, वैसे ही महाराष्ट्र के चाफेकर बन्धु। वे कीर्तनकार और भजन-गायक होकर भी अंग्रेज अफसरों को मौत के घाट उतार गये। इन सबके प्रेरणा-स्रोत धर्म में ही समाहित थे। विदेशों में इनका प्रेरणा-स्रोत खोजना अन्याय होगा। उस समय रूस की क्रान्ति का कहीं नाम भी नहीं था। यही नहीं, अनुशील समिति के संगठन और कार्य-शैली का विधान बहुत कुछ रूस के बोलशेविकों से साम्य रखता है परन्तु बंग-भंग आंदोलन रूसी क्रांति से पहले हुआ, अत: रूस से प्रेरणा लेने का उस समय सवाल ही नहीं उठता था। अलबत्ता "अलीपुर बम केस" के असामी हेमचन्द्र दास बम बनाना सीखने पेरिस गये थे, रूस में बम का प्रचलन तब तक हुआ ही न था।

भगतसिंह की जबानी

अन्त में हम यह देखेंगे कि धर्म, ईश्वर और भारतीय दर्शन के संदर्भ में भगतसिंह, जिन्हें "नास्तिक" कहा गया—का वैचारिक पक्ष क्या था ? भगतसिंह स्वयं लिखते हैं कि :—

"···· मैं जो कहना चाहता हूं, वह यह है कि ईश्वर के प्रति अविश्वास का भाव क्रांतिकारी दल में भी प्रस्फुटित नहीं हुआ था। "काकोरी केस" के प्रसिद्ध चारों शहीदों ने अपने अन्तिम दिन भजन-प्रार्थना में गुजारे थे। रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल एक रूढ़िवादी आर्य समाजी थे। समाजवाद तथा साम्यवाद में अपने बहुत अध्ययन के बावजूद राजेन्द्र लाहिड़ी उपनिषद् और गीता के श्लोकों के उच्चारण की अपनी अभिलाषा नहीं दबा सके। मैंने उन सबमें सिर्फ एक ही व्यक्ति को देखा जो कभी प्रार्थना नहीं करता था और कहता था

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दर्शन शास्त्र मनुष्य की दुर्बलता अथवा ज्ञान के सीमित होने के कारण उत्पन्न होता है।" वह भी आजीवन निर्वासन की सजा भोग रहा है परन्तु उसने भी ईश्वर के अस्तित्व को नकारने की कभी हिम्मत नहीं की। इस समय तक मैं केवल एक रोमांटिक आदर्शवादी क्रांतिकारी था। लेकिन आगे मुझे विश्व क्रांति के अनेक आर्दशों के बारे में पढ़ने का खूब मौका मिला। मैंने अराजकतावादी नेता बाकुनिन को पढ़ा, कुछ साम्यवाद के पिता मार्क्स को, किन्तु अधिक लेनिन, ट्राटस्की व अन्य लोगों को पढ़ा जो अपने देश में सफलतापूर्वक क्रांति लाये थे। वे सभी नास्तिक थे। बाकुनिन की पुस्तक 'ईश्वर और राज्य' इस विषय पर यद्यपि आंशिक रूप में, एक अच्छा अध्ययन है पर बाद में मुझे निरालम्ब स्वामी द्वारा लिखी एक पुस्तक 'सहज ज्ञान' मिली। इसमें केवल एक रहस्यवादी नास्तिकता थी। इस विषय के प्रति मेरा गहरा सम्मान हो गया। १९२६ के अंत तक मुझे विश्वास हो गया कि एक सर्वशक्तिमान परम आत्मा की बात, जिसने ब्रह्मांड का सृजन किया, दिग्दर्शन और संचालन किया, एक कोरी बकवास है··· मैं एक उद्घोषित नास्तिक हो चुका था···· मैं जानता हूं कि जिस क्षण रस्सी का फंदा मेरी गर्दन पर लगेगा और मेरे पैरों के नीचे से तख्ता हटेगा, वह पूर्ण-विराम होगा, वह अन्तिम क्षण होगा। मैं, या संक्षेप में आध्यात्मिक शब्दावली की व्याख्या के अनुसार मेरी आत्मा, सब यहीं समाप्त हो जायगी।

···· मैं यथार्थवादी हूं। मैं अपनी अन्तः प्रकृति पर विवेक की सहायता से विजय चाहता हूं।"

भक्ति का फल भी भक्ति ही है

नास्तिकता के बावजूद भगतसिंह का लिखा यह दस्तावेज बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है, खासकर आज के व्यक्तिमुखी, स्वार्थपरता की आपाधापी के बीच जी रहे किंवा जीने का ढोंग कर रहे उन युवकों के लिए, जिनके जीवन में कोई महत् उद्देश्य नहीं, महान लक्ष्य नहीं और जीने-मरने के बीच की लोक-यात्रा में समाज, देश, दीन-दलित मानवता का कोई विचार नहीं, उसके प्रति कोई संवेदनाशीलता नहीं। त्याग-तपस्या की समष्टि-शक्ति की भावना से उन्हें देशाराधना के सिद्धमंत्र की दीक्षा कौन दे, समय आज बीच रास्ते पर यह चुनौती देता खड़ा है। देशप्रेम क्यों करें? आज की पीढ़ी कहीं यह प्रश्न न करने लग जाए क्योंकि बुजुर्गों से उसकी परिणति कहीं परिलक्षित होती नहीं। देवता में यदि हमारी भक्ति स्थिर हो सके, उसे रोम-रोम से, मन से हम प्रेम कर सकें तो हम देखेंगे कि आज का यही देशवा कितने उच्च स्तर तक उठ जाता है। सफलता उसे जरूरत से ज्या उत्फुल्ल नहीं करेगी, असफलता अवसादग्रस्त नहीं बना सकेगी स्थायी आनंद और सुख उसके हृदय में हिलोरें लेगा। वास्तवि धर्म, देश-सेवा उससे आचरित होगा। उसकी निष्ठा, संयम, भक्ति प्रेम, मधुरता, मृदुता, चरित्र—सबमें उस सेवा से प्रसूत उपलब्धि एक ऊंचाई नजर आयेगी। उत्सर्ग भावना मनुष्य को यह ऊंचा प्रदान करती है, देश के प्रति अनन्य प्रेम-भक्ति से भी इसकी सं संप्राप्ति होती है। वह चाहे जितना रिक्त, सर्वहारा पुरुष संसार के चाहने-भावने के हिसाब से वह परे, बहुत ऊंचा हो रहता

प्रेम से, भक्ति से क्या मिलता है? परमात्मा? नहीं। भक्ति का फल है भक्ति, प्रेम का पुरस्कार भी प्रेम ही है। "नारद भक्ति सूत्र" में कहा गया है "भक्ति स्वयं अपने में फल-स्वरूपा है।" अपने ही अपना सब कुछ पा लेना, यह सिद्धि सर्वस्व समर्पण की साधना से ही उपलब्ध होती है और उस साधक के मन में मात्र भी कोई कामना शेष नहीं रहती। ऐसा प्रेमी या भक्त आंतरिक रूप से सर्वसम्पन्न होता है, उसे संसार से कुछ चाहना नहीं होती यहां भगवत्प्रेम तथा देश-प्रेम परस्पर पर्याय रूप हैं—उनमें कोई नहीं परन्तु वह क्या अनायास लभ्य है? ●

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प्रस्तुति—वचनेश त्रिपाठी

भाभी और भगतसिंह

मैंने पूछा, "भाभी ? भगतसिंह के विषय में कुछ बताइये न।" बोलीं—एक दीर्घ श्वास लेकर, "वचनेश जी ! भगतसिंह, जो कभी मेरे बड़े ही निकट का व्यक्ति बन चुका था और जिसे मैं बहुत कठिनाई से भूल सकी थी, आज क्या कहूं उसके सम्बन्ध में, सोच नहीं पा रही। मुझे याद आता है, पहली बार जब भगतसिंह से मेरा परिचय कराया गया तो मैंने देखा था—उसके सिर पर खद्दर की कुछ थैली-सी तथा बेसिलसिले एक-एक छोर लटकी पगड़ी थी और जूतों पर गोल लम्बे कई तरह के पैबन्द।"

'सोचती हूं, यह वही 'भगत' था जिसने एक बार तो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद की जड़ें हिला दी थीं और जिसे प्रतिहिंसा की भावना से पीड़ित अंग्रेजों ने हिन्दुस्थानियों के ही हाथों फांसी के तख्ते पर लटकवाकर अपनी प्रतिकार की प्यास बुझाई थी। भगतसिंह की वह मृत्यु वास्तव में उसका पार्थिव अन्त था, पर देश ने सचमुच उसी दिन भगतसिंह को जन्म दिया था।'

यह उम्र, वह तूफान

फिर बोलीं—"यों भगतसिंह के पिता अपने घर के अच्छे खाते-पीते जमींदार (बड़े किसान) थे, उनके घर किसी वस्तु का अभाव न था। पर उन दिनों हम सबको ऐसा लगता था जैसे कोई आंधी तूफान आने वाला हो। न कोई समय पर खाता, न नींद भर सोता। कपड़े मैले, फटे और जूते भी जीर्ण-शीर्ण होते, विशेषकर भगतसिंह के। सच तो यह है कि क्रांतिकारी समय समय पर दुनिया में पैदा होते हैं और अपने देश व समाज को जो भी उनको देना होता है, देकर चले जाते हैं। यही उनकी सफलता है। इस संगठन का कोई केन्द्रीय मठ भी नहीं बना। जो व्यक्ति किसी कारण रह जाते हैं, वे फिर क्रांतिकारी नहीं रह जाते। क्रांति क्षणभंगुर है, स्थायी वस्तु नहीं। कांग्रेस आंदोलन तो चौरीचौरा कांड के बाद स्थगित हो गया और उसी के साथ लाहौर के छात्रों की वह भीड़ भी, जो केवल उसी आंदोलन के लिये आई अथवा उमड़ पड़ी थी, अपने-अपने स्थान को लौट गई। किन्तु भगतसिंह और उनके साथी (जिसमें भाभी के पति भगवतीचरण भी थे—सं.) जो एक बार भारत को आजाद कराने हेतु अपने कदम बढ़ा चुके थे, उनमें से कोई भी फिर घर न लौटा। संख्या में तो वे २५-३० से अधिक नहीं होंगे जो सचमुच "आजादी या मौत" की शपथ पर अटल रहे। आज उन बातों की स्मृति में एक टीस, एक अजीब मिठास और अपनापन अनुभव हो रहा है, उस समूचे अभाव की स्मृति कि क्या कभी ये बातें सच थीं ? भगतसिंह और उसका "विवाह" ? कैसा परिहास ? यह सब याद आता है। भगतसिंह ने अपनी मां से कह दिया था कि उसका विवाह निश्चित हो चुका है। वे उसकी चिन्ता न करें और फिर फांसी का तख्ता उसका मंडप बना, गले की रस्सी उसकी वरमाला और पत्नी थी मौत,

दुर्गा भाभी

जो उसे हमसे दूर बहुत दूर कहीं सदा के लिए ले गई। कुल २३ वर्ष की आयु में ही भगतसिंह ने जिस प्रकार अपने को योग्य एवं अनुकरणीय बना लिया था, वह सराहनीय है।"

लखनऊ में स्कूल खोला

भाभी कहती हैं, "मेरे सपने कहां हैं ? संस्था (भाभी द्वारा प्रस्थापित और संचालित—लखनऊ मांटेसरी इंटर कालेज—सं) है पर आदर्श कहां है ? सर्वत्र औपचारिकता का बोलबाला....."

सोचता हूं, भाभी ठीक ही कहती हैं। भाभी ने राजनीति से मुख मोड़ कर इस स्कूल को सन् '४० में चलाया, लखनऊ के उन दिनों के प्रायः उजाड़ मुहल्ले—पुराने किले में। शुरू में सिर्फ १५ बच्चों को लेकर भाभी वहां बैठीं, अनन्तर दो बार उस स्कूल में नेहरू जी आये। आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव, सरोजनी नायडू, वर्मा के श्री अंग मिन्ह, राजर्षि टण्डन, श्री प्रकाश, डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द तथा रफी अहमद किदवई भी भाभी के कारण उस स्कूल में पधारे और उस छोटी-सी शिक्षण-संस्था से प्रभावित हुए। विप्लवी ध्वंसकर्मी ही नहीं होता वरन् उस ध्वंस भावना में भी "बहुजन हिताय—बहुजन सुखाय" का बीजमन्त्र और सृजन की उद्यम प्रक्रिया सन्निहित रहती है, आज भाभी की महती कृति उस इंटर कालेज को देखकर यह तथ्य सहज ही समझा जा सकता है। उन्होंने अपनी हड्डियां उसी में खपा दी हैं, हजारों छात्र-छात्राएं एक साथ वहां शिक्षा लाभ कर रहे हैं, भाभी उसी में स्वयं का अतीत और वर्तमान सब भुला बैठी हैं। उन्हें यह भाया, असेम्बली की कुर्सी नहीं भायी। कहती हैं :—

कुर्सी नहीं संभलेगी

"मुझे दो बार असेम्बली की सीट आफर की गई, इनमें एक सीट लाला लाजपतराय की सुपुत्री पार्वती देवी की थी, जो उनके निधन से रिक्त हुई थी। यह पंजाब की बात, फिर यू०पी० में रफी साहब ने भी सीट आफर की। लेकिन मैंने दोनों बार साफ इन्कार कर दिया। कहा, 'मैं नहीं संभाल सकूंगी।'

भाभी, आजादी के लिए जिनके हाथ में एक भरा रिवाल्वर होता था और पीठ पर उनका बच्चा, जिन्होंने बम्बई में ठीक थाने के फाटक पर गोरों पर गोलियां बरसाईं, असेम्बली की कुर्सी की तरफ कैसे खिंच पातीं !

हां, जरूरत के अनुसार उन्होंने सन् ३७-३८ में कांग्रेस में काम किया ताकि वहां रहकर वे क्रांतिकारी कैदियों को रिहा करवा सकें जिससे उनके पीड़ित परिवारों को कुछ सहायता संभव हो सके। उन दिनों वे दिल्ली प्रदेश कांग्रेस की प्रधान रहीं। उत्तर प्रदेश में रफी साहब के साथ भी काम किया परन्तु जब उस पद पर आसीन रहते हुए वे क्रांतिकारी कैदियों की रिहाई न करा सकीं तो दिल्ली जाकर तत्काल कांग्रेस के प्रादेशिक अध्यक्ष पद से त्याग पत्र दे दिया। हेतु पूरा न हो तो पद का

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क्या करना ! हालांकि उन्होंने बड़े बुरे दिन देखे-भुगते । भुखमरी की शिकार बनीं । डाक्टरों ने टी०बी० घोषित कर दी । कहा—"सेनेटोरियम में जाकर रहो ।" भाभी कहती हैं—"रही जाकर और वहां मोटी हो गई, कारण बीमारी तो कुछ थी नहीं, भुखमरी थी ।"

यह तीन साल की नजरबन्दी का पुरस्कार था और भाभी यह "टी० बी०" की बात हंसकर ही बता रही थीं । मैं उनकी निर्विकार मुद्रा निहार रहा था ।

गांधीजी से पुनः भेंट

भगतसिंह की फांसी के बाद भाभी दोबारा गांधीजी से मिलीं । उनकी याद बीच में हो आने पर कहने लगीं, "गांधीजी एक बार मिलकर फिर उसे भूलते न थे, मैं जब फिर से मिलने गई तो तत्काल पहचान लिया ।"

"इस मुलाकात के पहले मैं खुरशीद बन से कहा था कि गांधीजी से जरा एकान्त में बात करनी है । उन्होंने गांधीजी से बताया तो गांधी जी ने कहा, 'अच्छा ! अगर अकेले में मिलना चाहती हैं तो वे साथ चलें, लाहौर से गुजरात तक । रास्ते में बात हो जायेगी ।'

"मैं ट्रेन में साथ चल दी । शची (एकमात्र पुत्र) भी साथ था । मैं पास ही बैठ गई । गांधीजी ने बाकी लोगों को अलग हटा दिया । मैंने कैदियों के मामलों की सब फाइलें गांधीजी को दिखाईं । बताया, "सरकार शर्त लगाती है रिहाई के लिए ।" गांधीजी ने कहा, 'शर्त तो ठीक नहीं, मैं देखूंगा, बात करूंगा ।' फिर शची की तरफ इशारा करके पूछा—'लड़का क्या खाता है ? तुम क्या करती हो ?'

"स्टेशन पर जब उतरने लगी तो गांधीजी ने शची के लिये आम दिया, चोकर की रोटी दी । कहा, 'बच्चे को दे दो ।' फिर वे आगे चले गये । मैं लौट आई ।'

कत्ल व डकैती के आरोप

एक दिन भाभी के पुराने, खस्ता हाल, दीमक लगे मैले-मलगीजे कागज-पत्रों को खोजने पर किसी तरह वह सरकारी दस्तावेज ('अण्डर ट्रायल टिकट') पा लिया जिसके शुरू में रजिस्टर नं० ५६८ दर्ज था, प्रवेश तिथि १४ सितम्बर सन् १९३२, पेशी की तारीख २९ सितम्बर सन् १९३२ । लाहौर के अंग्रेज ए० डी० एम० मिस्टर ई० एस० लोविस की अदालत में यह पेशी हुई थी । भाभी पर आई० पी० सी० की ३०२/१८०-बी, ३, ४, ५, ६, आफ १९०८, आफ स्टेट ६-३९५, ३९७ व ३९९ सरीखी संगीन धाराएं लगीं थीं और इनमें कत्ल (सांडर्स वध), डकैती, राहजनी तथा राज-विद्रोह सभी कुछ समाविष्ट था । इसी वजह से ब्रिटिश सरकार भाभी को अपने साम्राज्य के लिए इतना भीषण खतरा समझ बैठी थी ।

'सांडर्स वध काण्ड' में भी पुलिस को उनकी तलाश थी । पर वे सन् १९३२ में गिरफ्तार हुई थीं, सबूत न मिलने पर मुकदमा तो उन पर नहीं बना, फिर भी पूरे तीन साल बाद रिहाई हुई । देखता हूं भाभी में कुछ भी नहीं बदला । कहीं पर आज भी वे उतनी ही कठोर हैं । भाषणबाजी से उन्हें नफरत है । दूर-दराज से, काफी पैसा खर्च करने की धुन में कई लोग मेरे पास आये, 'अमुक क्रांति-इतिहास की पुस्तक का उद्घाटन माताजी से करवा दें ।' मैं साथ गया । आगन्तुक ने बहुतेरा कहा, पांव पकड़े । मिन्नत की—'प्लेन से चली चलिए माता जी ! बड़ी कृपा होगी ।'

परन्तु भाभी कहने लगीं—'यह कृपा किसलिये ? मेरे लिये प्लेन में इतना पैसा खर्च करने की जरूरत क्या ? अरे, मैं तो इस जाड़े में अपनी महरी को गरम कपड़ा ही न दे पाई और तुम इतना रुपया फिजूल में फूंकना चाहते हो ?' वे नहीं ही गईं ।

और भी ऐसे कई प्रसंग हैं । दिल्ली में 'एक पत्रिका का उद्घाटन करवाने हेतु भाभी से बड़ा आग्रह किया गया । भाभी राजी न हुईं । यह मैं प्रायः देखता हूं । भीड़ से दूर अब उनकी अपनी जो दुनिया है उसमें हजारों छात्र-छात्राएं हैं, फिर उनकी पढ़ाई की, सुविधा-असुविधा की हजार चिन्ताएं भाभी की हैं । समष्टि की फिक्र में व्यष्टि का पूर्णतः विलीनीकरण, और तब मैं यह सोच कर चुप हो जाता हूं कि भाभी में अब शेष क्या हैं ? संसार के, राष्ट्र के महत्तम ध्येय में ही उनके दर्शन साध्य हैं, उनकी देह उसी का पर्याय है । ●

आरक्षण और धर्मान्तरण

(आज के सर्वाधिक चर्चित व ज्वलन्त प्रश्न)

ये क्या हैं ? क्यों हैं ?

किधर ले जा रहे हैं ??

उत्तर के लिये पढ़िये

"मंथन"

(त्रैमासिक) का अगला अंक

(नवम्बर १९८१ में प्रकाश्य)

शीर्षक : "समता के लिये संघर्ष"

ग्राम-पुनर्रचना विशेषांक की सफलता से उत्साहित पाठकों की मांग पर

"मंथन" का नया रूप

प्रत्येक अंक किसी एक विषय को समर्पित
अधिकारी विद्वानों की कलम से
स्वयं में पूर्ण शोध-ग्रन्थ
अधिक पृष्ठ, खोजपूर्ण सामग्री

मूल्य प्रति अंक केवल ८ रुपये,

वार्षिक शुल्क ३० रुपये

अपनी प्रति शीघ्र सुरक्षित करायें ;

प्रकाशन विभाग

दीनदयाल शोध संस्थान

७-ई, स्वामी रामतीर्थ नगर, नई दिल्ली-११००५५

CC-0. Panchjanya Research Institute. Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization.

यह दीप अकेला इसको पंक्ति में दे दो

पांचजन्य—स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में आप क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन में सक्रिय रहे हैं और आपने फांसी की संभावनाओं तक के साये में आतंकवादी कार्य किये। जे० पी० आन्दोलन से भी आप सम्बद्ध रहे हैं। आज की परिस्थिति में आपकी क्या भूमिका है?

अज्ञेय—जहां तक आज की राजनीतिक परिस्थिति में अपनी भूमिका का प्रश्न है, मैं मानता हूं कि ऐसा संभव होना चाहिये कि कुछ लोग ऐसे भी हों जो राजनीति को महत्व देते हुए भी राजनीति में इतना डूबे हुए न हों कि अपनी गतिविधि को बाहर से न देख सकें। साहित्यकार भी हालांकि राजनीति से अलग नहीं है, पर उसे राजनीति-कर्मी से अलग रहना चाहिये और इस स्थिति में होना चाहिये कि वह कह सके कि फलां काम ठीक नहीं है या कि ठीक है। भले ही ऐसा कहने से उसके हित में कोई परिणाम न निकले। मैं जानबूझकर 'इंटैलेक्चुअल' शब्द से बच रहा हूं। इस तरह का कोई शब्द ओढ़ लेना अच्छा नहीं लगता है। लेकिन मैं यह बात 'इंटैलेक्चुअल दायित्व' के सन्दर्भ में ही कर रहा हूं।

पांचजन्य—प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार श्री खुशवन्त सिंह ने कहा है कि आजादी के समय लोगों में आदर्शवाद नहीं बल्कि अंग्रेजों के जाने के बाद जो सुख अंग्रेज प्राप्त करते थे उसे स्वयं भोगने की इच्छा का जोर था।

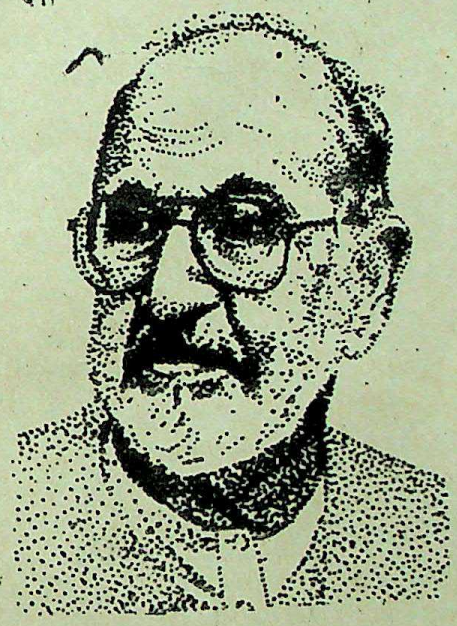
अज्ञेय—खुशवन्त सिंह में एक समय सिक्ख इतिहासकार बनने की संभावना तो थी। लेकिन उसके बाद जब से उन्हें लोक सम्पर्क का आकर्षण हुआ, तब से उन्होंने शायद ही कोई ऐसी बात कही है जिसका कि कोई मूल्य हो।

पांचजन्य—इस समय आपको कौन-सा प्रश्न आन्दोलित किये हुए है?

अज्ञेय—एक साथ कई प्रश्न आन्दोलित किए रहते है। अगर आपका तात्पर्य राजनीति से है, तो अभी असम के बारे में चिन्तित हूं। असम केन्द्र से काफी उपेक्षित रहा है, और अब भी पूरा देश असम की समस्या और उसके प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व को नहीं समझ रहा है। बड़ी आसानी से मान लिया जाता है कि लोग अलग हो जाना चाहते हैं, जो कि सच्चाई नहीं है। इसके अलावा भी सारे देश की राजनीति जिस दिशा में जारी है वह भी सुखद नहीं है।

राजनीतिज्ञ की भूल उसी तक सीमित नहीं रहती। यह हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों को व्यक्तिगत रूप से दंड मिल जाये, लेकिन अंततः परिणाम तो सारे देश को भुगतना पड़ता है।

पांचजन्य—आपकी कविता की एक पंक्ति है—यह दीप अकेला, इसको पंक्ति में दे दो...



स० ही० वात्स्यायन अज्ञेय

अज्ञेय—मैं जिस तरह के समग्र व्यक्ति की कल्पना करता हूं, समाज में काम करने के लिए भी उसको उपयोगी समझता हूं। समग्र व्यक्ति ही वास्तव में समाज से सही अर्थ में जुड़ते हैं। इस पंक्ति में यही भाव है में कि जो अकेला दीप है, गर्व भरा इत्यादि उस समाज को देने में ही उसका पूरा उपयोग और समाज का पूरा हित है।

पांचजन्य क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन से जब आप जुड़े थे तो देश की कैसी कल्पना आपने संजोई थी?

अज्ञेय- मोटे तौर पर समाजवादी लोकतन्त्र की कल्पना थी लेकिन वह क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन में भी बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं हुई थी, और उसके भीतर भी दो तीन प्रकार का चिन्तन चला रहा था जो कि बाद में राजनीति में प्रकट हुआ। कुछ लोग साम्यवादी समाजवाद की कल्पना करने लगे, कुछ लोग लोकतंत्रीय समाजवाद की ओर गये। कुछ लोगों ने मान लिया कि उस तरह के क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन का स्थान तो आजादी पाने तक ही होता है, उसके बाद नहीं।

अब काफी समय गुजर गया है। इतनी दूरी से यह बताना कि तब मैं किस प्रकार की सोच से जुड़ा था, मैं नहीं जानता कि कहां तक सच्चाई होगी। यू अब मुझे लगता है कि उस किस्म को आतंकवादी क्रांतिकारिता किसी खास परिस्थिति में ही जन्म भी लेती है और उसी में सार्थक भी होती है। उसके बाद उसकी कोई उपयोगिता नही रह जाती। आज की परिस्थिति में मुझे आतंकवाद की कोई उपयोगिता नहीं दिखती और अगर कोई ऐसा कार्य करेगा तो मैं उसका विरोध करूंगा। लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि आजादी की लड़ाई के समय हम जो ऐसा काम (आतंकवादी) कर रहे थे, उसे मैं नकार रहा हूं। उस परिस्थिति में उसका योग था।

उस समय सामान्यतः मेरा भी चिन्तन समाजवादी था। कुछ बुनियादी मूल्य जैसे सामाजिक समानता को मान लेना एक बात है, लेकिन वह इस समाज में व्यवहारतः कैसे लाई जाये, इसके बारे में तब मैंने नहीं सोचा था। जैसा खतरनाक जीवन हम बिता रहे थे, उसमें बैठकर इन बातों पर चिन्तन करने का अवसर और समय ही नहीं मिलता था।

देश के पराभव की स्थिति के विरुद्ध संघर्ष में मेरी सक्रियता का एक कारण उम्र का तकाजा भी हो सकता है, पर मूलतः सैद्धान्तिक चिन्तन ही था। तब भी मैं आजादी को एक मूल्य मानता था, अब भी समझता हूं। उसकी प्रतिष्ठा होनी चाहिये यह मेरी भावना थी, जो निश्चय ही उम्र के तकाजे से अलग है। ●

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"लड़ाई अभी शेष है"

पण्डित परमानन्द क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन की प्रथम पंक्ति के ऐसे निष्ठावान सिपाही नेता रहे हैं जो आज भी अपने मन में उसी आग को धधकाए हुए है–जिस आग ने उन्हें विदेशी दासता के विरुद्ध संघर्ष की प्रेरणा दी थी। यानी स्वदेश को एक सर्वांग समर्थ वैभव सम्पन्न राष्ट्र बनाने की आकांक्षा। अब वृद्धावस्था में हैं, किन्तु उनका व्यक्तित्व संघर्ष में तपकर कुन्दन के समान प्रखर और तेजस्वी है। आज के हालात से दुखी हैं, उस पर आयु-शैथिल्य, सो बहुत कम और बहुत धीरे बोल पाते हैं। 'पांचजन्य' के लिये उनके मन में विशेष अपनत्व और स्नेह है। उन्हीं के शब्दों में "देश में हजारों अखबार मैगजीनें हैं। लेकिन सिर्फ पांचजन्य ही एक अकेला ऐसा अखबार है जो राष्ट्रीय प्रेरणा देने का काम कर रहा है। बाकी सब व्यापारी हैं, पांचजन्य मिशनरी है"। इसी स्नेह से बंधे पं. परमानन्द बहुत कुछ बोले, उसे संक्षिप्त कर यहां प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

पांचजन्य—आपने अंग्रेजों के शोषण के विरुद्ध हिंसा का उपयोग किया और ३७ वर्ष जेल में बिताये जो स्वयं में एक विश्व रिकार्ड है। क्या आप वर्तमान समय में भी एक साफ सुथरा समाज बनाने के लिये हिंसा के उपयोग को उचित समझते हैं?

पं. परमानन्द क्यों नहीं? मैं तो शुरू से ही इस मत का रहा हूं कि समाज में परिवर्तन के लिये हिंसा का उपयोग बहुत जरूरी है। देखते हो देश की क्या हालत है? क्या यह आजादी है? हां, एक मायने में है कि बदमाश, चोर, लुटेरे, भ्रष्टाचारी लोग मनमानी कर रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं कहता हूं कि संगठन बनाओ, और जनता का खून चूसने वालों को खत्म करो।

पांचजन्य—आजकल आपकी दिनचर्या क्या रहती है?

पं. परमानन्द—(व्यंग्य से) अपना 'मिसयूज' (दुरुपयोग) करवा रहा हूं। ९४ वर्ष का हो गया हूं—क्या कर सकता हूं! सिर्फ सलाह दे सकता हूं। आप जैसा कोई आए, कुछ पूछे, तो सामर्थ्य भर बता सकता हूं। कुछ दूसरी किस्म के लोग भी आते हैं, तरह-तरह की कमेटियां बनाते हैं अपने स्वार्थ पूरे करने के लिये। ठप्पा मेरा लगा देते हैं—कोई प्रेसीडेन्ट बना देता है—कोई चेयरमैन। मैं यहां कमरे में बन्द रहता हूं—वे कुछ का कुछ करते रहते हैं। यही मेरा 'मिसयूज' है–नाम तो बड़ा है ना—उसी का फायदा उठाते हैं, सो उठा लो भाई।

पांचजन्य—क्या आपको ऐसा लगता है कि आज की नौजवान पीढ़ी में समाज की दुरावस्था दूर करने के लिये वह ऊर्जा और प्रेरणा है जो आपके समय की युवा पीढ़ी में थी?

पं. परमानन्द—नौजवान चुप नहीं हैं। खुले में दिखते नहीं—यह अलग बात है, लेकिन काम हो रहा है। धीरे-धीरे बदलाव आ रहा है। इस समय चारों ओर बुराई भलाई के बीच महाभारत युद्ध में कृष्ण काम कर रहे हैं। अचानक बदलाव नहीं आता। दस साल बाद का हिन्दुस्थान तुम पहचान न सकोगे।

पांचजन्य—क्या आपको ऐसा नहीं लगता कि नई पीढ़ी को वह शिक्षा नहीं मिल पा रही है जो उसमें राष्ट्रीयता की आग धधकाए। अब तो कहा जाने लगा है कि कल्कि अवतार की जगह कलर्की अवतार हो रहे हैं।

पं. परमानन्द—ठीक-ठीक। बिल्कुल ठीक कहा। लेकिन इसमें दोष तो शिक्षा देने वालों का है। मेरा तो यह कहना है कि आजकल विश्वविद्यालयों को सम्हालने वाले जो कुलपति हैं, उन सबको देशद्रोही करार देना चाहिये। वे देश की पूरी पीढ़ी के विरुद्ध कितना बड़ा अपराध कर रहे हैं, इसकी कल्पना सहज नहीं है। वे असली हिन्दुस्थान को नहीं जानते। उनके तीर्थ लन्दन, रोम और पैरिस में हैं। वहां बात-बात पर पहुंचते और वहां की जूठन बटोर लाते हैं—हमारे देश के बच्चों को खिलाने के लिये।

पांचजन्य—सन् '४७ में आजादी मिलने के बाद क्रांतिकारी चुप क्यों बैठ गये? क्या उन्हें अपने सपनों का भारत निर्माण करने के लिये जुटे नहीं रहना चाहिये था?

पं० परमानंद

पं. परमानन्द—वे थक गये थे, क्योंकि पूरी तरह तपे नहीं थे। हमें जितना संघर्ष कर आजादी मिलनी चाहिये थी, उतना संघर्ष किया नहीं। कच्चा फल तोड़ लिया। १९३८ में मुझे यूथ लीग का चेयरमैन बनाया गया था। उसकी एक बैठक देहरादून में हुई। तब मैंने साफ कहा था कि जो चीज जहां खोई जाती है वहीं प्राप्त होती है। आजादी हमने लड़ाई के मैदान में खोई है, अतः वहीं प्राप्त करनी होगी। पर ऐसा पूरी तरह न हो सका।

आज देश की जो दुःस्थिति है, वैसी स्थिति को खत्म करने के लिए कोई पका पकाया निदान कभी नहीं मिलता। लड़ाई लड़ते रहो, तो उसमें से रास्ता खुद-ब-खुद निकलता है। सोचो और करो। अगर खुद नहीं सोच सकते तो हमने जो रास्ता दिखाया है, उस पर चलो। ●

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization

कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

तुम कहां हो !

पथिक ! तुम कहां हो ? कब से तुम्हें खोज हारा ! हे आत्म-हारा तुम कहां मिलोगे ? उस दिन काशी के हरिश्चंद्र घाट वाली सड़क से संलग्न उस संकरी गली में गया था जहां तुम रहा करते थे। अकसर मिला करते। हालांकि काशी में तुम्हारे पिता वैद्य महेन्द्र कविराज शास्त्री के कई मकान थे, अगस्त कुंड पर। उनका मकान काफी बड़ा था मगर तुम मिलते थे हरिश्चन्द्र घाट वाली सड़क की उस गली वाले घर में ही। चेतसिंह घाट, मणि-कर्णिका, नारघाट, पंचगंगा घाट, राम घाट और मुंशी घाट पर भी कभी-कभी तुम्हें ढूंढता घूमता था और कहीं न कहीं किसी न किसी घाट की बुर्जी पर एकाकी बैठे तुम मिल ही जाते थे। मिलते ही तुम हंसते थे। दूध सी निर्मल स्वच्छ हंसी की गूंज कभी-कभी आज भी चौंका देती है।

उन दिनों तुम काशी के सेंट्रल हिन्दू कालेज में पढ़ते थे। दल के काम की भी जिम्मेदारी निभाते थे, हालांकि शुरू में सिर्फ विप्लवी नेता तुम्हारे पते से अपनी चिट्ठियां मात्र मंगाते थे और तुमसे आशा करते थे कि पकड़े जाने पर तुम किसी भी क्रांतिकारी का अता-पता नहीं दोगे पुलिस को। पढ़ने में तुम तेज थे। देखने में सुदर्शनी व्यायाम से पुष्ट शरीर, सरल हास्यमय चेहरा, कद छोटा लेकिन दिल कितना बड़ा। देश के लिए मरने-जूझने की भावना लिए तुम भूख-प्यास भुलाये रहते। साथियों को हंसते-हंसाते रहते।

एकाकी छात्र

तुम्हारी मां संसार में नहीं थी, घर में थी विमाता—वे तुम्हें मां की ममता नहीं दे पायीं। यह तुम जब लक्ष्मीकुंड पर "युवक सम्मिलनी क्लब" में मिलते थे तब बताते थे। प्रियनाथ तुम्हें दल में लाये थे। तार काटने की आरी, क्रांति का घोषणा पत्र और दो रिवाल्वर, कुछ कारतूस इतनी ही सम्पदा तुम्हारी गृहस्थी की धरोहर बन चुकी थी। अब दल के गुरुतर दायित्व भी तुम्हें सौंपे जाने लगे। कई-कई दिन तुम्हें कालेज और घर से गायब रहना पड़ता परन्तु तुम्हारी पढ़ाई-लिखाई तो देश की आजादी, उसकी लड़ाई के लिये ही थी। हरिश्चन्द्र घाट की सड़क पर रहना तुमने इसलिये चुना था क्योंकि वहां तुम्हारी विमाता न थी—कोई भी नहीं था वहां। एकाकी निस्संग छात्र जीवन था तुम्हारा और थे साथी क्रांतिकारी, तुम्हारी ही तरह आत्महारा, सर्वहारा।

उन दिनों बंगाल से 'लिबर्टी', 'स्वाधीन भारत' और 'युगान्तर' नाम के पर्चे आये थे। काशी में तुमने अनेक जगहों पर चिपकाया था छिपकर रातोंरात। उन्हीं दिनों 'काशी षड्यंत्र केस' में विनायक राव कापले फरार घोषित किये गये। उनके पास दल का काफी रुपया और रिवाल्वर आदि थे। कई माउजर पिस्तौल भी थे। कापले ने क्रांतिकारी मंत्र की प्रतिज्ञा लेकर भी दल का अनुशासन भंग किया, स्वेच्छाचारिता बरती, शस्त्रों का मनमाना दुरुपयोग किया। अतः चन्दन नगर से विप्लवी सुशील लाहिड़ी की तुम्हें चिट्ठी मिली कि "फौरन यहां आओ। विनायक कापले से दल के सब शस्त्र और धन वापस लेना होगा।"

तुम चन्दन नगर के लिए रात में ही चल पड़े थे। पानी कहे, बरसूंगा ही। छाता लेकर चले थे तुम घर से। तुम्हें बम्बई मेल पकड़नी थी। अतः तुम केदारघाट से नाव पर चढ़कर राजघाट के पुल पर उतर गये थे। वहां से मुगलसराय दस मील दूर है। बरसते पानी में ही तुम पैदल चल पड़े थे मुगलसराय के लिये। अंधकार, खेत और मैदान पानी से लबालब। सड़क पर बालिश्त भर पानी। फिर भी तुम छाते में किसी तरह स्टेशन पहुंचे थे। हावड़ा का टिकट लेकर तुम ट्रेन में जा बैठे भी, तब भी मूसलाधार प्रलय-वृष्टि हो रही थी।

और वह खून

फिर सुशील लाहिड़ी तुम्हारे साथ काशी आये। पता चला, विनायक कापले लखनऊ में रहता है क्योंकि काशी में वारंट जारी होने पर वह मध्यप्रदेश चला गया था। वहां उसने सात सदस्य भर्ती करके एक नया क्रांतिकारी दल बनाया। इन सात में दो छात्र भी थे, दो अध्यापक, एक बाबू, एक वकील और एक टेलर मास्टर। लेकिन उसको गिरफ्तार करने की सरगर्मी वहां भी बढ़ गई तो कापले लखनऊ चला गया। उससे दल का धन तथा शस्त्र वसूल लेना टेढ़ी खीर थी। लेकिन तुम्हें साथ लेकर सुशील लाहिड़ी लखनऊ पहुंचे थे। विनायक से कहा, "दल की चीजें वापस दे दो।" कापले ने टालमटूल की। बहुत कहने पर कहा—"आप कल मिलें। हम पैसा व रिवाल्वर लाकर रख लेंगे, आपको आने पर दे देंगे।"

सुशील लाहिड़ी और तुमने यकीन किया कि कापले आखिर क्रांतिकारी है, चीजें दे ही देगा। अतः तुम दोनों अगले दिन उसके यहां पहुंचे। वे दोनों वहां तैयार मिले लेकिन बिना किसी बातचीत के एकाएक कापले के एक (अज्ञात) साथी ने सुशील पर फायर कर दिया। तुम्हारे पास भरा माउजर पिस्तौल तैयार था। तुमने फौरन उस आदमी को गोली मारी लेकिन गोली जाकर लगी विनायक के। वह गिर गया। खून ही खून फैल गया। विनायक तुरन्त मर गया।

सुशील गिरफ्तार हो गये। तुम फरार रहे। उन पर मुकदमा चला। सुशील ने बचाव में कोई बयान देने से मना कर दिया। फांसी का भय उन्हें छू तक नहीं सका। उन्होंने कहा—"मैं अपने मुकदमे की कोई पैरवी आदि नहीं करने दूंगा—भले फांसी ही

जन्म-जमान्तरों तक, लोक-लोकान्तर में, देश देशान्तर में मैं तुम्हें पुकारता रहूंगा—"नृपेन्द्र ! तुम कहाँ हो ! कब मिलोगे हे चिरसंगी क्रांति-पथी !"

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मिले ।" बयान देना वे गोरों की अदालत में अपमानास्पद समझते थे। उसमें किसी अन्य साथी का नाम आ जाने की आशंका थी उन्हें। मौन रहकर ही फांसी की सजा सुनी और मौन रहे मरण वेला में भी। बड़ा अजीब रास्ता है यह, कितने ही चले गये इस पथ पर बेनामो-निशां। उन्हें आज कौन जानता है! सुशीलदा भी क्रांति-इतिहास में अज्ञात ही रह गये। तुम फरार थे। खुफ़िया पुलिस वाले शहर-शहर तुम्हें खोजते फिर रहे थे—काशी और लखनऊ स्टेशन पर। पुलिस ने तुम्हारे फ़ोटो वाला एक इश्तिहार चिपकवाया। तुम यायावर की तरह दर-बदर भटकते फिरे। न कहीं खाने का ठिकाना, न ठहरने का। फरार विप्लवी को कौन अपने घर ठहराता है। इसी भागदौड़ में तुम्हें बीमारी ने धर दबोचा। संग्रहणी हो गयी। दिन पर दिन तुम्हारा शरीर टूटता गया। यहां तक कि चलना-फिरना भी दूभर हो गया। ऊपर से एक और मुसीबत—पुलिस उस मकान पर निगरानी रखने लगी, जहां लक्ष्मी कुंज पर तुम्हें ठहराया गया था। अतः किसी को संकट में डालना उचित न समझकर तुमने जिद की कि "मुझे चौकाघाट वाले सरकारी अस्पताल में भर्ती करा दो।" तुम्हें वहां भर्ती करा दिया गया। बीच-बीच में चौथे-पांचवें दिन कोई न कोई तुम्हें देखने आता रहा। अनेक दिन बीत चले। रोग तुम्हारा जर्जर शरीर छीजता गया और एक दिन जब तुम्हें देखने एक साथी गया तो तुम वहां नहीं थे, चले गये थे उस देश, जहां फांसी पाकर सुशीलदा चले गये हैं, खुदीराम, कन्हाईलाल दत्त, गोपीमोहन साहा और भी न जाने कितनी सन्तानें पहुंची हैं। जाओ पथिक! शरत् बाबू के शब्दों में 'जाओ हे पथेर दावी! (पथ के दावेदार), मुक्तिमार्ग के हे अग्रदूत! जाओ।'

हे! चिरसंगी क्रांति-पथी

तुम्हारी वह लावारिस लाश उस दिन चौकाघाट के अस्पताल वालों ने किसी घाट पर जला दी। कोई भी तो स्वजन सम्बन्धी या साथी उस दिन तुम्हारी चिता के पास न था। सर्वथा अपरिचित, अनाथ पुरुष की तरह तुम्हारा वह घुलघुलकर मृत्यु का आलिंगन कैसी रोमाँचकारी घटना है। कौन जान सका कि उस दिन काशी के वैद्य महेन्द्र कविराज का विप्लवी बेटा नृपेन्द्र मर गया उस खैराती अस्पताल के एकान्त में। उस दिन या पहले कभी तुमने किसी को अपना नाम-धाम बताकर परिचय देने की जरूरत नहीं समझी। इसलिये हे आत्मदानी! मैंने भी एक ही बार, सिर्फ एक बार तुम्हारे नाम का जिक्र किया है, क्षमा कर देना। जन्म-जन्मान्तरों तक, लोक-लोकान्तर में, देश-देशान्तर में मैं तुम्हें पुकारता रहूंगा, "नृपेन्द्र! तुम कहां हो? कब मिलोगे? हे चिरसंगी क्रांति-पथी!" ●

दांत निकलने के दिनों में यह बच्चे की सहायता करता है...

नौनिहाल ग्राइप सीरप

नौनिहाल ग्राइप सीरप दांत निकलने के दिनों के लिए विशेष रूप से बनाया गया है जो इन कठिन दिनों में आप के बच्चे की सहायता करता है। यह मसूड़ों की तकलीफ़, पेट दर्द, कब्ज़ और दस्तों की शिकायतों मे आराम देता है, हाज़मा ठीक रखता है और भूख लगाता है। दांत निकलने के दिनो मे बच्चे को सदा नौनिहाल ग्राइप सीरप दीजिए।

हमदर्द

HD-4973 H

नौनिहाल बेबी टॉनिक

बच्चों की भरपूर तन्दुरुस्ती और शक्ति के लिए नौनिहाल बेबी टॉनिक जिसमे विटामिन ए. सी, डी, बी कांम्पलैक्स और चार खनिज पदार्थ सम्मिलित है जिन पर आपके बच्चे की शारीरिक बढोतरी और शक्ति निर्भर है। नौनिहाल बेबी टॉनिक से बच्चा मज़बूत और तन्दुरुस्त बनता है, चुस्त और हंसता खेलता रहता है।

...और यह बच्चे की बढ़ोतरी के लिये.

महत्वपूर्ण जिम्मेदारी

इस समय हम नौजवानों से यह नहीं कह सकते कि वे बम और पिस्तौल उठाएं। आज विद्यार्थियों के सामने इससे भी अधिक महत्वपूर्ण काम है। आने वाले लाहौर अधिवेशन में कांग्रेस देश की आजादी के लिए जबरदस्त लड़ाई की घोषणा करने वाली है। राष्ट्रीय इतिहास के इन कठिन क्षणों में नौजवानों के कंधों पर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आ पड़ेगी। यह सच है कि स्वतन्त्रता के इस युद्ध में अग्रिम मोर्चों पर विद्यार्थियों ने मौत से टक्कर ली हैं। क्या परीक्षा के इस समय पर वे उसी प्रकार की दृढ़ता और आत्म-विश्वास का परिचय देने से हिचकिचाएंगे? नौजवानों को क्रांति का यह संदेश देश के कौने-कौने में पहुंचाना है, फैक्ट्री कारखानों के क्षेत्रों में, गन्दी बस्तियों और गांवों की जर्जर झोंपड़ियों में रहने वाले करोड़ों लोगों में इस क्रांति की अलख जगाना है, जिससे आजादी आयेगी और तब एक मनुष्य द्वारा दूसरे मनुष्य का शोषण असंभव हो जायेगा। पंजाब वैसे ही राजनीतिक तौर पर पिछड़ा हुआ माना जाता है। इसकी भी जिम्मेदारी युवक वर्ग पर ही है। आज वे देश के प्रति अपनी असीम श्रद्धा और शहीद यतीन्द्रनाथ दास के महान बलिदान से प्रेरणा लेकर यह सिद्ध कर दें कि स्वतंत्रता के इस संघर्ष में वे दृढ़ता से टक्कर ले सकते हैं।

● भगत सिंह
● बटुकेश्वर दत्त

...National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

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कुछ ढीये इनके भी नाम

हिमांशु सेन और माखन घोषाल

बड़ा अंधेरा है, सब तरफ वीरान जंगल और पहाड़ियों का अंचल पसरा है। यहीं कहीं फेनी स्टेशन है, पूर्वी बंगाल (अब बंगला देश) के क्षेत्र में। १७ साल का विप्लवी जीवन घोषाल (माखन) यहीं फेनी स्टेशन पर शहीद हुआ था। "चटगांव शस्त्रागार" पर क्रांतिकारियों ने जो धावा बोला था वह उसमें शामिल था। फिर जलालाबाद पहाड़ी पर गोरों की फौज से विप्लवी-दल का जो संग्राम हुआ उसमें भी वह लड़ता रहा था। उस युद्ध के पहले "शस्त्रागार में आग लगाते समय एक विप्लवी हिमांशु सेन घायल हो गया, शस्त्रागार पुलिस लाइन में था। हिमांशु की दशा ज्यादा बिगड़ती दिखी, तो कुछ क्रांतिकारी अनन्त सिंह, आनन्द गुप्त, जीवन घोषाल और गणेश घोष उसे घर भेजने चले। ये सब एक गाड़ी में थे। हिमांशु ज्यादा जल गया था। उसे वापस भेज आये लेकिन वह घायल दशा में ही १९ अप्रैल सन् १९३० को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और अस्पताल में अगले दिन २० अप्रैल को उसने दम तोड़ दिया। चला गया हिमांशु—मरने वाले ने नाम-धाम नहीं बताया। कोई अंतिम वक्तव्य-संदेश नहीं। मौन मरण।

शहीद माखन घोषाल

वह ड्राइवर

उधर हिमांशु सेन से अलग होने के बाद भटियारी स्टेशन से जीवन घोषाल, अनन्त सिंह, गणेश घोष और आनन्द गुप्त ट्रेन में सवार हुए—सबने धोबी का वेष बना रखा था। कुमिल्ला जाना चाहते थे कि फेनी स्टेशन पर पुलिस दल से घिर गये। दारोगा कई सिपाहियों को लेकर जीवन की तलाशी लेने चला ही था कि जीवन ने रिवाल्वर दाग दिया। गोली दारोगा के पेट में घुस गई। सिपाही भी जख्मी हो गये। इस मौके का लाभ उठाकर अनन्त सिंह, गणेश घोष, आनन्द गुप्त भाग निकले। पुलिस दल ने अंधाधुंध गोलियां बरसाईं, जिसमें जीवन घोषाल घायल होकर गिर गया। फिर नहीं उठा। सन् १९३० की वह पहली सितम्बर का दिन था। उस समय वह सिर्फ १७ साल का था। सम्पन्न परिवार में जन्मा, लाड़-प्यार में पला जीवन, स्कूल में सदैव प्रथम आता था। घर में बड़ा विनयी, मिष्टभाषी। सबको आदर देने वाला। अपने से बड़ों को जवाब देना तो उसने सीखा न था। हर काम के लिए मुस्तैद, फुर्तीला। जब दल का सदस्य था उस समय इंटर के प्रथम वर्ष में पढ़ रहा था, १८ अप्रैल सन् '३० की रात जो टुकड़ी चटगांव शस्त्रागार पर जिस कार में छापा मारने चली थी उस कार को जीवन घोषाल ही चलाकर ले गया था।

आत्मबलिदान की ओर

दल के कामों के लिए जीवन घर में चोर और जालसाज कहलाया। कारण विप्लवी दल को पैसों की सख्त जरूरत थी, हथियार आदि खरीदने थे। चटगांव शस्त्रागार पर धावा बोलने की तैयारी हो रही थी, निश्चित तिथि में अभी पांच महीने बाकी थे। दल के लोगों से कहा गया, "जैसे भी हो धन इकट्ठा करो।" कालेज में पढ़ने वाला लड़का। पैसा कहां से लाए? जीवन ने एक तरकीब सोची। उसके पिता खूब पैसे वाले थे। बैंक में भी काफी धन जमा था। जीवन ने सोचा, "देश के नाम पर हो या जैसे भी, मांगने से घरवाले पैसा देंगे नहीं। दम-बीस रुपया दे सकते हैं, उतने से क्या होगा? क्यों न कुछ रुपया मैं पिताजी के हस्ताक्षर बनाकर निकाल लूं और दल को सौंप दूं।" अच्छे काम के लिए चोरी करना पड़े तो हर्ज नहीं यह सोचकर ऊंचे चरित्र का जीवन पहली बार चोरी करने चला। उसने पिताजी की आलमारी से चैक बुक निकाली। एक चैक पर १८०० रुपया भरा और उस पर पिताजी की लिखावट में ठीक उनसे मिलते-जुलते हस्ताक्षर बनाये। बैंक गया, वहां ऐसे धनी पिता के बेटे पर किसी ने शक न किया। जीवन इस तरह उस दिन १८०० रुपए ले आया और दल के हवाले कर दिये। किसी साथी को भी नहीं बताया कि पैसे उसने किस तरह प्राप्त किए हैं। शायद चोरी की बात बताने से दल के नेता सूर्यसेन (मास्टर दा) नाराज होते या कि वह रुपए ही वापस कर देते, इसलिए छिपा गया। दल वाले समझे, बड़े घर का बेटा है लोगों से इकट्ठे करके रुपये लाया है। फिर भी घर वाले जान गये कि जीवन ने चोरी से रुपये निकाले। उसकी खासी प्रताड़ना की गई। डांटा गया। निंदा हुई कि "लड़का बिगड़ रहा है। कुसंगति में पड़ गया है।" जीवन मौन होकर, बिना किसी को कोई उत्तर दिये सब सह गया। वही जीवन जब एक दिन पुलिस दल से लड़ते-लड़ते खेत रहा, साथी क्रांतिकारियों को बचाते हुए आत्म-बलिदान दे गया, तो घर वालों की आंखें खुलीं कि जीवन बिगड़ा नहीं था, उसने तो परिवार की सात पीढ़ियों का मुख उज्ज्वल कर दिया था। अरे! ऊपर कोई है, उस वीराने में—घोर तमिस्रा में हिमांशु सेन की याद में और जीवन घोषाल के नाम एक दीप तो जला दे। क्योंकि उसकी समाधि कहीं नहीं और वह फेनी का इलाका भी आज भारत में नहीं। ●

विनोदी आजाद

एक बार दल के एक सदस्य प्रो० नन्दकिशोर निगम बीमार पड़े। दिल्ली के जिस "हिंदू कालेज" में निगम पढ़ाते थे उसी कालेज के एक अन्य प्रोफेसर मित्र एक दिन निगमजी की कुशल-क्षेम पूछने आये और कहा "निगम, मेरी तुमसे प्रार्थना है कि इस रोग से ठीक होते ही तुम विवाह जरूर कर लो।" यह कहते समय प्रोफेसर ने अपनी आंखें ऐसे बंद कर लीं जैसे लोग ध्यानस्थ होते समय करते हैं। वहां उस समय आजाद भी मौजूद थे। जब मित्र चले गये तो आजाद ने उन्हीं के लहजे में नकल उतारते हुए और अपनी आंखें मींचकर निगमजी से कहा—"निगम, मेरी तुमसे सविनय प्रार्थना है कि रोग ठीक होते ही तुम विवाह जरूर कर लो।' फिर निगम और वे हंसते रहे।—व०वि०

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research

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विप्लवी देबू

लोकनाथ बल और हरिगोपाल बल सहोदर थे। हरिगोपाल इतना शक्तिवान तथा फुर्तीला था कि उसके सहपाठी उसे "टेगरा" कहने लगे। लोकनाथ बल उसका अग्रज था और प्रभास बल इन दोनों का चचेरा भाई था। चटगांव कांड में ये तीनों ही भाई लड़ते हुए शहीद हुए। एक अविस्मरणीय घटना! एक ही परिवार ने तीन बलिदान दिये। चौथा भाई आनन्द गुप्त इसी कांड में कालेपानी भेजा गया।

देबू (देव प्रसाद) का बयान, जो उसने मरणासन्न अवस्था में दिया था, तत्कालीन बंगला पत्र "पांचजन्य" (चटगांव से प्रकाशित) में छपा था। तदनुसार देबू ने मरते समय अंग्रेज डी० आई० जी० लोमैन साहब से कहा था—"काश! उस वक्त तुम वहां मौजूद होते और मैं तुम्हें गोली मार पाता! अफसोस कि तुम बच गये।" डी० आई० जी० उससे और कोई बात उगलवा न सका।

दूसरी बात उसने कही थी, "अगर मेरे हाथ में गोली न लगी होती तो पुलिस मुझे कभी पकड़ नहीं पाती।" ये दोनों बातें बंगला पत्र "पांचजन्य" में प्रकाशित हुई थीं। साथ ही सिविल सर्जन ने उसके शव की जो परीक्षा की थी वह भी "पांचजन्य" ने छापी थी कि :—

"देव प्रसाद गुप्त आत्मज योगेन्द्र गुप्त, निवासी चटगांव की लाश बांसों के झुरमुट में बरामद हुई। देव प्रसाद का शव एक नंगी खाट पर पड़ा था जिस पर मैंने पांच जख्म मौजूद पाये। पांचों घाव गोलियों के ही थे। एक गोली दायें कंधे में लगी थी दूसरी बायें में। दो गोलियां छाती पर बाईं तरफ। बायें हाथ पर दो गोलियों के जख्म थे और बाईं जांघ को तीन गोलियां छेद गई थीं। जांघ की खाल जलकर काली पड़ गई थी। दाईं बांह भी गोली से जल गई थी।" देबू अभी १६ साल का ही था, इन्टर द्वितीय वर्ष में पढ़ता था। शिक्षक उसे सराहते थे, लेकिन देबू अपना अंत शायद समझ गया था कि वह परीक्षा-परिणाम सुनने के लिए नहीं रहेगा। क्योंकि चटगांव शस्त्रागार पर धावा बोलने की योजना निश्चित हो चुकी थी, थोड़े ही दिन उसमें बाकी थे। तभी परीक्षा की 'बला' आ गई। उसकी तैयारी में उसका मन लगा नहीं। एक मेधावी छात्र परीक्षा निकट आने पर भी पढ़ नहीं रहा इसका कारण न शिक्षक समझ सके, न घर के बड़े-बूढ़े।

आखिर सूर्य सेन (मास्टर दा) जो दल के नेता भी थे और स्वयं अध्यापन का काम करते रहे थे, ने एक दिन देबू को बुलाकर पूछा, "क्यों, यह क्या करते हो? ठीक से परीक्षा क्यों नहीं देते?"

देबू बोला—"क्या होगा दादा! कौन रहेगा परीक्षा फल सुनने के लिए?" आज पांच गोलियों से विद्ध उसकी रक्तारक्त लाश उसी भवितव्यता की ज्वलंत साक्षी थी। ●

कोई न जाने

सन् '३१ की बात। अप्रैल मास चल रहा था कि मिद्नापुर के अंग्रेज जिला कलक्टर मि० पेडी को विमल गुप्त नाम के एक छात्र ने गोली मार दी। यह गोली काण्ड दिन में सरे-आम हजारों लोगों की भीड़ में हुआ था। विमल गुप्त विप्लवी था और बंगाल स्वयं सेवक दल में सक्रिय था। खुफिया पुलिस उसे हर जगह छान रही थी लेकिन वह उसके हाथ नहीं लगा—थानों में उसकी शक्ल सूरत से पहचान कराने वाले पोस्टर चिपकाये गये, लेकिन व्यर्थ। तभी किसी विप्लवी ने मि० मालिक को गोली मारकर खत्म कर दिया। मालिक का अपराध यह था कि वह अलीपुर अदालत का सेशन जज था तथा उसने हाल ही में जेल के आई० जी० कर्नल सिमसन को कलकत्ता राइटर्स बिल्डिंग में जाकर गोली से उड़ा देने वाले क्रांतिकारी दिनेश गुप्त को फांसी की सजा सुनाई थी। इसी कारण एक विप्लवी एक दिन अलीपुर अदालत में भरी पिस्तौल लेकर घुसा और सेशन जज की कुर्सी पर विराजमान मालिक साहब को खत्म कर दिया। पश्चात् पुलिस कहीं उस से दल के भेद न जान ले इस कारण उसने वहीं अपने को भी समाप्त कर लिया। उसकी लाश की तलाशी ली गयी, तो उसके कपड़ों की जेब से एक परचा मिला जिस पर 'विमल गुप्त' का नाम दर्ज था। और लिखा था, 'हमारे साथी दिनेश गुप्त को जिस तरह तुमने फांसी की सजा दी, उसी का यह इनाम हम तुम्हें देते हैं। अलम्।—विमल गुप्त'

वह कौन था?

अंग्रेज अफसर तथा खुफिया पुलिस प्रसन्न थी कि आखिर विमल गुप्त की लाश सामने आ गई—जिस की हमें तलाश थी। लेकिन जब उस युवक के घर वालों को उसकी लाश की शिनाख्त करने के लिए बुलाया गया और उन्होंने उस मृतक को देखा तो बयान दिया, 'यह हमारा बेटा नहीं है।'

पूछा गया, 'आपके बेटे का क्या नाम था?'

वे बोले—'विमल गुप्त'।

पुलिस चकित कि फिर यह कौन है और इसके परचे में 'विमल गुप्त' का नाम क्यों अंकित था? हताश हो पुलिस अफसरों ने चारों तरफ इश्तहार छपवाये कि "जो आदमी इस लाश का ठीक नाम पता बतायेगा, सरकार उसको ५ सौ रुपये नकद इनाम देगी।" उस जमाने के ५ सौ रुपये आज के ५ हजार रुपए होंगे। फिर भी उन पांच सौ रुपये के लोभ में अंग्रेजों को बंगाल में कोई गद्दार नसीब नहीं हुआ। बहुत दिनों तक सरकार उस लाश का वास्तविक परिचय या शिनाख्त कर पाने में असफल ही रही। कारण यह लाश थी एक अन्य आत्म-त्यागी क्रांतिकारी कन्हाई भट्टाचार्य की। इसने इस भावना से खुद को 'विमल गुप्त' बताकर संसार से चिर विदा ले ली थी, ताकि वास्तविक विमल गुप्त, जो फरार था, आगे भी दल के काम करता रह सके और पुलिस इस धोखे में रहे कि विमल गुप्त तो मर चुका है। भले ही मरने वाले कन्हाई भट्टाचार्य को कोई जाने या न जाने। आत्म-गोपन का यह मंत्र उस बलिदानी ने चौबीस परगना निवासी क्रांतिकारी मात कौड़ी बनर्जी से ग्रहण किया था। आत्म-दान का यह अपूर्व उदाहरण है। ●

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कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

एक थे फुटु दा.....

"फुटु दा" का पूरा नाम था—तारकेश्वर दस्तीदार। ये दल में अच्छे संगठन-कर्ता माने जाते थे, दल के नेता सूर्यसेन (मास्टर दा) के दाहिने हाथ थे। उनके पकड़े जाने पर दल के नेतृत्व का भार इन्होंने ही निभाया। चटगांव के एक सामान्य परिवार में जन्मे फुटु दा बी०एस-सी० (प्रथम वर्ष) में पढ़ते थे। उनकी बातों से छात्र प्रभावित, आकर्षित होते थे। पढ़ने में तेज थे।

बम बनाने में पिकरिक एसिड तैयार होती है। अर्धेन्दु दस्तीदार के साथ ही फुटु दा को भी यह काम सौंपा गया, क्योंकि वह विज्ञान का छात्र था। एक दिन पिकरिक एसिड बनाते वक्त जो भयंकर विस्फोट हुआ, उसमें अर्धेन्दु के साथ ही फुटु दा भी बुरी तरह जख्मी हो गये। शरीर में काफी गहरे घाव थे। दल के लोगों को पता चला तो दो साथी अनन्त-सिंह और गणेश घोष फुटु दा को आकर मिले। फुटु दा ने कहा, "इस हालत में मैं जिन्दा रहा और पुलिस को पता चल गया तो शस्त्रागार पर आक्रमण करने की जो योजना बनी है, उसकी जानकारी पुलिस को हो जायेगी, इसलिए जरूरी है कि मुझे आप लोग गोली मार दें।" कौन मानता उनकी यह जिद। दवा-इलाज हुआ। जब १८ अप्रैल आई, जिस दिन आक्रमण करना था, तब भी फुटु दा के घाव भरे नहीं थे। फलतः उन्हें नहीं ले जाया गया। इससे वे बड़े दुखी थे। बोले, "बस जिसकी आकुल प्रतीक्षा में इतने दिन धैर्य रखा जब वह सुदिन आया भी तो मैं खाट पर हूं, क्या उपयोग इस जीवन का।"

एक बार वे एक अन्य फरार विप्लवी वीरेन्द्र डे के साथ बर्मा नामक गांव से गुजर रहे थे कि सहसा संदेह हो जाने पर पुलिस दल से घिर गये। पुलिस ने "हाल्ट" कहा ही था कि फुटु दा ने कमर में खुंसा रिवाल्वर निकाल लिया और पुलिस दल पर गोली चलाकर उनका आगे बढ़ना दुश्वार कर दिया। सन् १९३१ का यह मार्च महीना था। फुटु दा के दोनों हाथों में अभी भी जख्म रिसते थे, गोली चलाते समय घोड़ा दबाने में दिक्कत आती थी। घावों में असह्य पीड़ा उभर आती थी, परन्तु फुटु दा ने दोनों हाथों से जोर लगाकर घोड़ा दबाया और पुलिस दल से मोर्चा लिया। उनकी गोली से इंस्पेक्टर शंखधर भट्टाचार्य जख्मी होकर वहीं गिर गया। फुटु दा अपने साथी सहित अंधेरे में लुप्त हो गये। पकड़े नहीं जा सके। आखिर वे सूर्यसेन (मास्टर दा) के सहकारी थे, सूर्यसेन मौका पड़ने पर मकान की चौथी मंजिल से भी छलांग लगाकर निकल जाते थे। यों क्षीणकाय थे, उन्हें देखकर कोई अनुमान नहीं लगा सकता था कि मास्टर दा में इतनी शक्ति है। वे स्नातक थे। शादी हो जाने के बावजूद दूसरे दिन "चट्टेश्वरी" की प्रतिमा के समक्ष आजीवन स्वतंत्रता संग्राम चलाने किंवा देश-सेवा की प्रतिज्ञा की। पत्नी पुष्पकुन्तला देवी बहुत सुन्दर थीं। वे उनके रास्ते में कभी बाधक नहीं बनीं। बंगाल में क्रांतिकारी के नाते सूर्यसेन का बड़ा नाम था। सन् १९२३ में उन्होंने दल के लिए "असम-बंगाल रेल कम्पनी" का १७ हजार रुपया लूट लिया था। फिर भी पुलिस उनका पता नहीं पा सकी थी। अपने क्रांतिकारी पति के कारण पुष्पकुन्तला ने बहुत लांछनाएं सहीं। जब तक जीवित रहीं, संघर्ष में ही जीवन गुजरा। सूर्यसेन तीन वर्ष फरार रहकर भी अंग्रेज सरकार की नींद हराम किये रहे। इन्हें पकड़ने के लिए सरकार ने पूरे चटगांव में "परिचय पत्र" दिखाने-रखने का ढकोसला चलाया।

आखिर एक दिन सन् १९३३ की १६ फरवरी को गेडला गांव में फौज ने उन्हें घेर लिया। साथ में ब्रजेन्द्र सेन था। दोनों तरफ से गोली चली। सूर्यसेन और ब्रजेन्द्र सेन पकड़े गये। बन्दूक के कुन्दों-बूटों से उन्हें खूब कुचला गया। गोरों ने उनपर पेशाब किया। नंगा किया गया। फिर भी हजारों लोगों की भारी भीड़ उस उद्भट विप्लवी के दर्शनार्थ

(शेष अगले पृष्ठ पर)

शहीद त्रिपुरा सेन

त्रिपुरा सेन भी एक छात्र था। घर ढाका में था। पढ़ता था चटगांव के नगर-पालिका स्कूल में। गौरवर्ण, उन्नत ललाट, तेजस्वी त्रिपुरा नवीं कक्षा का छात्र था। अभावों में पल-बढ़ रहा था। सदर घाट में एक क्लब था छात्रों का, त्रिपुरा भी वहां जाया करता था। तभी एक दिन स्कूल में खबर आई कि लाहौर केस में कैद क्रांतिकारी यतीन्द्रनाथ दास अनशन के बीच जेल में ही बलिदान हो गये। पूरे नगर में हड़ताल हुई। सभी स्कूल कालेजों में छात्रों ने हड़ताल रखी लेकिन त्रिपुरा जिस स्कूल में पढ़ता था, उसके प्रधानाध्यापक ने कहा, "यहां हड़ताल-वड़ताल नहीं होगी।" सब छात्र उसके रौब में चुप हो गये। एकाकी त्रिपुरा सेन आवेश में कक्षा से निकला और बाहर आ खड़ा हुआ। चिल्लाकर उसने शेष छात्रों को ललकारा—"मित्रों! देखते क्या हो? कक्षाएं छोड़ दो। शहीद का अपमान मत होने दो। देखता हूं, कैसे स्कूल में काम जारी रहता है....."। छात्रों में उसके शब्द जादू बनकर छा गये। पूरी हड़ताल हो गई। सभी छात्र त्रिपुरा के साथ आ खड़े हुए।

आगे चटगांव में तरुण सम्मेलन हुआ, इसमें सुभाष बोस आये थे। उस सम्मेलन में त्रिपुरा सेन को स्वयं सेवक दल का लेफ्टिनेंट बनाया गया। तब से सभी छात्र उसे लेफ्टिनेंट त्रिपुरा सेन कहकर बात करते। पुलिस लाइन पर कब्जा करके उस पर राष्ट्र ध्वज फहराने वाली टोली में वह भी शामिल था। गोली चलाते-चलाते वह खेत रहा, उस समय उसकी उम्र १६ साल की थी। मैट्रिक की परीक्षा हाल ही में दी थी। क्रांति के इतिहास में कहां है उसका नाम? उसका कोई शेष चिन्ह नहीं। ढाका की शहीद मीनार के निकट कोई एक दीप उसके नाम पर भी रख देना।●

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

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कुछ ढोये इनके भी नाम

तुम लड़ाई जारी रखना

हरिगोपाल बल

मरते समय हरिगोपाल बल (टेगरा) ने अपने बड़े भाई से कहा था—"सोना भाई! मैं चला, लेकिन तुम लोग लड़ते रहना।" वह अपने अग्रज लोकनाथ बल को "सोना भाई" कहता था। चटगांव के ही कालेजिएट स्कूल में दसवीं में पढ़ता था। अश्वारोहण, कार-चालन तथा नौका-चालन में बड़ी रुचि थी। गोरे सिपाही और अफसर मदिरा पीकर चटगांव की सड़कों पर स्त्रियों का अपमान करते, लोगों को तंग करते। यह देखकर हरिगोपाल कई बार उनसे भिड़ गया। मारपीट की। गोरों का नशा उतारने में उसे बड़ा आनन्द अनुभव होता था। गुंडे उससे कांपते थे।

उसका बचपना दसवें दर्जे में पहुंचने पर भी नहीं गया। चटगांव शस्त्रागार लूटने के बाद जब क्रांतिकारियों ने पहाड़ियों पर मोर्चा बांधा तो सब भूखे-प्यासे थे। कई-कई दिन जगते-चलते गुजर गए, राह में एक बार एक तरबूज प्राप्त हो गया। अम्बिका चक्रवर्ती बड़े थे, अध्यापक थे—उन्होंने तरबूज की उतनी फांकें काटीं, जितने विप्लवी साथ में थे। एक फांक बढ़ गई, लेकिन भूख-प्यास से व्याकुल टेगरा वह फांक भी खा गया। इस पर अम्बिका दा ने एक तमाचा टेगरा के मार दिया। टेगरा कुछ न बोला। अम्बिका दा का तमाचा मौन होकर सह गया। उसके दल ने फौज के ६४ सैनिकों को यमलोक भेज दिया था और अभी लड़ाई जारी थी। क्रांतिकारियों का गुरिल्ला युद्ध अंग्रेजों की फौज को भारी पड़ रहा था। वे कई मोर्चे छोड़कर पीछे हट चुके थे परन्तु फिर नई कुमुक लेकर आगे आ जाते थे, इस विचार से कि आखिर क्रांतिकारी संख्या में मुट्ठी भर ही हैं—कुल ६५, जिनमें कई मारे जा चुके हैं।

जलालाबाद की पहाड़ी पर आज भी थी टेगरा की टुकड़ी। शाम के पांच बजे थे कि जो विप्लवी तरुण पहरे पर तैनात था वह अचानक पुकार उठा "सावधान! सावधान!" और पलक मारते वह पहाड़ी रायफल की गोलियों से गुंजित हो गई। अंग्रेजों की सेना उन विप्लवियों को पकड़ने आई थी, जिन्होंने चटगांव शस्त्रागार लूट कर उसमें आग लगा दी थी। पहाड़ी के नीचे सेना ऊपर पहाड़ी पर क्रांतिकारी डटे थे। स्थिति विप्लवी दल के किये लड़ाई दृष्टि से अनुकूल थी। देर तक दोनों से घमासान लड़ाई चली। गोलियों की धुंध बरसात जारी रही। फिर भी फौज ६४ सिपाही क्रांतिकारियों ने मारकर गिरा दिये। इसके बाद क्रांतिकारी युवक घायल हो-होकर गिरने लगे। सबसे पहले मशीनगन की गोलियां टेगरा को लगीं। भूमि पर गिरकर रक्त ढारने लगा। उसे पर एक कितनी ही गोलियां आकर छलनी गईं। फिर भी वह होश में था। कहता अपने भाई से, "तुम सब लड़ाई जारी रखना। फिर वहीं उसके प्राणपखेरू अनन्त में हो गये। उसके बाद उसके निकट ही निर्मल लाल गोली खाकर गिरा। यह सबसे छोटा था, कुल १४ साल का। पढ़ता था पर वाह रे सिंह शावक! उसे गोली लगते ही थी कि निर्मल तत्काल जमीन उछला और गोली चलाने की कोशिश में खड़ा हो गया। तब साथियों ने उसे डांटा, कहा- "भूमि पर पड़ जा, खड़ा मत रह।" फिर जमीन पर पड़ गया। वहीं चिर विदा ले गया बच्चा। फिर सब एक-एक कर गिरते गये।

इनमें से एक पुलिन घोष, गोसाईं डांगा में रहता था तथा चटगांव के जे०एम० स्कूल में कक्षा में पढ़ता था। पूरा नाम था पुलिन विकास घोष। गुदड़ी का लाल था, परिवार गरीबी में गुजर करता था किन्तु पुलिन पढ़ने में तेज था। किशोर अवस्था में ही समाज-सेवा की लगन लगी। रामकृष्ण आश्रम के लिए गले में भगवा झोली डालकर द्वार-द्वार एक मुट्ठी भिक्षान्न इकट्ठा करता। यह निर्धन मोहताज लोगों में वितरित होता था।

१८ अप्रैल की रात को जब शस्त्रा और पुलिस लाइन पर क्रान्तिकारियों ने ध्वज फहरा दिये, शस्त्र लूट लिये तो पहाड़ों पर चलते-भागते और संग्राम हुए पुलिन को बहुत प्यास लगी। मारे के न बोल पा रहा था न चलते बनता चौदह साल का बालक, फिर भी किसी चलता रहा। जब प्यास किसी तरह सहन हुई, झरना दूर था, वहां तक पहुंचना लिए संभवनहीं रह गया था तब

एक थे फुटु दा

(पिछले पृष्ठ का शेष)

उमड़ पड़ी जैसे वह कोई देवता हो। हाथ-पांवों में हथकड़ी-बेड़ी। विप्लवी का यही चरम शृंगार है। उन्हें पटिया गांव में सेना के कैम्प में रखा गया। चारों ओर उसे कांटेदार तारों से घेर दिया गया, जैसे जानवरों का बाड़ा हो। उस दिन चटगांव के स्कूल-कालेज, अदालत, बाजार, दूकानें सब सूनी पड़ी रहीं। पूर्ण हड़ताल। कैदी सूर्यसेन के निकट छात्र, शिक्षक, किसान मजदूर, दुकानदार, वकील, कर्मचारी सब आकर जुड़ गये—मौन, निरीह से। चार दिनों तक मास्टर दा और फुटु दा (तारकेश्वर) को अमानवीय यातनाएं दी गईं कि वे दल के भेद उगल दें परंतु सब हथकंडे विफल। फुटु दा भी हकड़े जा चुके थे, अतः साथ में ही थे।

उस रात १२ जनवरी थी। सन् १९३४। १२ बजे थे कि गोरे अफसर दल बल सहित मास्टर दा की बैरक खुलवाने आये—मास्टर दा सो रहे थे कि वे अफसर उनको बुरी तरह मारने लगे। पास की बैरक में फुटु दा सो रहे थे। वे जगे और चीखे। उनकी चीख से सब कैदी सशंक हो उठे कि मास्टर दा को यातना दी जा रही है। मुंह पर निरंतर प्रहार करने से मास्टर दा के सब दांत टूटकर नीचे बिखर गये। मुंह से खून गिरने लगा। फिर फुटु दा पर अत्याचारों की वही झड़ी लग गई। उनका शरीर प्रहारों से क्षत-विक्षत हो गया। वे दोनों विप्लवी चेतनाहीन होकर गिर गये और उसी स्थिति में उन्हें फांसी पर चढ़ाकर खत्म कर दिया गया। यह उनके ध्येयवाद की चरम परिणति थी और यही उन्हें काम्य थी। कर्णफूली नदी के अंधकारमय पुलिन में आज उनके नाम एक दीपक भी न रखोगे? ●

Research Institute, Malukote Collection

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शालिग्राम शुक्ल

सच ही उसे लोग भूल चुके हैं क्योंकि वह आजादी के सशस्त्र संग्राम का एक अदना सिपाही था—शालिग्राम शुक्ल।

वह कानपुर का युवा क्रांतिकारी था, सुदृढ़ कसरती शरीर, बहुत ही फुर्तीला और सच्चा निशानेबाज। जैसे कभी पंजाब में भगतसिंह, भगवती चरण वोहरा और सुखदेव ने युवकों की भर्ती और सम्पर्क के लिए एक संस्था 'नवजवान भारत सभा' बनाई थी—वैसे ही तत्कालीन संयुक्त प्रान्त (अब उत्तर प्रदेश) में भी यूथ गार्ड का गठन किया गया था जिसमें खुले तौर से प्रातः छात्र यूनिफार्म (वर्दी) आदि पहनकर भाग लेते थे तथा कवायद परेड करते थे।

इसी यूथ गार्ड की देन थे शालिग्राम शुक्ल। शुरू में वे इसी संस्था में सक्रिय रहे—मौका पड़ने पर एक दफा उन्होंने स्थानीय पुलिस से भी संघर्ष किया—पुलिस उनके हाथों पिट गई। पुलिस तो तभी से उनकी दुश्मन बन गई थी किन्तु आगे जब शुक्ल, आजाद और भगतसिंह के क्रांतिकारी दल में कार्यशील हो गये तब पुलिस और भी सरगर्मी से उनके पीछे लग गई। कानपुर का सब-इंस्पेक्टर शम्भूनाथ शालिग्राम को पहचान गया था। दल में उसका नाम 'पहाड़ी' रखा गया था। कानपुर में गंगातट पर उपरी हिस्से में नवाबगंज बसा है, वहां एक बाग है। क्रांतिकारी सुरेन्द्र नाथ पांडे ने किराये पर वहां घर लिया क्योंकि वह 'लाहौर षड्यन्त्र केस' के मुकदमे से रिहा होकर कानपुर आ गये थे जहां के वह निवासी थे। परन्तु पुलिस के अधिक दबाव के कारण वे अपना मकान छोड़कर नवाबगंज रहने लगे, वह भी कानपुर का ही एक मौहल्ला है। वहाँ तब आबादी बहुत कम थी। शालिग्राम शुक्ल भी इसी मकान में पांडेय जी के साथ रहते थे।

सन् १९३० के दिसम्बर मास की पहली तारीख थी। चन्द्रशेखर आजाद ने तय किया कि अगली भोर चांदमारी की जाएगी, यानी कानपुर से दूर जाकर शस्त्राभ्यास करना है। इसमें भाग लेने वाले थे—स्वयं आजाद, सुरेन्द्र नाथ पांडेय, शालिग्राम शुक्ल, विश्वनाथ वैशम्पायन और प्रो० नन्द किशोर निगम। इनमें प्रो० निगम दिल्ली तथा वैशम्पायन झांसी के थे।

वस्तुतः बन्दूक पिस्तौलों की यह निशानेबाजी दल के रोजमर्रा के कार्यक्रमों का ही एक अंग था। चांदमारी की जगह शहर से १५ किलोमीटर दूर थी। अतः आज़ाद ने निर्देश दिया कि सुरेन्द्र पांडेय और नन्दकिशोर निगम प्रातः ६ बजे उनसे ग्रीनपार्क में मिलें—यह पार्क कानपुर डी० ए० वी० कालेज के ठीक सामने पड़ता था। शालिग्राम शुक्ल से कहा गया कि तुम सुरेन्द्र पांडेय को ग्रीनपार्क बुलाकर आजाद से मिला देना ....।

साइकिल टूट गई

दिक्कत यह थी कि उन दिनों घड़ी रखना हर एक के बूते की बात न थी फिर ये लोग कमाते तो थे नहीं। अस्तु घड़ी न सुरेन्द्र पांडेय के पास थी न शालिग्राम के पास। आजाद दल के अनुशासन में कठोरता बरतते थे, समय की पाबन्दी सबके लिये अनिवार्य थी। कहीं ग्रीनपार्क पहुंचने में विलम्ब न हो जाये, इस भय से शालिग्राम और पांडेय २ दिसम्बर को ब्रह्म मुहुर्त में ही जगकर रवाना हो गये। सोचा कि जब तक पहुंचेंगे तब तक ६ बजने का समय निकट आ जायेगा। उस समय अंधेरा फैला था, आसमान में तारे थे। उन दिनों की सड़कें भी क्या थीं! गोरे शासकों की नागरिकों की सुविधा असुविधा से क्या दिलचस्पी हो सकती थी। फलतः गड्ढे-खंदकें खूब थी। ऐसे ही एक गड्ढे में शालिग्राम को साइकिल ने झटका खाया।

हवा भरने का पम्प रखा था साइकिल के हैन्डल पर—धक्का लगने से पम्प गिरा तो नीचे पहिये की तीलियों में फंस गया—अनेक तीलियाँ भी टूट गईं। पहिया अलग खम खा गया। तब दोनों पैदल चलकर ग्रीनपार्क पहुंचे, लेकिन अभी भोर के पाँच ही बजे थे। आजाद के आने में पूरे एक घंटा शेष था—इन दोनों के पास पांचों साथियों का खाना भी बंधा था क्योंकि खाना सबका ले आने के लिए आजाद ने इन्हीं से कहा था। उधर आजाद, वैशम्पायन और नन्द किशोर निगम दो साइकिलों पर अपने अड्डे से ग्रीनपार्क की तरफ चले। एक साइकिल खुद आजाद चला रहे थे। पीछे कैरियर पर वैशम्पायन को बिठा रखा था। दूसरी साइकिल पर निगम थे। वह आजाद के दाईं तरफ चल रहे थे।

उधर अभी आजाद के आने में विलम्ब देखकर शालिग्राम सुरेन्द्र पांडेय से कहने लगा—"न हो साइकिल बदलकर ले आता हूं—यहां पास में डी० ए० वी० कालेज के छात्रावास में मेरे परिचित कुछ छात्र हैं। उनसे कोई साइकिल ले लूंगा—यह तो बेकार हो चुकी है। संभव है, हमें और दूर जाना हो तब दिक्कत आयेगी।" फलतः शालिग्राम ने वह भग्नप्रायः साइकिल ली और आगे बढ़ गया। भोजन का टिफिन कैरियर भी उनकी साइकिल में ही टंगा रहा और तीन रिवाल्वरों वाला बैग भी। सुरेन्द्र पांडेय पार्क के उस छोर पर बैठे रहे जिस पर परमिट पड़ता है, शालिग्राम डी०ए०वी० छात्रावास के द्वार की तरफ बढ़ता जा रहा था और अभी वह मुख्य द्वार के करीब आया था कि पुलिस का एक दस्ता एक अंग्रेज डी० एस० पी० के साथ उधर पहुंच गया। वस्तुतः ये लोग डी० ए० वी० कालेज के छात्रावास में मौजूद एक क्रांतिकारी गजानन सदाशिव पोद्दार को गिरफ्तार करना चाहते थे—मुझे विश्वनाथ वैशम्पायन ने एक बातचीत में यही बताया जब कि प्रो० नन्दकिशोर निगम से बात हुई तो वह बोले—'पुलिस के लोग छात्रावास में किसी कांग्रेसी आंदोलनकारी की तलाशी लेने जा रहे थे। वे लोग १० की तादाद में थे।" जो हो, उस दस्ते में एक खुफिया पुलिस का सब-इंस्पेक्टर था→

(पिछले पृष्ठ का शेष)

विह्वल होकर उसने लुब्रिकेटिंग तेल का पीपा खोला और गटगट कर वह तेल उदरस्थ कर गया। यह तेल बन्दूकों-रायफलों की सफाई में प्रयुक्त होता है। तेल पीते ही पुलिन की दशा बिगड़ गई। साथियों से कहा गया, "इसे घर पहुंचा आओ।" परन्तु पुलिन किसी भी तरह घर जाने के लिए तैयार न हुआ। बोला—"मरूं चाहे जिऊं, घर जाकर नहीं छिपूंगा। अपने साथ ही रखिये, जो होगा हो जाएगा।" और उसी स्थिति में वह शहीद हो गया। चला जाना चाहता तो उसके मामा पास ही फतेहाबाद में रहते थे जहां साथी उसे भेजना चाहते थे, परन्तु पुलिन हटा। नहीं वहां से। उनके नाम पर इस दीवाली की तुम क्या एक दीया भी न रखोगे। ●

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re...

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

कुछ ढोये इनके भी नाम

शम्भूनाथ। यह शालिग्राम की तलाश में अर्से से था अतः जैसे ही पुलिस दल शालिग्राम के पास से गुजरा शम्भूनाथ ने टार्च जलाई और रोशनी में शालिग्राम को पहचान लिया। फिर भी बहाने से पूछा—"ओ शुक्ला जी! कहां थे अब तक?" पूछते समय उसके चेहरे पर हंसी थी परन्तु फुर्ती से पीछे आकर शालिग्राम को दबोच लिया और चिल्लाया—"पकड़ो यह फरार क्रांतिकारी शालिग्राम है—महीनों से खोजा जा रहा है।"

मौन अन्तिम दर्शन

उसका कहना था कि शालिग्राम सचेत हो पुकार उठा—"बीवेयर! बीवेयर! होशियार! होशियार!" इसका मतलब था, खबरदार हो जाओ--दुश्मन आ गया है। यह चेतावनी सुरेन्द्र पांडेय के लिए तो थी ही—आजाद निगम और वैशम्पायन के लिये भी थी क्योंकि उनके आने का भी समय हो रहा था और रास्ता भी वही था। शालिग्राम ने साथियों को सजग रहने हेतु पुकार लगाकर फौरन अपना हाथ सब-इंस्पेक्टर की पकड़ से छुड़ा लिया था तथा कोट की जेब से रिवाल्वर निकालकर एक साथ दो फायर किये। पुलिस का सिपाही उसकी गोली से यमलोक सिधार गया। दूसरी गोली अंग्रेज डी० एस० पी० के टखने को बींध गई। सुरेन्द्र पांडेय ने जैसे ही शालिग्राम की पुकार और गोलियों की धांय-धांय सुनी चौकन्ने होकर चलते बने। उधर गोरे डी० एस० पी० और सब-इंस्पेक्टर शम्भू नाथ ने अपने को शालिग्राम के मुकाबले में अक्षम पाया तो अंग्रेज कप्तान सामने जो सहायक सेना का शिविर था (आर्टिलरी फोर्स का आफिस) था जहां एक गोरा संतरी रायफल पहरा दे रहा था उसके पास गया- घुटने से घायल डी० एस० पी० ने अपने उस सजातीय गोरे संतरी से फरियाद की तथा झूठ बोलकर उसे उकसाया कि "एक खौफनाक डाकू हम पर गोली चला रहा है—उसे शूट कर दो।" गोरा संतरी तत्काल आगे बढ़ा और पीछे से रायफल का निशाना लेकर फायर कर दिया। गोली उसकी पीठ में प्रवेश कर गयी। शालिग्राम गिर गया। डी०ए०वी० कालेज के क्षेत्र की वह भूमि उसके तरुण रक्त से आप्लावित हो उठी। इसके साथ ही पुलिस दल सेना के शिविर में प्रवेश कर गया—वहां फोन से कोतवाली को खबर की कि दूसरी हथियार बन्द कुमुक हमारी मदद के लिये भेजी जाय।

उसी समय चन्द्रशेखर आजाद साइकिल चलाते हुए बाकी दो साथियों सहित उस सड़क से गुजरे क्योंकि उन्हें ग्रीन पार्क पहुंचना ही था। घायल शालिग्राम आजाद और दूसरे साथियों को जाते देखता रहा। कुछ बोला नहीं। यदि अपनी सहायता के लिये उन्हें आवाज देता तो सम्पर्क होता। और सेना का शिविर सामने रहते हुए आजाद व उनके दोनों साथियों को भी खतरा था—इसलिए चुप पड़ा रहा। यह सामान्य बात नहीं। शालीग्राम अपना अन्त जानता था। कुछ देर और जीना है—फिर किस लिये अपने नेता साथियों को संकट में डा जाय। आजाद की दृष्टि सड़क पर और धूल से तिथड़ी एक देह पर गई सोचा, किसी को गोली मार दी गई है-म मर गया है। नन्द किशोर निगम सड़क पर एक बैग पड़ा देखा—एक माहि और उसमें टंगा टिफिन कैरियर। निगम माथा ठनका क्योंकि वह कपड़े का बना बैग था जो उन्होंने सुरेन्द्र पांडेय की अभी ही दिया था। बैग में शालिग्राम ने चंद्र के लिये तीन रिवाल्वर रखे थे।

इस सम्बन्ध में प्रो० नन्द किशोर नि ने मुझे बताया था कि "मेरे मन में थैला आगे बढ़कर उठा लूं—मैंने पंडि (आजाद) से कहा भी कि थैला अपना है- रिवाल्वर भी होंगे। साईकिल की र भी कम कर दी मैंने। परन्तु पंडित जी घुड़का—'तेज चलाओ। खबरदार!' आ भी चौकन्ने रहते थे, स्थिति ताड़ गये थे। आगे चलकर उन्हें पुलिस की सशस्त्र ट भी सड़क पर आती मिली परन्तु अंग्रे पुलिस वाले आजाद को पहचान नहीं अन्यथा गोली चलना स्वाभाविक आजाद की तरफ़ सेना के शिविर सड़क के आते जाते और किसी का ध्या बिचे—इसी विचार से तो आहत शालि भी संयम रोककर पड़ा रहा था, अपने तथा साथियों को जाते देखकर भी नहीं था।

वे दूर निकल गये। ४-५ मिनट का और गुजरा—तब तक हथियार बन्द नई वहां आ धमकी। घायल गोरा डी० पी० फिर से वहां आने की जुर्रत नहीं कर —सब-इंस्पेक्टर शम्भूनाथ हो बाहर निक नये आये दस्ते ने समझा लाश है। उठाकर गाड़ी में ले जाना चाहा कि ग्राम ने फुर्ती से घोड़ा दबाया। धांय-धां गूंज हुई और पुलिस के दो और सिपाही होकर मर गये -बाकी पुलिस दल बि भागा। काफी पीछे पहुंचकर उन्होंने शा पर फायरिंग की। क्रांतिकारी को वि ने भी आग उगली। परन्तु अब गोलियां निःशेष हो चुकी थीं और वि वीर का शरीर छलनी हो चुका था। आंखे भींचकर अन्तिम सांस तोड़ दी हो गया। विप्लवी प्राण ब्रिटिश पहुंच से सर्वथा परे पहुंच गए। मिट्टी रह गई—उसका कुछ भी करो।

● दुर्गेश वि

कार्यालय कृषि उपज मंडी समिति—विदिशा, म०प्र०

विज्ञापन

कृषि उपज मंडी समिति, विदिशा, दीपावली के शुभ अवसर पर कृषकों एंव व्यापारियों का अभिनन्दन करती है तथा मण्डी प्रांगण में कृषकवर्ग तथा व्यापारियों की सुविधाओं के लिए कृत संकल्प है। निम्न निर्माण कार्य शीघ्र ही पूर्ण होने जा रहे हैं।

निर्माण कार्य का नाम	अनुमानित राशि
१. कार्यालय भवन (बैंक एंव पोस्ट आफिस सहित)	४,८२,०००-००
२. कृषक विश्राम गृह	१,२२,०००-०००
३. वाटर टैंक, पाइपलाइन सहित	१,८९,०००-००
४. जलपान गृह	६६,०००-००

५. उप मंडी कागपुर में कार्यालय एंव वाटर टैंक की सुविधा।

भावी योजनाये :—अहमदपुर, खामखेडा में उप मण्डियां शीघ्र ही खोली जा रही हैं। तथा मूल मण्डी विदिशा में कृषकों एंव व्यापारियों की सुविधा हेतु आधुनिक तोल मशीन लग रही है। तथा पानी एंव प्रकाश की समुचित व्यवस्था है तथा कृषकों के माल का भुगतान प्रतिदिन किया जाता है।

(आर० एस० पाण्डे)
प्रभारी सचिव कृषि उपज मण्डी समिति, विदिशा

(चन्दन सिंह रावत)
कृषि उपज मंडी समिति, विदिशा

National Research Institute, Melukote Collection

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization...

कुछ दौरे इनके भी नाम

गेंदालाल दीक्षित

उसका नाम आज कम ही लोग जानते हैं, गेंदालाल दीक्षित, दिल्ली के प्याऊ पर पानी पिलाने वाला। घर का नाम 'गिन्दन'। वे अध्यापक थे। 'मातृ-वेदी' नाम की क्रांतिकारी संस्था गठित की। आदर्श और पद्धति शिवाजी की। बड़ा समूह बन गया। पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल इनके दाहिने हाथ थे। नेता गेंदालाल ही थे। भारत-वीर मुकुन्दीलाल गुप्त भी इनके अनुवर्ती बने। कुछ कमजोर और कच्चे दिल के आदमी भी आकर शामिल हो गये। इसी से इस दल को क्षति पहुंची। एक सदस्य था दलपतिसिंह, एक था हिन्दूसिंह। दोनों ही पुलिस के मुखबिर बन गये। कैसे बने ? यह जानना जरूरी है।

कहाँ, क्यों और कब

दल के एक 'एक्शन' की तैयारी थी। दलपतिसिंह का भी नाम जाने वालों में शामिल था। लेकिन दलपतिसिंह, जो पहले बहुत जोशखरोश दिखाता था, खूब डींगें हांकता था, ऐन वक्त पर दहल गया। अंधेरी रात कहां जाना है, यह बताया नहीं जाता था। लक्ष्य की खबर सिर्फ दल के मुखिया को ही रहती थी। पूछने की मनाही थी। चलने को कहा गया तो बस चल देना। कितनी दूर, किधर, ये प्रश्न आपत्तिजनक और संदेह पैदा करते थे। ३०-३० मील का सफर रात में तय करना हो तो बीच में आधे रास्ते में बैठना, थकना बेजा हरकत होती। दलपति सिंह पहले ही पूछने लगा—"कहां को जाना है ?" साथी चुप हैं। फिर पूछता है—"खतरो तो नाय, वामें ?" (उसमें खतरा तो नहीं ?) कोई उत्तर नहीं। दलपति आज दल के अनुशासन के विरुद्ध पूछे जा रहा है। कौन कैसे जवाब दे ? फिर कहता है, "हमारो तो मन ना हो जा बेरा" (इस समय मेरा मन नहीं करता)। साथी क्षुब्ध क्रुद्ध। एक ने कहा—"वाकइ जाना नहीं था तो आये क्यों ? अब नहीं चलोगे को जान गंवानी होगी।"

दलपतिसिंह भी नाराज हो गया—डर भी गया। न जाये तो गोली मार दी जायेगी ! जाते हैं तो पता नहीं इस मुहिम (एक्शन) से जिन्दा लौटेंगे भी या नहीं। इधर कुंआ, तो उधर खंदक - कायर मन को तो बहाना चाहिये। दलपति को कुछ न सूझा तो सीधे अंग्रेज कलेक्टर के बंगले में पहुंच गया। फरियाद की। अंग्रेज तो ताक में ही था। मुंह-मांगी मुराद मिली। खुश हो गया। उसे अपने संरक्षण में लेकर दल की जितनी कुछ जानकारी उसे थी—सब उगलवा ली। फिर क्या था, पुलिस दल लेकर क्रांतिकारियों की खोजबीन शुरू हो गयी। गिरफ्तारियां हुईं। दल के नेता गेंदालाल दीक्षित ग्वालियर में थे, पकड़े गये। रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल फरार हो गये। एकशन जहां का तहां रह गया, दल संकट में पड़ा सो अलग। बड़ा नाजुक रास्ता है यह। संगठन के लिये अपेक्षित समय और अवसर की कमी का नतीजा यह कि भर्ती करते वक्त सही गलत आदमी की पहचान नहीं हो पाती। एक दिन के जोश में स्थायित्व कितना, यह कौन आंके ? दलपति उसी का साक्षी बन गया।

एक और घटना। गेंदालाल अपने दल के बजाय चंबल के बीहड़ों के एक सशस्त्र गिरोह के साथ एक्शन पर जा रहे हैं। उस गिरोह के नेता है एक ब्रह्मचारी जी। इन्हें पता न चला कि दल का एक आदमी हिन्दू सिंह कब पुलिस से मिल गया। रास्ते में एक जंगल पड़ा—छाया थी। लोग थके थे, भूखे प्यासे भी। हिन्दू सिंह को अच्छा मौका मिल गया। कहा—"आप लोग क्यों न यहां कुछ खा पी लें, थोड़ी देर आराम भी कर लें।" पूछा गया—', लेकिन यहां जंगल में क्या है खाने को ?" उसने कहा, "पास के गांव में मेरा एक रिश्तेदार है। वहीं से खाना ले आता हूं।" आश्वस्त होकर जो जहां बैठा था वहीं पसर गया थकान में। वह गया। लौटा तो उसके साथ पूड़ी सब्जी की गठरी थी।

पूड़ियां और गोलियां

ब्रह्मचारी जी का नियम था कि खायेंगे तो अपने हाथ से बना। स्वयंपाकी थे। परंतु उस दिन वे भी बहक गये। लगे पूड़ियों पर हाथ साफ़ करने, परन्तु यह क्या ? कोई खाते-खाते गिर गया तो कोई उल्टी करने लगा। किसी की जिह्वा ऐंठने लगी, कोई पेट की मरोड़ से तड़फड़ाने लगा। हिन्दू सिंह ने सोचा, "काम हो गया। अब निकल चलूं।" उसने कहा, "पानी ले आता हूं।" वह चला तो ब्रह्मचारी ने उस पर गोली चला दी। गोली की आवाज सुननी थी कि जंगल के चारों ओर से उस गिरोह पर धुआंधार गोलियां बरसने लगीं। साफ था कि वे चारों ओर पुलिस से घिर गये थे। यह सब कारस्तानी उसी मुखबिर की थी। जहां पुलिस गयी थी ठीक उसी जगह उसने भोजन कर लेने का आग्रह किया और पुलिस को जाकर आगाह भी कर आया कि दल आ चुका है, सावधान। शायद पूड़ियों का प्रबन्ध भी पुलिस ने ही किया हो, क्योंकि उनमें तेज जहर मिला था। वहां ब्रह्मचारी जी के साथ ८० लोग थे। जिनमें गोलियों के बीच ३० वहीं मर गये, कुछ जहर से मरे अनेक घायल होकर पकड़े गये। ब्रह्मचारी जी का शरीर गोलियों से छिद गया था, लेकिन वे मरे नहीं। ग्वालियर की जेल में उनके सारे शरीर में पट्टियां बंधी। स्वयं पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल ने उनकी यह हालत देखी थी, क्योंकि वह छिपकर उन्हें देखने गये थे। किले में सामने की दीवार पर बैठ कर ही दूर से उन्होंने ब्रह्मचारी जी को देखा था। गेंदा लाल से तैयार संस्कृत में श्लोक पढ़ने के बहाने वार्ता की थी।

वह लावारिस लाश

गेंदालाल दीक्षित की एक आंख ही इस संघर्ष में जाती रही—वह पकड़े भी गये। किले में मुलाकात के समय बिस्मिल पर पुलिस को शक हो गया, लेकिन एक अफसर इनका सहायक बना—उसी के सहयोग से वह बाहर निकल सके थे।

जेल में रामनारायण नाम का आदमी मुखबिर बन गया। यह जानकर गेंदालाल ने पुलिस से कहा,—"ये लड़के क्या बतायेंगे। इन्हें पता ही क्या है ? नेता मैं हूं। मुझसे पूछो—मैं बताऊंगा सारी बातें।" पुलिस ने विश्वास कर लिया कि वही गेंदालाल भेदिया बन गये तो काम बन जायेगा। उन्हें अलग रखा गया, बहुत खातिर की गई, खाना अच्छा दिया जाने लगा। लेकिन गेंदालाल किसी और ही धातु के बने थे। सच्चे क्रांतिकारी थे। एक रात उस मुखबिर को साथ लेकर किले की कैद से निकल भागे। पुलिस के हाथों से तोते उड़ गये। वाह ! क्या करिश्मा किया। धन्य विप्लवी जीवन। क्रांतिकारी क्या मुखबिर बनेगा ? गेंदालाल

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re...

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कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

प्रीतिलता का बलिदान

प्रीतिलता ओहदेदार (या वाद्दार) सूर्यसेन की शिष्या थी। यूरोपियन क्लब पर जब धावा बोलने के लिए सूर्यसेन ने उन्हें भेजा तो बम पिस्तौलों से अपने हाथों प्रीति को सजाया। कमरबंध में भरे रिवाल्वर और कंधे पर बमों का थैला। कैसा अद्भुत शृंगार था एक विप्लवी भाई के हाथों। मानों कह रहे हों, "जिस रास्ते सब गये, उसी रास्ते तू भी जा। लड़की हुई तो क्या। अग्नि-पथ तुझे पुकार रहा है।" और माथा उठाकर दादा के इंगित पथ पर बढ़ती गई थी प्रीतिलता। उधर क्लब में गोरे अफ़सर देर रात तक शराबखोरी करके मनोरंजन रत रहते थे। सूर्यसेन ने योजना की कि इन गोरों को ठीक शराबखोरी के समय सबक पढ़ाया जाय। इसके लिए उन्होंने प्रीतिलता को चुना। वह भी दल की निष्ठावान सदस्या थी, दूसरी थी कल्पना दत्त। दोनों बी०ए० थीं। कल्पना दत्त को बाद में आजन्म कालापानी हुआ।

वह सन् १९३२ की २४ सितम्बर की रात थी। दल के ८ सदस्य शस्त्रों से लैस होकर प्रीतिलता के नेतृत्व में उस यूरोपियन क्लब पर छापा मारने चले। जाते ही प्रीति के आदेश से क्लब पर बमों व रिवाल्वरों से धावा कर दिया। एक गोरा अफसर तत्काल मर गया, दस गोरे बुरी तरह घायल होकर भागे। गोरों ने भी गोयियां चलाईं—कई गोलियां प्रीति के भी लगीं। उसने देखा, अब भाग निकलना असंभव है तो घायल अवस्था में ही उसने क्लब से कोई १०० गज की दूरी पर पोटेशियम साइनाइड की पुड़िया फ़ांक ली और सदा के लिए खून और वर्षा के कीचड़ से लथपथ उस रास्ते पर सो गई। दादा (सूर्यसेन) का यही आदेश था कि "प्रीति! पुलिस के हाथ न पड़ना, तुम लड़की हो। ऐसा मौका आये तो पोटेशियम साइनाइड खा लेना।" तलाशी लेने पर उसके कपड़ों से एक पर्चा बरामद हुआ जिसमें फिरंगी सरकार से कहा गया था कि "पिछली १८ अप्रैल की रात (सन् १९३०) से देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए हमने जो लड़ाई चला रखी है, उस क्रम में यहां भी हम तुम्हें शिक्षा देने गये।" यह लिखावट प्रीतिलता की प्रमाणित हुई। उसके पास के कागजात यह भी लिखा था—

"....छोटी उम्र में मैं हमेशा परमात्मा पर आस्था रखती आई, उसी आज मैंने यह आशीष भी मांगा कि मैं काम पूरी जिम्मेदारी से पूरा कर सकूं शक्ति मुझे दे।....आखिर जो काम आ कर सकते हैं, वह हम महिलाएं क्यों नहीं सकतीं। इसी से मैंने प्रण किया है कि यह दिखा दूंगी कि किसी भी रास्ते महिलाएं पुरुषों से पिछड़ेंगी नहीं। हम लड़ाई आजादी के लिए है, यह छापा उसी की एक कड़ी है।"

चली गई प्रीति ये कुछ कागज छोड़ उसका संदेश आज भी क्षितिज के मेघ ललकार भर रहा है।

उसके पिता चटगांव नगरपालिका स्कूल में नौकर थे। थोड़ा वेतन पाते बचपन से ही प्रीति ने गरीबी की झंझा लेकिन पढ़ती गई। "खास्तगीर वा 'विद्यालय" से ढाका के इडेन कालेज में हुई। वहां से इन्टर किया, फिर कलक बेथुन कालेज से बी०ए०। पहले ढाका में दीपावली संघ (दीपाली) था, उसमें लड़ लाठी-काठी, छुरा चलाना आदि सीखती प्रीति इसी की सदस्या थी। फिर पिता नौकरी छूट गई तो उसे विवशतः अ कार्य करके जीविका उपार्जित करनी इस तरह वह माता-पिता, भाई-बहिनों पालन करती रही, उसे लिखने का भी था। उसकी लाश से जो कागजात मिले उसका लिखा एक लेख भी था— जागरण का आह्वान" ●

गेंदालाल दीक्षित

→ ने अनेक लोगों को फांसी की कैद से बचा लिया। वह काफी दिन फरार रहे। न खाने का ठिकाना, न रहने का। घर में पत्नी भी थी पर वहां प्रश्रय न मिला। पुलिस दमन के डर से घरवालों ने भी मुंह फेर लिया। टूटे दिल से और बीमार, कमजोर देह लिये गेंदालाल पैदल पच्चीसों मील चलते रहे। दिल्ली पहुंचे। सोचा, यहां कोई पहचानेगा नहीं। एक प्याऊ पर पानी पिलाने की नौकरी की—कुछ खाने को भी जुट जाता था। लेकिन दवा के पैसे तक नहीं थे। आखिर कोटा (राजस्थान) से पैदल आगरा तक आने वाला विप्लवी दिल्ली के खैराती अस्पताल का मेहमान बना। क्षय हो गया था। घर खबर पठाई। भाई और पत्नी को बुलवाया। पत्नी रोने लगी। उन्होंने समझाया "सब्र करो और गर्व भी कि तुम्हारा पति देश के काम आया और उसी रास्ते में मर रहा है।" पत्नी ने पूछा—"अब मेरा क्या रह गया संसार में?"

उन्होंने जवाब दिया, "जो सबका है वही तुम्हारा साथ देगा। घर लौट जाओ। यहां कोई जाने नहीं कि तुम कौन हो, मैं कौन हूं। वर्ना घर के लोग और तुम सब भी मुसीबत में पड़ोगे।" पत्नी और भाई रोते वापस चले। पति मरणासन्न, लेकिन सेवा का अवसर नहीं। जल्दी ही गेंदालाल ने वह रुग्ण देह त्याग दी। मुक्त प्राण उन्मुक्त पवन में पंख पसार उड़ चला। ब्रिटिश दमन के दायरे से कहीं दूर अब किस को गिरफ्तार करोगे? गेंदालाल ने दिल्ली में सिखों की तरह केश-दाढ़ी बढ़ा रखी थी—सिर पर साफा भी वैसा ही बांधते थे। खैराती अस्पताल में उस एक 'सिख' की लाश को लावारिस समझ कर कहीं फूंक दिया गया। या यमुना में कहीं बहा दिया गया। दिल्ली में भी मरने वाले एक क्रांतिकारी को कौन जानता कि वह लाश लावारिस नही है, मां-बाप, भाई-पत्नी कुटुम्ब सभी तो हैं परन्तु विप्लवी कब किससे नाता रख पाता है। दिल्ली वालों, दीवाली की रात यमुना-किनारे उसकी याद में भी एक दीप रख देना। ●

पांचजन्य ग्राहक शुल्क

(१ अक्टूबर, ८१ से लागू)

बीस वर्षीय	५५०-
त्रिवार्षिक	१२०-
द्विवार्षिक	८८-
वार्षिक	४८-
अर्द्धवार्षिक	२५-
एक प्रति	१-

व्यवस्थापक
२६, रानी झाँसी मार्ग नई दि
पांचजन्य

National Research Institute, Melukote Collection

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कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

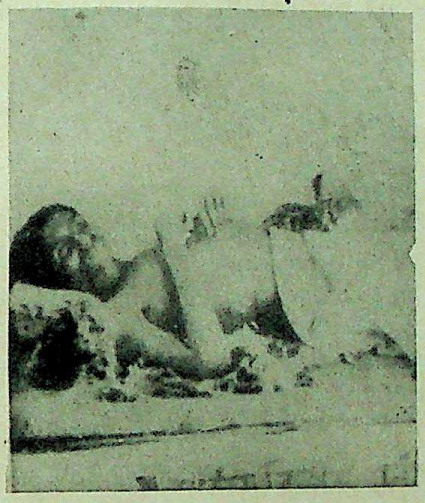
अर्धेन्दु दस्तीदार

आदर्श विप्लवी कैसा होता है ? इसके लिए दल के नेता सूर्य सेन प्रायः एक नाम लिया करते थे, "अर्धेन्दु दस्तीदार।" यह छात्र सूर्य सेन को बहुत प्रिय था। वे उस पर असीम स्नेह और विश्वास करते थे, कारण सन् १९२५ में जितने समय सूर्यसेन जेल में रहे अर्धेन्दु ही उनके छोड़े हुए काम में खपता रहा। पिता कट्टर अहिंसावादी थे, अतः उसकी उनसे पटी नहीं। जब मतभेदों के कारण कलह शुरू हो गई तो अर्धेन्दु ने पिता के संतोष तथा उनसे कलह बचाने के लिए गृह त्याग दिया। फिर पिता-पुत्र कभी मिल नहीं सके।

सूर्य सेन उन दिनों चटगांव कांग्रेस के दफ्तर में रहा करते थे, वहीं इन सब क्रांतिकारियों के नेता भी थे—अर्धेन्दु भी उनके साथ वहीं रहने लगा। वह दल का पूर्णकालिक कार्यकर्ता हो गया। इसके पहले वह होम्योपैथिक डाक्टरी पढ़ रहा था लेकिन दल का काम बढ़ जाने तथा घर त्याग देने पर पढ़ाई छूट गई। अंग्रेजों के शस्त्रागार पर आक्रमण करने की योजना के अंतर्गत जरूरी था कि कुछ बम बनाये जाएं। अर्धेन्दु इस काम में लगा लेकिन तेजाब का मिश्रण करते समय एक दिन वह बुरी तरह जल गया। गहरे जख्म हो गये। आक्रमण की तिथि १८ अप्रैल आ भी गई लेकिन उसके घाव नहीं भरे। तय हुआ कि अर्धेन्दु इस अभियान में भाग न लें क्योंकि घायल रहते उससे यथेष्ट भाग-दौड़ न होगी परन्तु अर्धेन्दु जिद पकड़ गया। बोला, "कबसे इस शुभ दिन की प्रतीक्षा करता बैठा हूं और आज जब वह सुदिन सामने आया तो आप लोग मुझे मरहम पट्टी के लिए छोड़े जा रहे हैं" ? परिणाम यह कि उसे भी साथ लिया गया और उसने हर काम सोत्साह तथा पूरी शक्ति से निबाहा।

घमासान युद्ध

चटगांव के अंग्रेज एस० पी० के बंगले पर अंग्रेज अफसरों ने दो बार गुप्त बैठकें कीं और उसमें पहाड़ी पर क्रांतिकारियों की मौजूदगी के बारे में जब यह बताया गया कि खबर सही है, तो यह निश्चय हुआ कि शहर में जितनी भी सेना हो, उसे गाड़ियों पर मौके पर रवाना किया जाए शाम ४ बजकर २३ मिनट पर उस पहाड़ी की तरफ कूच किया गया। कप्तान मि० टेट के साथ एक दारोगा और एक जासूस भी रवाना हुआ क्योंकि इन दोनों को वह पहाड़ मालूम था जहां क्रांतिकारियों के मौजूद होने की खबर मिली थी। शहर से फौजी गाड़ियों पर यह सशस्त्र दल जब वहां पहुंचा तो देखते हैं डी० आई० जी० मि० फार्मर, कैप्टन रावर्टसन, ए० बी० रेलवे बटालियन, ईस्टर्न फ्रन्टियर रायफल्स और लुइसगन सेक्शन की एक सेना लेकर पहुंच गये हैं। आगे बढ़ते हीं बकौल अंग्रेज कप्तान टेट साहब के, पहाड़ी के ऊपर से गोलियों की भीषण बाढ़ आई—जिससे पता चलता था कि ऊपर ५० से कम क्रांतिकारी गोली नहीं चला रहे हैं। उस बाढ़ ने कोई १०० गज दूर फौज के कदम जाम



कर दिये। अंग्रेजों को विश्वास हो गया, क्रांतिकारियों के पास पर्याप्त गोला-बारूद मौजूद है। यह लड़ाई अंधेरा घिरने तक, जारी रही। अब अंग्रेज घबराये और डरे कि रात के अंधेरे का लाभ उठाकर क्रांतिकारी उन पर हावी न हो जाएं। इसलिए कप्तान मि० टेट ने बहाना खोज निकाला और उसी को वहां जारी भी किया कि मजिस्ट्रेट साहब का निर्देश था कि शाम तक अगर क्रांतिकारी गिरफ्तार न किये जा सकें तो फौज को शहर जरूर रवाना कर दिया जाय। रात को जंगल या पहाड़ पर रुकने को विवश न किया जाए। इस बहाने से कप्तान साहब की भी जान बचती थी। निदान फौज वापस लौट गई। यह उन थोड़े से प्रणव्रती विप्लवी युवकों की स्पष्ट विजय थी।

मुक्ति मार्ग के पथिक

अंग्रेजों के सिपाही फौजी रेलगाड़ी से भी आये थे, इनमें कर्नल डीलक्स स्मिथ भी थे। स्मिथ को कप्तान टेट से वस्तुस्थिति से अवगत कराया तो कर्नल ने लुइसगन सहित एक फौजी दस्ता क्रांतिकारियों की तरफ रवाना कर दिया। इस दस्ते ने नये सिरे से उस पहाड़ी पर पांच दफे गोलीबारी की। क्रांतिकारियों ने भी ठीक उसी प्रबलता से बारूदी जवाब दिया—वन्देमातरम् का निनाद फिर गूंजा। अब सवा सात बज रहे थे। गोरों ने गोली चलाना बंद कर दिया। क्योंकि वे अकारथ जा रहीं थीं। क्रांतिकारियों को पकड़ पाने की उनकी आशा पर पानी फिर गया था। मि. लुइस कर्नल स्मिथ और कप्तान टेट रात साढ़े ९ बजे तक इतस्ततः मौके का जायजा लेने व्यर्थ चहलकदमी करते रहे। फिर चटगांव लौट गये। भोर होने पर स्मिथ, टेट और रावर्टसन आदि फौज लेकर फिर उस पहाड़ी की तरफ गये तो वहां से क्रांतिकारी जा चुके थे। खून में लथपथ पड़ी थीं दस विप्लवी शहीदों की लाशें। दो-तीन जख्मी क्रांतिकारी भी बेहोश मिले, इन्हीं में एक था अर्धेन्दु दस्तीदार और दूसरा था मोतीलाल कानूनगो। अर्धेन्दु दूसरे दिन संसार छोड़ गया, मोतीलाल भी। तीसरे घायल थे अम्बिका चक्रवर्ती, इन्हें बाद में आजन्म कालापानी मिला। मोतीलाल की मृत्यु उसी पहाड़ी पर हुई। अर्धेन्दु अस्पताल में मरा। अंग्रेज समझे थे वे भी लाशें हैं परंतु वे उस रात और जीवित रहे। अम्बिका चक्रवर्ती रेंगकर पास के गांव में पहुंचे, वहां एक गरीब किसान ने उनकी मदद की। अपने घर में रखकर उनके शरीर से गोली निकलवाई। शहीद मोतीलाल (किंवा मतीलाल) कानूनगो कक्षा १० का छात्र था, उम्र १७ वर्ष। अर्धेन्दु १९ वर्ष का था।

● वज्रेश

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

विनय, बादल, दिनेश

विनय बोस, ढाका मेडिकल कालेज का मेधावी छात्र। यह उसका चौथा वर्ष है। एक वर्ष बाद डाक्टरी की पढ़ाई पूरी कर लेगा। यह सन् १९३० का अगस्त महीना है। विनय की तरुणाई, शरीर का गठीलापन, सौम्य-सुन्दर मुखाकृति और काली चमकती आंखें सबको आकर्षित करती हैं। घर वालों को उससे बड़ी आशाएं हैं। डाक्टर बनकर वह परिवार के सब अभाव, विपन्नता और दुर्दिन दूर कर सकेगा—ये अरमान, आकांक्षाएं आंखों में संजोकर घर के लोग प्रतीक्षारत हैं। परन्तु स्वयं विनय? उसका अन्तरंग रहस्य कोई नहीं समझता।

ढाका-काण्ड का नायक

वह मेडिकल छात्र जरूर है परन्तु जीवन के सुखोपभोग किंवा देश के लोगों पर रौब-दाब दिखाने की अभिलाषा उसकी पढ़ाई का उद्देश्य नहीं है। देश पराधीन है, अपमानित प्रताड़ित है, यह उसको कभी एक दिन भी सह्य नहीं हो सका। उसकी अन्तराग्नि उसे उन लोगों के निकट खींच लाई जो निन्दा के शंखनाद को विजय दशमी महोत्सव तथा रुद्र के महाप्रसाद को जीवन की सार्थकता समझते हैं। उन्हीं की जात-बिरादरी में आ बैठा है विनय बोस भी। वह भी विप्लवी दल में सक्रिय है। यद्यपि इससे पहले वह 'बंगाल वालंटियर्स' में सक्रिय था—उसे इस संगठन के 'एक्शन स्क्वायड' में चुन कर रखा गया था।

चटगांव में सूर्यसेन के क्रांतिकारी ने, दल ने अंग्रेजों का शस्त्रागार लूट लिया था। फौज से घमासान युद्ध किया। अनेक साथी खेत रहे। पुलिस-फौज के पचासों लोग मारे गये। चटगांव में कई दिनों तक क्रांतिकारियों ने स्वराज्य बनाए। अब ढाका का नम्बर है। उसका दायित्व सौंपा गया है विनय बोस को, और वह इसे अपना परम सौभाग्य मानकर आनंदित है।

सन् १९३० का २९ अगस्त। नारायण गंज पुलिस का अफसर बॉट ढाका के मिटफोर्ट अस्पताल में भर्ती है, उससे मिलने आ रहे हैं बंगाल पुलिस के इंस्पेक्टर जनरल लोमैन तथा ढाका पुलिस के एस० पी० ई० हडसन। क्रांतिकारियों ने इसे एक सुयोग समझा और तय किया कि जैसे भी हो, पुलिस आई०जी० लोमैन ढाका से बचकर न आने पाये। विनय बोस को उसका पीछा करने के आदेश मिले और सिर्फ एक आज्ञा, "उसे गोली मार दो।" (शूट हिम)। क्यों, क्या का प्रश्न नहीं। विनय बोस दो रिवाल्वर लेकर अभियान पर निकल पड़ा, दो रिवाल्वर पास रहेंगे तो यदि एक कभी चूक गया—या बेकार हो गया तो दूसरा काम देगा। सुबह नौ बजे थे, आई० जी० अस्पताल आया, हडसन साथ था। विनय तो पीछा कर ही रहा था।

मेडिकल छात्र होने से विनय को उस अस्पताल में आना-जाना सरल था। उस समय उसने मेडिकल छात्र की पोशाक पहनी थी। जेब में भरे रिवाल्वर रख लिये थे। विनय टेनिस खूब खेलता था, फुर्तीला था, आज उस फुर्ती चुस्ती को कसौटी पर कसने का समय है। वह चुपचाप पुलिस आई. जी. और अंग्रेज एस. पी. के नजदीक आकर खड़ा हो गया। आखिर वह इस कालेज का छात्र है—डाक्टरों और देखने आये अभ्यागतों के बीच उसका खड़ा रहना किसी के लिए शंका का कारण क्यों बनने लगा। मरीज पुलिस अफसर को देखकर लोमैन साहब अस्पताल के बरामदे में आ गये। वहीं खड़े होकर मेडिकल अफसर से कुछ परामर्श करने लगे, हडसन साहब भी साथ ही खड़े हैं कि विनय की रिवाल्वर गरजी। पांच फायर हुए। लोमैन साहब के दो गोलियां लगी, हडसन के शरीर में तीन गोलियां प्रवेश कर गईं। दोनों गोरे अफसर वहीं घायल होकर गिर गये। लोमैन साहब फौरन उसी अस्पताल में भर्ती किये गए। गोलियां निकालने का उपक्रम शुरू हुआ, उधर विनय बोस गोली चला कर भागा तो अनेक लोगों ने उसका पीछा किया—उस समय उतावलेपन में विनय के हाथ से एक रिवाल्वर वहीं गिर गया—तत्काल दूसरे रिवाल्वर से उसने पीछा करने वालों पर हवाई फायर किये ताकि वे डरकर दूर हट जायें। वही हुआ। भीड़ भय से छिटक गई और विनय बोस मेडिकल स्कूल के अहाते तक जाकर गायब हो गया—पुलिस तलाश रह गई। विनय का अभियान व्यर्थ नहीं गया। दो दिन बाद उसी अस्पताल में आई. जी. लोमैन मर गया, लेकिन हडसन बच गया यद्यपि उसके तीन गोलियां बिंधी थीं—गोलियां निकाल ली गयीं थीं।

दस हजार रुपए इनाम

विनय के गिरफ्तारी वारंट जारी हुए उसे पकड़वाने के लिए अंग्रेजों ने दस हजार रुपये नकद इनाम देने का ऐलान किया और फोटो सहित इनाम के इश्तहार रास्तों, चौराहों, स्टेशनों, स्टीमर घाटों—थानों सभी जगह चस्पा कर दिये गये। अखबारों में भी इनाम की विज्ञप्ति सरकार ने छपवाई, परन्तु सब व्यर्थ। कोई गद्दार गोरों को खोजे नहीं मिला। हालांकि विनय कहीं बंगाल के बाहर नहीं फरार हुआ था। अलबत्ता सुभाष बोस तथा उनके भाई शरत बोस ने योजना बनाई कि विनय को किस तरह देश के बाहर किसी अन्य देश में सुरक्षित भेज दिया जाय—विचार से विनय खिन्न भी हुआ, क्योंकि देश छोड़ने की बात सोच तक नहीं सकता था। अन्तिम सांस मातृभूमि की गोद में निःशेष हो यही उसकी कामना थी और कालान्तर में उसकी यह इच्छा पूरी भी हुई।

राइटर्स बिल्डिंग में

विनय पकड़ा नहीं जा सका, फरार उसे ५ महीने हो गए थे। तभी क्रांतिकारियों ने एक और योजना बनाई। चटगांव-ढाका-कांड और फिर कलकत्ता क्यों नहीं के रक्त से अर्चित-चर्चित हो। इसके तीन तरुण क्रान्तिकारी चुने गये, बादल और दिनेश। लक्ष्य बनाया कलकत्ता की 'राइटर्स बिल्डिंग' को। उन दिनों अंग्रेजों का सचिवालय था। गोरे साहबों और छुटभैये साहबों का रहता था। बंगाल भर की जेलों के जनरल थे ले. कर्नल एन. एफ. सिम्पसन

अभी कितने ही शहीद विप्लवी जीवन इस शृंखला में संजोये नहीं जा सके हैं। ये तो मात्र कुछ नमूने भर हैं जो दीपस्तम्भवत् क्रांति-पथ में राशि-राशि ज्योति आकीर्ण कर रहे हैं। उनकी ऊर्जा हमें ऊर्जस्वित करे, इसी कामना से उनकी पुनीत स्मृति में हम भी कुछ दीप जलाकर रखें और उनकी भावना दुहरायें :—

"नगरे-नगरे ज्वाल रे आगुन
हृदये-हृदये प्रतिज्ञा दारुण ।।"

—नगर-नगर में वह आग उद्दीप्त हो, हृदय-हृदय में वह दारुण प्रतिज्ञा मुखर हो।

Research Institute, Melukote Collection

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कुछ ढीये इनके भी नाम

एम. एस. । इनका दफ्तर भी उसी बिल्डिंग में था । विनय-बा ल-दिनेश, तीनों क्रान्तिकारियों की सिम्पसन साहब को गोली मार कर समाप्त करने की योजना थी, क्योंकि उन दिनों जहां तक दमन के मामले थे, ये अंग्रेजों के खास औजार बने हुये थे । क्रान्तिकारी कैदियों को सताने, शारीरिक यातनाएं देने में कोई कसर नहीं रखते थे । एक्शन की तिथि सन् १९३० की ८ दिसम्बर निश्चित हुई ।

उस बिल्डिंग में जाते समय कोई रोके-टोके नहीं, इस इरादे से तीनों क्रान्तिकारियों ने काफी समय पूर्व से साहब लोगों की ही पोशाकें पहननीं शुरू कीं । बढ़िया सूट, हैट, टाई, बूट सब दुरुस्त । अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे थे ही । प्रवेश बेला में किसी ने पूछताछ करके विघ्न डाला तो अंग्रेजी में उसे डांटने-फटकारने की योग्यता उनमें थी ही. और फिर जेब में भरे रिवाल्वर और उनके साथ ही जरूरत पर काम में लेने के लिए पोटेशियम साइनाइड के के-सूलों की पुड़िया ।

पता लगा लिया था कि गोरा आई. जी. राइटर्स बिल्डिंग की दूसरी मंजिल में बैठता है। बादल एक बार इस बिल्डिंग में घूमकर सब जानकारी कर लाया था । अन्दर का एक पूरा नक्शा इन लोगों ने तैयार कर लिया कि सिम्पसन साहब के अलावा कौन-कौन लोग किस कमरे में किस जगह बैठा करते हैं तथा भवन में शस्त्र किस-किसके पास रहते हैं ।

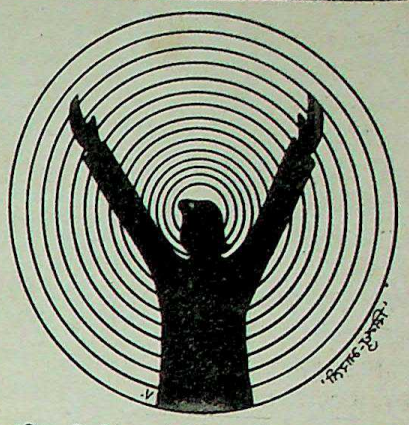
इन तीनों में दिनेश का पूरा नाम है, दिनेशचन्द्र गुप्त । ये बंगाल वालन्टियर्स में कप्तान रहे थे । माता विनोदिनी देवी की कोख से सन् १९११ की ६ दिसम्बर को जन्मे । पिता सतीशचन्द्र गुप्त मेदिनीपुर जिले में पोस्ट मास्टर थे । दिनेश उनका तीसरा बेटा है, पैतृक घर है ढाका जिले के 'यशोलंग' गांव में । जब बी. ए. में पढ़ रहा था, तभी से असहयोग आंदोलन में सक्रिय हो गया । विनय इस एक्शन का नेता है, पूरा नाम विनय कृष्ण बोस । तीसरा साथी है बादल, पूरा नाम सुधीर कुमार गुप्त ।

एक्शन की घड़ी

खैर ८ दिसम्बर की दोपहर आई । विनय बोस ११ बजकर ४५ मिनट पर मटियाबुर्ज से चला । खिदिरपुर में पाइप रोड की नुक्कड़ पर उसे दिनेश और बादल भी मिल गये । निश्चित था कि कुछ साथी गोल दिघी में ठहरकर संकेत की बाट जोहेंगे कि सिम्पसन मारा जा चुका है—उन्हें संकेत से सूचित करना था राइटर्स बिल्डिंग में 'वन्दे-मातरम्' का उच्चस्वर में नाद गुंजाकर ।

अस्तु, निर्धारित समय पर तीनों क्रांतिकारी राइटर्स बिल्डिंग में प्रवेश कर गये, उस समय १२ बज रहे थे। तीनों एकदम यूरोपियन कपड़ों में थे । गले में मफ़लर लपेट रखे थे । उनकी साहबी पोशाक के कारण किसी ने उन्हें जाने से रोका नहीं । आई. जी. पुलिस (जेल) से मिलने के लिये एक फार्म भरना होता था कि वे किस प्रयोजन से मुलाकात करना चाहते हैं। आई. जी. के कमरे के सामने ये लोग जब पहुंचे तो साहब के अर्दली ने आग्रह किया कि "आप लोग मुलाकात करने वाला फार्म भर दें। और जब तक मैं उसे साहब के पास पहुंचाता हूं आप लोग यहीं इंतजार करें ।" इतना कहना कहनी था कि तीनों क्रांतिकारी उसे धक्का देकर साहब के कमरे में घुस गये । आई. जी सिम्पसन साहब उस वक्त जरूरी फाइलों में व्यस्त थे । अपने सामने तीन संदिग्ध युवकों को देखकर चकित सिम्पसन साहब आत्म-रक्षार्थ कोई युक्ति करें इसके पहले ही तीनों ने भरे रिवाल्वर जेब से निकाल लिये और एक साथ ही ९ फायर किये । नवों गोलियां आई, जी. के शरीर में प्रवेश कर गईं । उनमें से एक गोली उस गोरे अफसर के गले में गहरा जख्म कर गई जिससे वह तुरन्त खत्म हो गया । उस समय कर्नल सिम्पसन का एक वैयक्तिक सहायक भी उसी जगह काम कर रहा था, नाम था ज्ञान गुह । वह भयवश अपनी मेज के नीचे जा छिपा । गोलियों से बिंधकर सिम्पसन कुर्सी से गिर गया था । इसके बाद तीनों क्रांतिकारी हाथों में रिवाल्वर लिए उस कमरे से बाहर निकले और 'राइटर्स बिल्डिंग' के पूर्वी भाग में स्थित दफ्तरों की खिड़कियों पर गोलियां चलाईं आगे बरामदा पड़ता था, वहां भी वे गोली चलाते आये तथा छत की तरफ चढ़े । कृषि विभाग के सचिव ने उन पर एक कुर्सी फेंकी इसका जवाब क्रान्तिकारियों ने गोली से दिया । फिर वे अर्थ-सदस्य के कमरे में घुसे, उसके अर्दली ने आजिजी से कहा, "कमरे में कोई नहीं है. साहब बाहर गये हैं ।" फिर भी उन्होंने उस कमरे को लक्ष्य करके फायर किये ।

गोलियों की आवास सुनकर ए. आई. जी. (पुलिस) रिवाल्वर लेकर दौड़ा आया और उसने क्रान्तिकारियों पर गोलियां चलाईं, पर उसका निशाना चूक गया । तब एक गोरे सार्जेंट ने उसके हाथ से रिवाल्वर ले ली तथा



क्रांतिकारियों पर गोली चलाने लगा । पर वे अकारथ गईं क्योंकि क्रांतिकारी एक जगह स्थिर न होकर बिल्डिंग में कई तरफ दौड़ रहे थे । इस बीच ए. आई. जी. (पुलिस) दूसरी पिस्तौल लेकर आ गया और गोलियां चलाने लगा परन्तु उसमें क्रांतिकारियों का कुछ बिगड़ा नहीं ।

अब तीनों क्रान्तिकारी पासपोर्ट दफ्तर में घुसे और अन्दर से द्वार बन्द कर अपने रिवाल्वरों में गोलियां भरीं । कई कर्मचारियों ने बड़ा जोर लगाया कि वे द्वार खुलवा लें परन्तु क्रांतिकारियों ने उन्हें चेतावनी दी, "पीछे हट जाओ वर्ना गोली मार देंगे ।" वे हट गये । तभी न्यायिक सचिव नेल्सन अपने कमरे से निकला और बाहर ताक-झांक कर ही रहा था कि क्रान्तिकारियों ने उस पर गोली चलाई जो उसकी जांघ में घुस गई । नेल्सन खून ढारता भाग रहा था। अन्य दफ्तर में जाकर छिप गया । अंग्रेज सचिव टाइनहा भी गोली से जख्मी हुआ । इस संघर्ष में एक बात ध्यान देने की है कि क्रांतिकारियों ने देशी कर्मचारियों या कि किसी अर्दली आदि पर एक भी फायर नहीं किया । खबर मिलने पर कलकत्ते के लाल बाजार पुलिस मुख्यालय से पुलिस आई०जी० क्रेक, कुख्यात पुलिस कमिश्नर टैगर्ट और उसका सहकारी अंग्रेज अफसर मि० गार्डन सशस्त्र पुलिस का एक बड़ा दल लेकर आ गया । पुलिस रायफलों से लैस थी । इस समय तीनों क्रांतिकारी राइटर्स बिल्डिंग के अन्तिम कमरे में थे, इस कमरे के गोरे संतरी पर उन्होंने गोली चलाई ही थी कि नवागत रायफल पुलिस ने क्रांतिकारियों की तरफ गोलियां बरसानी शुरू कर दीं—तीनों युवक भी तत्काल मोर्चेबंदी करके बरामदे में आ गये तथा "लाईंग डाउन पोजीशन" ले ली । एक ओर सिर्फ तीन दृढ़व्रती विप्लवी, मुकाबले में दूसरी ओर

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

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कुछ दीये इनके भी नाम

तीन-तीन अनुभवी अंग्रेज उच्चाधिकारी तथा १०० से भी ज्यादा रायफलधारी पुलिस के लोग। खुलकर गोलियां चलां। सिपाही भी जख्मी हुए। एक गोली दिनेश के पेट में लगी। परंतु युद्ध के आवेश में उसे अपने घायल होने का पता ही न चला। तब बादल (सुधीर गुप्त) ने टोका, "दिनेश दा! खून निकल रहा है। तुम्हारे गोली लगी है।" फिर भी देर तक उस बरामदे में खुली लड़ाई जारी रही। आखिर क्रांतिकारियों को गोलियां समाप्त होने को आ गईं तब इन्होंने उच्च स्वरेण घोष गुंजाया—"वन्देमातरम्! वन्देमातरम्।" कई बार यह निनाद गूंजा। बाहर निश्चित जगह पर प्रतीक्षारत साथी समझ गये, अभियान सफल रहा है। इसी क्षण विनय ने निर्देश दिया, "अब हम विदा लेंगे।" यह संकेत था। पूर्व निश्चयानुसार अपने आपको पोटेशियम साइनाइड खाकर खत्म कर लेना था। तत्काल तीनों साथी एक दफ्तर में चले गये। अब अपना दुनिया में कुछ कार्य नहीं। कर्नल सिम्पसन को मारना था, वह हम कर गुजरे। बाकी रास्ता साथी तय करेंगे।

मृत्यु का आह्वान

बादल कुर्सी पर बैठ गया था। बाकी दोनों खड़े रहे। तीनों ने एक साथ जेब से पोटेशियम साइनाइड के एम्पुल निकाले और मुंह में रख लिये। विनय ने तीन तक गिनती गिनी, "एक-दो-तीन" और तीनों ने एम्पुल तोड़ने के लिए दांत गड़ा दिये। बादल का एम्पुल दांत गड़ाते ही टूट गया। जहर हलक में गया और बादल ने प्राण विसर्जित कर दिये। कुर्सी पर पड़ा रह गया उसका निर्जीव शरीर। आश्चर्य, दांत चलाने से भी विनय और दिनेश के कठोर एम्पुल नहीं भग्न हुए। अतः दोनों ने रिवाल्वर मुंह में सीधे करके गोली दाग दी ताकि इहलीला समाप्त हो जाय परंतु वे घायल होकर गिरे—मृत्यु फिर भी दूर रही। देर तक खामोशी देखकर पुलिस आगे बढ़ी। कमरे में जाते अंग्रेज अफसर फिर भी डर रहे थे, पुलिस कमिश्नर टैगर्ट ने आदेश दिया, "दरवाजे के नीचे से फ़ायर करो।" गोली दागी गई फिर भी कोई प्रत्युत्तर नहीं मिला तो पुलिस को विश्वास हो गया कि शायद खेल खत्म हो चुका है। डरते हुए ही गोरे अफसर द्वार खुलवाकर घुसे थे। देखा, एक युवक मृत होकर कुर्सी पर पड़ा है। शेष दोनों नीचे फर्श पर रक्त से सराबोर लेटे हैं। बादल की लाश पुलिस उठा ले गई। बाकी दोनों को मेडिकल कालेज में भर्ती किया गया एक ही साथ। आत्म-हत्या के प्रयास में दिनेश की गोली उसके सिर में लगी थी—शल्यक्रिया करके वह गोली निकाली गई। विनय ने बेहिचक शुरू में ही कह दिया था, "मैं हूं फरार विनय बोस, आई० जी० लोमैन को मैंने गोली मारी है।" पुलिस चकित। जिसे वे खोजते-खोजते हार गये, दस हजार का अपने सिर पर इनाम लिये वह विनय बोस यहां मिल गया। तलाशी लेने पर विनय की जेब से बुलडाग पैटर्न, रिवाल्वर, बादल की जेब से तीन छोटे तिरंगे झंडे और दिनेश के पास से छह गोलियों के चैम्बर वाला रिवाल्वर मिला। खिसियाहट में पुलिस ने बूटों के नीचे रौंदकर विनय का दाहिना हाथ तोड़ दिया। बाकी पूर्ति स्वयं कर ली विनय ने। अपनी ही गोली से उसका जो हाथ जख्म हो गया था उस पर पट्टियां बंधी थीं। विनय ने पट्टियां ढीली कर लीं और घाव में उंगली घुसाकर घाव विकृत कर डाला ताकि वह विषाक्त हो जाय। विप्लवी की यह आत्म-विसर्जन प्रक्रिया इतिहास में दुर्लभ है। फलतः घाव विषाक्त हो जाने से विनय बोस १३ दिसम्बर को संसार छोड़ गया। अस्पताल से उसकी लाश नीमतल्ला घाट के श्मशान पर ले जाई गई। उस समय रात का एक बजा था। फिर भी नीमतल्ला श्मशान में शहीद के अंतिम दर्शनों के लिए बेशुमार भीड़ इकट्ठी हो गई थी।

दिनेश तीन सप्ताह में स्वस्थ हो गया। तब उसे अलीपुर के न्यू सेन्ट्रल जेल लाया गया। यहां बाद में कांग्रेस आंदोलन में सुभाषचंद्र बोस भी कैद किये गये। रामकृष्ण विश्वास और कालीदास चक्रवर्ती नामक दो अन्य विप्लवी भी इस जेल में थे। अतः आग्रह करके सुभाष बोस ने एक दिन दिनेश से मिलने की युक्ति सफल कर ली। बहाना था सरस्वती पूजा का। आयरिश जेलर सुभाष बाबू को मानता था। इन्कार न सका। फलतः रामकृष्ण विश्वास तथा कालीपद को कुछ देर के लिए सुभाष बोस की बैरक में लाया गया। दिनेश सुभाष से जान-पहचान रखता था। चारों ने साथ-साथ सरस्वती की पूजा की। दिनेश और सुभाष परस्पर आलिंगन-पाश में कुछ क्षणों के लिए बंध गये। दिनेश ने उन्हें विनय और बादल के विषय में बताया। सुभाष वह सब कथा सुनकर रोमांचित हो उठे। आंखें भीग गईं। वह अन्तिम और क्षणिक भेंट थी।

अनन्तर दिनेश पर एक स्पेशल ट्रिब्यूनल में मुकदमा चलाया गया। ट्रिब्यूनल के प्रधान थे मि० मार्लिक। तीन महीने के बाद सन् १९३१ की २ फरवरी को ट्रिब्यूनल ने दिनेश को फांसी की सजा सुनाई। फैसले में फांसी की तिथि ७ जुलाई निश्चित की गई। दिनेश ने मां को एक मार्मिक पत्र लिखा :—

"मां : मौत तो मरणधर्मा की निश्चित ही है, लेकिन अगर वह कुछ समय पहले आ जाय तो क्या उतने से हमें दुखी होना चाहिए? आखिर किसलिए? मृत्यु पूर्व सूचना देकर नहीं आती, प्रायः यही दिखाई देता है लेकिन यदि मेरे मामले में वह पूर्व सूचना देकर आये, तो इस कारण क्या वह शोक का कारण बन गई? जिन्हें जीवन में असीम दुःख भोगना होता है, वस्तुतः उन्हें ही परमात्मा का आशीष प्राप्त है, इसमें संदेह नहीं।"

दिनेश का फैसला हाईकोर्ट को भेजा गया २७ मार्च को। उसने भी वही सजा बहाल रखी। इस बीच दिनेश का वजन १२ पौंड बढ़ गया। उसने अपने भाई को पत्र लिखा—

"तुम एक डाक्टर हो। क्या तुम्हें विश्वास हो पायेगा कि फैसला सुनने के बाद मेरा वजन लगातार बढ़ता रहा—और बढ़कर १२ पौंड ज्यादा हो गया।"

फांसी का दिन आया। अभी भोर नहीं हुई थी कि उसे बुलावा आ गया। बहुत बार जगाने पर ही उसकी गहरी नींद टूटी निश्चिंत निद्रा। जेल अफसरों को सामने देखते ही उल्लास से कूद पड़ा। बोला "चलो। एकदम तैयार हूं।" ऊषाकाल में अभी ३ बजकर ४५ मिनट हुए थे कि दिनेश फांसी के तख्ते पर जा खड़ा हुआ। एक खटका हुआ और सब समाप्त। विप्लवी अपना चरम प्राप्य, चरम लक्ष्य पा गया।

जेलवाले डरे कि दिनेश की लाश लेकर कहीं बवंडर न मचा दे, अतः चोरों की तरह चुपचाप जेल में ही अंत्येष्टि कर दी। सिर्फ मां को बुलावा भेजा गया था कि वह दिनेश की लाश देख जाए तथा उसकी अस्थियां ले जाए। भाई गया था, देखता रहा था अग्नि सहोदर को अग्नि समर्पित होते। फिर उसकी राख उसने भागीरथी को समर्पित कर दी।

परंतु क्या विप्लव-ज्वाला इससे बुझ सकी? नहीं। जिस जज मार्लिक ने दिनेश को फांसी की सजा सुनाई थी, एक विप्लवी ने उसे भी गोली मारकर खत्म कर दिया। पिस्तौलों ने विराम नहीं लिया—बलिदान का तांता टूटा नहीं। ●

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भगतसिंह ने कहा था

वीर प्रसवा मां विद्यावती

आजाद और भगतसिंह के साथी जयदेव कपूर की माता जी को मैं 'चाची' कहता रहा हूं—तब से जब जयदेव भाई लाहौर षड्यन्त्र केस में आजन्म कालेपानी का 'पुरस्कार' अंगीकार कर अंडमान में सजा काट रहे थे—उन दिनों कितनी ही बार चाची को मौन, खोई हुई और गुमसुम बैठे देखा है। जाड़े थे, एक रात हरदोई के रेलवेगंज निवासी, स्वतंत्रता सेनानी चिरंजीलाल अग्रवाल के घर गुड़ की रसावर (गन्ने का रस और चावल) बनी। चिरंजीलाल से मैंने पूछा, "किसने बनाई है?" वे बोले—"चाची ने"। वे भी जयदेव जी की मां को चाची कहते थे। चाची उनके घर आई थीं—मुझे पूछते देखकर चाची मेरे पास आ खड़ी हुई—पूछा, "क्यों रसावर ठीक बनी है?" मैंने कहा, "चाची, बड़ी स्वादिष्ट है, इसी से पूछ रहा था कि किसने बनाई है।"

दर्द बहुत गहरा है

सहसा चाची गंभीर नजर आई। मैंने पूछा, "क्या सिर का दर्द बढ़ गया?" जयदेव जब पकड़ा गया और यह लगा कि शायद ही फांसी से बचे तब से चाची को यह शिरोपीड़ा पैदा हो गई, उसका असर आंखों पर भी पड़ा, आंखें खराब हो गयीं और माथे में जैसे हर वक्त कोई कील चुभती रहती। वे अक्सर माथा पकड़े बैठी रहतीं। क्रांतिकारी तो फांसी चढ़ता है या कैद होकर लम्बे समय के लिए कारावास में चला जाता है, लेकिन उसके परिवार पर कैसी गुजरती है, यह व्यथा-कथा कहीं लिखी नहीं जा सकती है। इसी विचार से कि चाची को इस समय भी शायद वही दर्द सता रहा है—मैंने पूछ लिया था। परन्तु प्रश्न सुनकर उनके आंसू भर आये, मानो मैंने उनकी कोई दुखती रग छेड़ दी हो। कहने लगीं—"जयदेव की याद हो आई। उन्हें रसावर और शक्कर के गुलगुले पसंद हैं। जब मैं मिलने लाहौर जाती थी तो गुलगुले लिए जाती थी। वहां मिलाई के वक्त भगतसिंह, राजगुरू, सुखदेव, शिव वर्मा, विजय कुमार, बटुकेश्वर वगैरह सभी १६ लड़के मिल-बांट के गुलगुले खाने में जुट जाते थे। क्या कहूं, बड़ा दुख होता है कि अब काले पानी जाकर उन्हें गुलगुले कैसे खिलाऊं और भगतसिंह, सुखदेव, राजगुरू तो फांसी पाकर सदा के लिए ही चले गए। उन्हें कहां पाऊंगी! लाहौर की बोर्स्टल जेल में मिलने पर "माताजी, माताजी कहकर जाने क्या-क्या कहा करता था।"

इतना कहकर चाची फिर मौन हो गई, एकदम गंभीर, यादों में खोई हुई बैठी हैं। मैंने रसावर खत्म कर ली। चिरंजीलाल बोले—"चाची, इन्हें वह बताओ जब भगतसिंह की मां बच्चे का कपड़ा जेल में भगतसिंह को देने ले गई थीं।"

छठी का कपड़ा

मैंने पूछा, "पीला कपड़ा और वह भी बच्चे का। मैं समझा नहीं।" चाची बताने लगीं—"हां, हम स्त्रियां अक्सर छोटे बच्चों के पहने हुए ऐसे पुराने कपड़े जतन से रख लेती हैं।"

"उस दिन जेल में भगतसिंह की मां विद्यावती भी वैसा ही एक पीला कपड़ा लेकर आई थी, कपड़ा किसी छोटे बच्चे का था। उन दिनों वे सोलहों 'लड़िका' लाहौर के बोर्स्टल जेल में बन्द थे, अभी सजा नहीं सुनाई गयी थी। मैं भी जयदेव से और उन सब से मुलाकात के लिये जेल गई थी। भगतसिंह की माता भी मिलाई करने पहुंची। हम सब मिलाई वाले लोग एक पंगत में बैठाये गये थे। दूसरी पंगत थी, जिसमें मेरा बेटा जयदेव और उसके साथी भगतसिंह, सुखदेव, राजगुरू, शिव वर्मा आदि १६ लड़के बैठे थे। तभी मैंने देखा, भगतसिंह की मां ने वह पीला वस्त्र धीरे से झोले से निकाला और भगतसिंह को देने के लिए बढ़ाया ही था कि भगतसिंह ने हंसकर कहा, "बेबे, यह क्या है?" मां बोली "इसे रख ले। यह छठी का कपड़ा है। यह तेरे पास रहेगा तो कोई मुसीबत नहीं आयेगी।" उनका मत लब था, इसे रखने से फांसी से बचा जा सकेगा। स्त्रियों का छठी के कपड़े पर ऐसा ही कुछ विश्वास बन गया है। लेकिन भगतसिंह हंसे और बोले, "बेबे, इसे ले जाकर फिर घर में ही रख देना। मैं जल्दी ही फिर तुम्हारी कोख से जन्म लूंगा, तब तुम इसे मुझे पहनाना बेबे।" अरे इतना कहना था कि वे रोने लगीं। पीला कपड़ा उनकी मुट्ठी में दबा का दबा रह गया—उसी पर उनके बड़े-बड़े आंसू गिर रहे थे। तब भगतसिंह ने फिर समझाया, "बेबे, क्यों रोती हो? लोग कहेंगे भगतसिंह की मां रोती थी।" फिर मेरी तरफ इशारा कर के कहा—"इन्हें देखा, इनके तो एक ही (जयदेव कपूर) लड़का है, ये नहीं रोतीं। दूर से आई हैं। आपके तो पांच बेटे हैं, मैं नहीं रहूंगा—तब भी आप की सेवा के लिए चार बेटे तो घर में रहेंगे ही।" विद्यावती जी ने वह छठी का कपड़ा बड़े दुःख से झोले में रखा और आंसू पोंछकर चुप वहीं बैठी रहीं, लंबी-लंबी सांसें लेती हुईं, भगतसिंह का हंसमुख तेजस्वी चेहरा वह बराबर देखती रहीं थी। बड़ी हसरत से, जैसे वह एक पल को भी भगतसिंह से अलग नहीं रहना चाहतीं—तभी मिलाई का वक्त खत्म हो गया और हम लोग उठ गई।" ● वागीश

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वृद्धा की कैद में वह किशोर क्रान्तिकारी !

'काकोरी केस' वाले दल में चन्द्रशेखर आजाद औरों के मुकाबले उम्र में कम थे, चंचल भी काफी थे । एक बार कुछ कारतूस कम पड़ गये तो सबसे पहले दल के नेता ने इन्हीं की तलाशी ली । स्वभाव से उग्र होने के बावजूद उन्होंने उस तलाशी का बुरा नहीं माना, यद्यपि कोई कारतूस उनके पास से बरामद नहीं हुआ । मानते थे कि दल के अनुशासन के अनुसार तलाशी देने में गुरेज नहीं होनी चाहिये ।

आजाद पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल के साथ कई राजनीतिक डकैतियों में गये । इन डाकों में एक बात का आचरण प्रमुखतः होता था कि स्त्रियों के आभूषणादि नहीं छीनना है, न उन पर शस्त्र चलाना है ।

सुनो तरुण !

तरुणाई का अर्थ है भविष्य में निवास करना। तरुणाई का अर्थ है कि तुम जो हो, उसे छोड़ने के लिए प्रस्तुत रहना और जो बनना है वह बन जाना । तरुणाई का अर्थ है कभी स्वीकार न करना कि अब उन्नति असंभव है ।

– श्री मां

एक गांव के जमींदार के घर इन क्रांतिकारियों ने डाका डाला, बिस्मिल उस 'एक्शन' में नेता थे । स्त्रियों को जेवर प्यारे होते ही हैं—घर की मालकिन थी एक मोटे शरीर वाली वृद्धा ठकुराइन । वृद्धा ने देखा, डाकू आ गये हैं तो वह अपने जेवर वाले बक्स पर खूब मजबूती से बैठ गई । वहां ड्यूटी थी आजाद की । आजाद मनुहार करें—"माताजी ! हम सिर्फ नकदी ही ले जायेंगे । आप अलग खड़ी हो जायें ।"

माताजी ने पकड़ लिया

भला माता जी एक १८-१९ साल के लड़के से क्यों डरने लगीं, जबकि न वह धमका रहा है—न गुस्सा ही दिखा रहा है । वे वहीं बैठी रहीं । आजाद विवश खड़े रहे—उसे धक्का देना महापाप समझते थे । तभी बिस्मिल ने वापस चलने की बाहर से सीटी बजाई, आजाद जाने के लिये हिले ही थे कि बलिष्ठ वृद्धा ने न जाने क्या सोचकर उनका हाथ धर लिया, छोड़ा ही नहीं और आजाद की मजबूरी यह थी कि पिस्तौल पकड़े रहते भी धक्का-मुक्की या खींचातानी कैसे करें ! महिला तो महिला ही है, कैसे अपमानित करें उसे । कैसा दृश्य था कि वृद्धा उनका हाथ कस कर पकड़े खड़ी है और आजाद हैं कि उसके बन्दी बन कर मौन विवश जहां के तहां खड़े हैं, किंकर्त्तव्यविमूढ़ । कच्ची उम्र है, खतरा सिर पर, परन्तु कोई उपाय नहीं कर पा रहे—तभी बिस्मिल ने गिनती की तो देखा आजाद का कहीं पता नहीं । वे खुद फिर से उस घर में लौटे और अन्दर का दृश्य देखा तो बिफर पड़े आजाद पर । डांटा—"क्या खूब ! पकड़वाओगे सबको ।" और वृद्धा के हाथ पर बिस्मिल का एक हाथ पड़ा । आजाद का हाथ मुक्त हो गया । वृद्धा चुप । ऐसे थे आजाद ! यशोदा ने एक बार कृष्ण को पेड़ से बांध दिया-तो बेचारे बंधे रहे, प्रतिरोध नहीं किया । माता ने वही चरितार्थ कर दिखाया, उस डकैती के दौरान नर-नाहर आजाद ने । स्त्रियों के प्रति उनका कुछ ऐसा ही ऊंचा दृष्टिकोण था ।

वह राइफल भरती जाए

अवश्य ही एक बार जब उनसे किसी साथी ने विवाह की चर्चा चलायी तो आजाद ने कहा था "अगर कांग्रेस ने अंग्रेजों से समझौता कर के आजादी की लड़ाई रोक दी तो मैं हथियार लेकर सीमा पार पेशावर से दूर अफरीदियों—पठानों की तरफ चला जाऊंगा क्योंकि वे ही ऐसे लोग हैं जो अंग्रेजों से दोस्ती नहीं करेंगे । बस उन्हीं को लेकर लड़ाई जारी रखूंगा । रही शादी की बात, तो भाई, मुझे ऐसी स्त्री कहां मिलेगी जो सीमा पार जाने पर मेरे साथ अपने कंधे पर एक बोरी कारतूस और रायफल लाद कर आगे बढ़ती चले और मैं पुलिस से घिर लिया जाऊं, तो वह मुझे राइफल भर-भर कर देती रहे और मैं राइफल से दुश्मनों को भूनता रहूं और फिर गोली चलाते हुए लड़ते यों ही खत्म हो जाऊं ।" ● क्रांतिकारी

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चढ़ना नाग का आजाद के पांवों पर

यहां वह घटना लिखता हूं, जिसके कारण आजाद सातार-तटवर्ती ढिमुरपुरा के एक मकान से रातोंरात कूद कर भाग जाने को विवश हो गये थे। ढिमुरपुरा के एक मंदिर में छद्म वेश में रहते समय वे अक्सर सातार नदी के घाट पर कथा-वाचन भी करते थे। उसमें कथा तो कम, उत्तेजक भाषण और वह भी देश की दासता दूर करने के उद्‌गार ही अधिक होते थे। वह प्रवचन सुनने नदी पर स्नानार्थ समागत स्त्रियां भी इकट्ठी हो जाती थीं, युवा और वृद्ध पुरुष भी। गांव के एक ठाकुर परिवार की दो लड़कियां भी ब्रह्मचारी हरिशंकर (आजाद) का प्रवचन सुनने में रुचि लेती थीं। परन्तु उनमें एक का ध्यान प्रवचन में कम, ब्रह्मचारी की मुखाकृति पर ज्यादा रहता था। यद्यपि यह सच है कि आजाद सुन्दर नहीं थे। सांवला रंग और चेचक के हल्के दाग भी थे। हां, नित्य व्यायाम करने से शरीर सुगठित और ओजपूर्ण था, ब्रह्मचर्य का तेज भी नेत्रों में देदीप्यमान रहता परन्तु फिर भी उसे लौकिक सुन्दरता नहीं कह सकते। वह लड़की उनमें क्या आकर्षण पाती, थी यह तो वही जाने। तभी एक दिन विचित्र घटना घटी। ब्रह्मचारी जी (आजाद) प्रवचन के पूर्व सातार तट पर बैठे किसी विचार में डूबे थे—आंखे बन्द किये कि एक विषधर नाग सातार से बहता आया और आजाद के पांवों पर चढ़ गया—फिर जाने क्यों चुपचाप उतर कर धारा में लुप्त हो गया। आजाद को फिर भी उसका भान नहीं हुआ। कुछ देर में विचार-मग्नता भंग हुई और आंखें खोलीं तो देखा आसपास के स्नानार्थी तथा मंदिर में दर्शनार्थ पधारे ग्रामवासी स्त्री पुरुष उन्हें आश्चर्य से देख रहे हैं क्योंकि उन सबने उस नाग को 'ब्रह्मचारी जी' के चरण स्पर्श करके वापस जाते देखा था—इसे उन्होंने अंध श्रद्धा-वश सचमुच में नाग द्वारा 'चरण स्पर्श' ही मान लिया और यह भी कि ब्रह्मचारी जी तो कोई पहुंचे हुए महात्मा है—सिद्ध पुरुष हैं। महिलाएं ऐसे संस्कारों से कहीं ज्यादा ग्रस्त होती हैं, ठाकुर परिवार की वे वनिता द्वै भी इस घटना से अत्यधिक प्रभावित हुईं—सबके साथ वे भी आजाद के चरणों में झुक गयीं—आजाद चकित कि माजरा क्या है। तब उन लोगों ने ही उन्हें बताया कि 'आप धन्य हैं महाराज! भयंकर नाग देवता भी आज नदी से आकर आपके पांव छू गये हैं और आपने उसको आशीर्वाद तक दिया।' आजाद खूब हंसे यह सुनकर। उस दिन से आसपास उनका रंग और गहरा जम गया।

आजाद शिक्षक बने

उस दिन ठाकुर परिवार की उक्त दोनों वनिताओं ने आजाद से आग्रह किया 'ब्रह्मचारी जी आप हमारे घर चलो। सब लोग सेवा करेंगे।' उन में कुछ बड़ी युवती ने कहा—"आप यहां भी बच्चों को पढ़ाते हैं, हमारे घर में इस बिटिया को पढ़ा दीजिएगा।"

आजाद को पढ़ाना तो क्या था—पर दो जून पके पकाये भोजन का सहारा देखकर उनके घर चले गए। सातार-तट छूटा। उस कृत्रिम जीवन से उन्हें अरुचि भी हो गई थी। दिन भर अपने से बड़ी उम्र के लोगों को भी बच्चा, बच्चा कहते उन्हें अजीब लगता था। उस ढोंग से ऊबना स्वाभाविक था।

वागीश

उस परिवार के मालिक थे ठाकुर मलखान सिंह। संपन्न थे, कई भाई थे। ये दोनों लड़कियों में से एक मलखानसिंह की बहन थी और एक उसकी सहेली। बहिन को आजाद भी दीदी कहने लगे। उनकी सहेली रोज आजाद से पढ़ने बैठती। बच्चन ने बताया था कि वह बाहर से दीदी के पास किसी निमंत्रण देने के सिलसिले में आई थी। दिल्ली के प्रोफेसर नन्द किशोर निगम का कहना था जैसा कि स्वयं आजाद ने वहां उन्हें बताया कि वे दोनों युवतियां मलखान के ही परिवार की थीं। जो हो, आजाद उस लड़की को पढ़ाते रहे। उनका भोजन घर के चौके में होने लगा। घर के से आदमी बन गये। मलखानसिंह का उन पर विश्वास जम गया। उन्हें भाइयों सहित बीच-बीच में बाहर भी जाना होता था। ब्रह्मचारी जी (आजाद) के वहां रहते वे सब भाई प्रवास में भी निश्चिंत रहते थे। वे दीदी बड़ी खातिरदार थीं।

"...और सबने देखा कि नाग ब्रह्मचारी जी, यानी आजाद के चरण स्पर्श कर वापिस जा रहा है। फिर क्या था! सब आजाद के चरणों में झुक गए....."

आजाद घर में हों न हों, वैशंपायन बताते थे—झांसी से कभी कोई साथी उस घर में यदि गया तो दीदी उसे जाते ही कलेवा कराती-अपरिचय रहते भी दूध गरम करके देतीं। आजाद जब भीषण उमस में रात को छत पर सोने जाते तो दीदी देर तक हवा में बैठी उनसे तरह तरह की चर्चा करती रहतीं। उन्हें आजाद से बिना उनका सही नाम धाम और काम जाने भी कोई भय नहीं रहा। जब देखतीं कि ब्रह्मचारी जी, जिन्हें वे पंडितजी कहती थी—हूं, हूं करते-करते निद्रा मग्न होना चाहते हैं तब नीचे उतरकर सो जातीं। दोनों की तरुणाई की वय, किन्तु कैसी निश्चिंत थीं वे! २२ की रही होंगी।

प्रेमाकुल युवती

लेकिन दूसरी लड़की जो २० वर्ष से कम न होगी—वह पढ़ने में तो कम रुचि लेती, बैठी 'पंडित जी' को ताका करती। जाने क्या वह उनकी आंखों में, चेहरे पर खोजने में तल्लीन रहती। थोड़े ही दिनों में वह बुरी तरह 'पंडितजी' के मोह में ग्रस्त हो गई। आठों पहर उन्हीं की बातें, उन्हीं की सूरत उसके आगे घूमती रहती। नहीं रहा गया तो उसने दीदी से भी आत्म-व्यथा बताई दीदी बिगड़ी, ताड़ना की। कहा, "अंधी न बन। वे साधु पुरुष हैं। नारी का स्पर्श भी न करेंगे। तू उन्हें गिराना चाहती है, खबरदार।" पर वह न मानी। बात बढ़ती गई। मर्ज बढ़ता गया ज्यों-ज्यों दवा की। आजाद फिर भी बेखबर। वे कभी सोच भी न सके कि देहात की वह युवती उनके सरीखे रूक्ष और बेसरो-सामान यात्री से ऐसी अपेक्षा करने लगेगी। जो हो सामीप्य, संसर्ग ऐसी चीज है कि यह सब दीवारें ढहा देता है। हर मर्यादा भंग करने पर तुल जाता है।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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वही हुआ। यद्यपि वैशंपायन यह घटना भिन्न रूप में बताते थे परन्तु लड़की की तरफ से जबर्दस्त पहल करने की बात वह भी कहते थे।

एक रात दूब ज्योत्सना बरस रही थी, आजाद खाना खाकर छत पर चले गये थे—उन्हें नींद नहीं आ रही थी, दल के संगठन की चिन्ता में मग्न थे। एकाकी होने पर देश की, उसके बन्धन छिन्न करने की बात ही वह सोच रहे थे कि उसी समय पायलों की झंकार सुनाई दी। समझे दीदी हवा खाने आ रही होंगी। वे पड़े रहे, देखने की जरूरत नहीं समझी। घर में इस समय कोई मर्द न था, सभी बाहर गये हुए थे। उस लड़की ने मौका अनुकूल समझा कि मन की व्यथा वह ब्रह्मचारी जी से कह ही डालेगी। तभी आजाद ने देखा कि ये तो दीदी नहीं—उनकी शिष्या ही है। सोचा, शायद उसे कुछ पूछना हो।

लेकिन वह आई और सीधे उनके पलंग पर ही जम गई। आजाद चौंके, उठकर बैठ गये कि एक युवती के पलंग पर बैठे रहने पर लेटे रहना ठीक नहीं। वह मौन बैठी थी। आजाद ने सोचा, शायद यह दीदी का इंतजार कर रही है। वे भी प्रतीक्षा में मौन बैठे रहे। २० मिनट हो गये। दीदी का कहीं पता नहीं। नीरव रजनी। अकेली युवती के साथ यों बैठना उन्हें खटक गया। आखिर पूछा उस से,

"कुछ पूछना है, दिन में पूछ लेती। इतनी रात में·····"

लेकिन वह उत्तर नहीं दे रही थी, मौन अपलक उन्हें ताक रही है—आजाद उलझन में पड़ गये। क्या करें। वे कभी जीवन में ऐसी स्थिति में न पड़े थे। लड़की उन्हें चुप देख-कर साहस करके आगे की ओर खिसकी। जिह्वा नहीं खुली। नारी जाति। मन का अवगुण्ठन खोल पाना सहज नहीं। उसको खिसकता देखकर आजाद का माथा ठनका। तेज होकर कहा,

"देखो जो बात हो—कहो और नीचे जाओ। इतनी रात को यहां तुम्हारा अकेले बैठना ठीक नहीं।"

युवती ढीठ बन गयी। ब्रह्मचारी जी की सीधाई देखकर उसके होठों पर मन्द स्मिति फैल गई। उसका आकर्षण और बढ़ गया, सोचा ऐसे मनुष्य कहां मिलते हैं। इस बार वह खिसककर एकदम उनके समीप हो रही। आजाद क्षुब्ध हटकर एकदम पट्टी पर जा बैठे—फिर नीचे खड़े हो गये। गुस्से से बोले, "देखो क्या तुम्हारा दिमाग फिर गया है? जाओ वरना मैं जाता हूं नीचे।"

अब युवती को भी क्रोधावेश आया। गुस्से से कांपने लगी। स्वयं को बहुत कुछ समझे बैठी थी लेकिन यह साधारण सा आदमी उसका तिरस्कार करके जा रहा है। बोली, "जाओ तो देखूं कैसे जाते हो। भूल गये, ब्याह की बात चलने पर आपने जब कहा था कि आगे सोचेंगे—वह क्या मेरा अपमान करने के लिए था?"

दरअसल प्रो० नन्दकिशोर निगम ने बताया था कि घर में स्त्रियों ने आजाद पर जोर डाला था कि उस लड़की का उनसे ब्याह हो जाए—जब आजाद ने देखा, संकट नहीं टलता तो यों ही कह दिया था कि "आगे सोचेंगे।" वे सोचते थे, कुछ दिनों जब तक यहां रहना ही है, बात टाल दें, फिर दल के बिखरे लोगों से संपर्क साधने पर तो यहां से चल ही देना होगा। तब कौन रोकेगा उन्हें। इसी कारण लड़की ने आशा बांध रखी होगी। अब और ऐसे में उसका ढीठ हो जाना भी कोई बड़ी बात नहीं। उसकी वही दुराशा अब आजाद के समक्ष एक समस्या बन कर खड़ी थी।

ऐसे मिली मुक्ति

आजाद वहां से चले जाने को हुए कि वह लड़की क्रोध में कह गई, "आप जायेंगे इस तरह तो मैं पुकार कर पूरे मुहल्ले को यहां बुला लूंगी।"

"किसलिये?" आजाद भी बिगड़े।

"कहूंगी चिल्ला कर कि आपने मेरे साथ अनाचार करना चाहा है।" आजाद का क्षोभ और भी बढ़ा—इतना बड़ा झूठ। पर आजाद ऐसी धमकी से कब विचलित होने लगे! वे आगे बढ़ गये और चाहा कि द्वार खोलकर उतर जायें—तब देखा कि किवाड़ों की सांकल बाहर से बन्द है। कुछ चारा न देखा तो पलट कर दीवार तक आये और छत से बिना कुछ कहे १२ फुट नीचे छलांग लगा गये और सीधे सातार तट वाले मन्दिर पर जाकर रुके।

युवती इस तरह उनके कूद जाने से व्या-कुल हो उठी। छत से नीचे देखा तो वे चले जा रहे थे तेज चाल से, चांदनी में उन्हें दूर तक देखती रही। फिर नीचे आकर दीदी को पूरी बात से अवगत कराया। दीदी ने उसे बहुत झिड़का। दीदी चिन्तित हुई कि उस-का मेहमान अब कभी नहीं लौटेगा। घर वालों से क्या बतायेगी। लेकिन प्रातः देखा, पढ़ाने के ठीक समय पर वे आ गये थे पर वे बाहर ही बैठे। भोजन नहीं किया क्योंकि तब उन्हें अन्दर जाना पड़ता। यों भी रोज वह लड़की ही उनका भोजन परोसती थी, जब तक वे खा नहीं लेते थे वहीं मौजूद रहती थी और बड़े आग्रहपूर्वक उन्हें जिमाती थी। दीदी ने उसकी तरफ से माफी मांगी और यह भी कहा कि "उसे मैंने बहुत कहा—सुना है। वह भी पछतायी है। आप क्षमा कर दें।"

दीदी ने जिद की कि "आप यहीं रहें, भले पढ़ाये न उसे।" आजाद मान गये क्योंकि वे इन स्थितियों में जब कि चतु-र्दिक पुलिस उन्हें सूंघती फिर रही थी—झांसी या और कहीं भी जा नहीं सकते थे। फरार जीवन की अजीब विडंबना है। न चाह कर भी उसे घरों के भीतर रहना पड़ता है। आजाद ने शर्त रखी कि "जब तक वह लड़की यहां है वे घर के भीतर जाकर भोजन नहीं करेंगे—बाहर ही कर लेंगे या मंदिर में खाना भेज दिया जाया करे। साथ ही रात में हनुमान मन्दिर में सोयेंगे।" यही हुआ। लड़की के वहाँ ठहरने तक आजाद घर में नहीं प्रविष्ट हुए। आखिर उस गांव से लड़की के जाने का समय आया तो वह स्वयं मन्दिर आकर आजाद से क्षमा याचना करने लगी। आजाद चुप। फिर उसने बड़ी विनती कि 'जो गलती हुई उसे भूल जायें और मेरे घर ब्याह में जरूर आयें।' वह आंसू पोंछती हुई वापस गई। आजाद कुछ न बोले। वे जिस धातु के बने थे वह दुर्लभ है। विप्लवी का किस से राग-मोह। कब कहां जाना होगा, कब मरण आगे हाथ बढ़ाकर आ खड़ा होगा, कौन जानता है।

किसी तरह ये सब बातें मलखानसिंह को विदित हो गई। उनकी छाती फूल गई कि कैसे देवता आदमी को उन्होंने घर ठहराया। उनकी श्रद्धा भी उन पर और ज्यादा हो गई। वे मनुहार करके उन्हें फिर से घर ले आये। आजाद फिर वहीं रहने खाने लगे क्योंकि अभी फरार रहकर वहीं रहना था।

छोटी बातें

बड़ी चीजें छोटी-छोटी चीजों को मिलाकर ही बनतीं हैं। जब कभी किसी बड़े कार्य से सामना हो, तो इस तथ्य को याद रखने से उत्साह बना रहता है। हमेशा यही याद रखो कि यह बड़ा कार्य, छोटे-छोटे विभिन्न कार्यों का एक समु-च्चय है। इस तथ्य की अज्ञानता के कारण ही कुछ लोग महान कार्य करने से डर जाते हैं—डब्ल्यू. पी. वारेन

(अमरीकी दार्शनिक)

Research Institute Malukote Collection

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संस्मरण

ऐसे थे बिस्मिल

सन् १९१६ के दिसम्बर महीने की बात है। पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल उस समय शाहजहांपुर में ९वीं कक्षा में पढ़ते थे और पं० श्रीराम बाजपेयी की "सेवा समिति" में सक्रिय थे। शस्त्रास्त्रों को रखने की रुचि उनमें पैदा हो चुकी थी।

इसी का नतीजा था कि अपनी माताजी से सवा सौ रुपये लेकर वे ग्वालियर गये, क्योंकि रियासतों में उन दिनों बन्दूक-पिस्तौलों पर लाइसेंस नहीं था। वहां पांच फायरों वाला एक टोपीदार रिवाल्वर खरीदा। परंतु इसमें वे धोखा खा गये थे। घर आकर जब उन्होंने उस रिवाल्वर को परीक्षण करने के लिए दागा तो उसकी गोली सिर्फ २० गज तक ही जा सकी। बहुत पछताये।

उस जमाने में चांदी के रुपये और सोने की गिन्नियों का चलन था। सवा सौ रुपयों में एक गिन्नी। बिस्मिल के पास एक अब भी शेष थी जिसे उन्होंने ईमानदारी से मां को वापस तो कर दिया लेकिन जब पूछा गया, "ग्वालियर से क्या लाये हो?" तो उत्तर न देकर टाल गये। आखिर बताते भी क्या?

अब सवाल था लखनऊ जाने का, क्योंकि रामप्रसाद ने सुना था कि लखनऊ में आयोजित कांग्रेस के अखिल भारतीय अधिवेशन में लोकमान्य तिलक का आगमन हो रहा है। उस युग में तिलकजी के प्रति देशप्रेमी लोगों तथा युवकों में बड़ी श्रद्धा थी। तिलक गरम विचारधारा वालों के नेता माने जाते थे, गोखले नरम दल वालों के। बिस्मिल का अभी तक किसी नेता या क्रांतिकारी से संपर्क नहीं आया था। अवश्य ही देशभक्तिपूर्ण साहित्य से उनको लगाव गहरा था।

लखनऊ कांग्रेस में जाने देने में पिता और पितामही ने घोर विरोध किया, परंतु मां बड़ी दयामयी तथा उदार थीं। उन्होंने भाड़े के रुपए बेटे को दे ही डाले। बिस्मिल लखनऊ पहुंचे। अनेक नये लोगों से जान-पहचान हुई। उमंग और उत्साह उत्पन्न हुआ। भावना जगी कि कुछ करना चाहिए। उग्र विचार धारा के कई लोग उन्हें लखनऊ में मिले क्योंकि वे सब भी तिलक के आकर्षण से खिंचकर अधिवेशन में पहुंचे थे।

तिलक की कार के आगे लेट गये

प्रथम दिन इस कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष अम्बिकाचरण मजूमदार का जोरदार स्वागत हुआ। दूसरे दिन तिलक जी का आगमन होना था। वे स्पेशल ट्रेन से आ रहे थे। चारबाग स्टेशन पर अपार जन-समुद्र उमड़ पड़ा था। तिलक के स्वागतार्थ जो समिति बनी थी उसमें पं० जगतनारायण प्रधान बनाये गये थे तथा लखनऊ के पं० गोकर्णनाथ जैसे नरमदली किंवा माडरेटों की ही उस समिति में भरमार थी। ये लोग नहीं चाहते थे कि तिलकजी का स्वागत अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष से भी अधिक बढ़ चढ़कर हो। इस कारण इन लोगों ने तय किया कि तिलकजी का स्वागत सिर्फ स्टेशन तक ही सीमित रहे। उनका जुलूस आदि न निकाला जाये। उधर छात्रों के समूह में जोश था कि तिलक जी का जुलूस जरूर निकले। रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल भी इसी मंडली में शामिल थे। उन्हें भी बहुत क्षोभ था कि तिलक जी का स्वागत केवल स्टेशन पर ही क्यों हो रहा है?

अस्तु, तिलकजी जैसे ही ट्रेन से उतरे, स्वागत समिति के माडरेट सदस्यों ने उन्हें अपने घेरे में ले लिया और बाहर खड़ी कार में ले जाकर बैठा दिया। अब क्या हो? कैसे तिलकजी का जुलूस ले चलें?

तभी रामप्रसाद को उपाय सूझा। वे सारे जोश के झपट कर तिलक जी की कार के आगे सड़क पर लम्बायन हो गये, सीधे पड़े रहे। अन्य कई छात्रों ने भी उनका अनुसरण किया। रामप्रसाद की आंखों से आंसू फूट पड़ रहे थे और मुंह से यह उद्गार निकल रहे थे कि "हमें तिलकजी का जुलूस निकालने दो वर्ना कार मेरे शरीर के ऊपर से चढ़ा ले जाओ।"

तिलक जी भी छात्रों को मनाने लगे कि जुलूस की जिद बेकार है। परंतु छात्र अड़े रहे। तभी छात्रों ने उस कार के पहिये का एक टायर काटकर बेकार कर दिया। नरमदलियों ने बहुत कुछ मनुहार की, कोई सुनने को तैयार न था। बिस्मिल बराबर चिल्लाये जा रहे थे—"कार मेरे ऊपर से ले जाओ।" कार जाम रही। तब वह गाड़ी मांगी गई जिस पर कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष आये थे। लेकिन गाड़ी देने से मना कर दिया गया।

अंततः छात्रों ने, जिसमें बिस्मिल जी शामिल थे, एक घोड़ागाड़ी का प्रबन्ध किया। उसमें से घोड़े खोलकर अलग कर दिये। तिलक जी के चरणों पर सिर रखकर बिस्मिल ने आग्रह किया कि वे उस घोड़ागाड़ी में बैठ जायें। जब तिलकजी कार से उतरकर उसमें बैठ गये तो बिस्मिल तथा बाकी छात्र उस गाड़ी को हाथ से खींचकर ले चले। जोश ठाठें मार रहा था। तिलक जी के जयकारों का तुमुलनाद। बेशुमार भीड़। क्या भव्य जुलूस था कि नरम दलीय दंग रह गये, खिसियाये भी अपनी करनी पर। लखनऊ में भला कब किसी नेता का ऐसा स्वागत हुआ था। जनता कहती थी, बस जरा तिलक जी की सवारी में हाथ लगा लेने भर दो। समझते थे जीवन सार्थक हो गया। जुलूस पर बरसाये गये फूलों को जनता तथा युवक सड़क से तुरंत उठा लेते थे तथा माथे से लगाकर जेब में रख लेते थे या कि रूमाल से बांधकर सहेज लेते थे। क्या समां था! क्या भावना थी!! कैसा विलक्षण जोश था!!! उस महापुरुष का कैसा अद्भुत सम्मान था कि तिलक जी के पांव कहीं भूमि पर पड़ भर जायें कि वहां की धूल लोग अपने भाल पर पोत लेने की होड़ लगा देते। प्रायः लोग वह चरण-रज कपड़े में बांधकर पवित्र धरोहर की तरह संजो रहे थे।

बिस्मिल ने पहले पहल इसी लखनऊ अधिवेशन में एक क्रांतिकारी समिति किंवा दल के बारे में सुना और उसके सदस्य बनने की ओर उन्मुख हुए। लखनऊ से शाहजहांपुर लौटे तो एक पुस्तक लिखी—"अमरीका को स्वाधीनता कैसे मिली।" मां से दो सौ रुपए लेकर प्रकाशन की युक्ति की। इस पुस्तक को ब्रिटिश सरकार ने जब्त कर लिया। इन्हीं दिनों "मैनपुरी केस" में विप्लवी नेता पं० गेंदालाल दीक्षित पकड़े गये। इस उपलक्ष्य में बिस्मिल ने एक पत्रक प्रकाशित कराया—"देशवासियों के नाम संदेश", उसका शीर्षक था। जिले-जिले में वह वितरित हुआ। युवकों में नवजागरण तथा जोश पैदा हुआ। सरकार ने यह पर्चा भी जब्त कर लिया।●

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

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वह बन्दूकें बोने वाला लड़क
जो रक्त सनी मिट्टी की पूजा करता थ

भगतसिंह ने केवल २३ वसंत अभी देखे थे। इतनी सी उम्र में यह निर्लिप्तता, निर्वेद संसार की समस्त कामनाओं, तृष्णाओं के प्रति यह उपरामता उन्हें कहां से संप्राप्त हो सकी! कैसे वे पूर्ण निष्काम भाव से अपने तन-मन को, रोम-रोम को चरम अंतरंग, वैराग्य के काषाय रंग में रंग सके और वह वैराग्य भी आत्ममुक्ति के लिए नहीं, वरन् समस्त देशवासियों को दासता, दीनता, दमन और शोषण से मुक्त कराने के लिए। उस युग में भगतसिंह और उनके मुक्त-प्राण विप्लवी साथियों की ये मिसालें वैचारिक एवं कर्मण्य जगत की अविस्मरणीय घटनायें हैं और उनसे त्याग-बलिदान का संपूर्ण इतिहास ज्योतिर्मान है।

रणजीत था भगतसिंह का पार्टी नाम। इसी तरह आजाद को दल के लोग "महाशय जी" और "पंडित जी" कहते थे। दल में परस्पर सही नाम लेना मना था, वास्तविक नाम-धाम पूछने की स्पष्ट मनाही थी। ऐसी जिज्ञासा शंका की दृष्टि से देखी जाती थी। अतः छद्म नाम ही चलते थे। राजगुरू को पार्टी के अनेक लोग उनके वास्तविक नाम से तभी जान सकें, जब वे पकड़े गये और अखबारों में उनके फोटो छपे—इसके पहले कभी नहीं। सरकारी कागज़ातों में भी उनका नाम "रघुनाथ" (काशीवासी) ही दर्ज था।

"भागों वाला"

२८ सितम्बर सन् १९०७, लायलपुर जिले के बंगा गांव में भगतसिंह जन्मे, ठीक उसी दिन उस बच्चे के पिता सरदार किशनसिंह अपने भाइयों सहित कारामुक्त होकर लौटे अजीतसिंह बर्मा की मांडले जेल से—स्वर्णसिंह लाहौर की बोर्स्टल जेल से और स्वयं किशनसिंह भी उसी जेल से दो साल की सज़ा काटकर रिहा हुए थे। यह २८ सितम्बर, सन् १९०७ तीनों भाइयों का मुक्तिदिवस था, कारा से रिहाई का दिन था। अतः स्वाभाविक ही उस दिन घर में एक बच्चे का जन्म आनन्द का पारावार

भगतसिंह—"भागों वाला"

ले आया—पितामही जयकौर ने "भागों वाला" कह कर प्यार किया। यही "भागों वाला" संबोधन आगे "भगतसिंह" हो गया। कहने का अर्थ यह है कि परिवार और आस-पास के समाज का प्रभाव बालक पर अनिवार्यतः पड़ता ही है—"भागों वाले" यानी भगतसिंह पर भी पड़ा। प्रमाणतः जब ये तीन वर्ष के हुए तो एक दिन अपने पिता के साथ बाग जा रहे थे कि एक जगह जनाब ठुमक गये। पिता अपने दोस्त से बातों में मग्न थे। थोड़ी देर में क्या देखते हैं, भगतसिंह नन्हीं-नन्हीं घास उठा-उठा कर खेत की गीली मिट्टी में रोपाई कर रहा है—"ओये भागों वाले! क्या बो रहे हो!"

भगतसिंह ने भोलेपन से कहा, "बन्दूकें बो रहा हूं।" पिता चकित कि क्या कह रहा है यह!

वे कुछ जवाब न देकर उसकी मीठियां लेने लगते हैं, मानों उनका अभ्यन्तर शाश्वस्त होकर आशीष रहा हो, "अच्छा-अच्छा भागों वाले, बड़े होकर तुम बंदूकें ही बोया करना।" ये संस्कार साकार हुए, रंग लाये।

इतिहास साक्षी है, तरुणाई में आते-आते भगतसिंह ने अपने रक्त-मांस की खाद देक न सिर्फ बम-बंदूकें रोपीं वरन् आजादी नींव में वे खुद को खपा गये, बिछा अपने शरीर का रोयां-रोयां और वे बी फले। हमारी आजादी वही फसल है।

प्रेरणाएं

वह बालक अपने बंगा गांव के प्राथमि स्कूल की चौथी जमात में आया ही था उसे यह अहसास दुखी बनाने लगा कि अप देश हिन्दुस्थान गुलाम है। अंग्रेज उसे रहे हैं। चाचा अजीतसिंह इसीलिए परदे (यूरोप) बस रहे हैं और छोटे चा (स्वर्णसिंह) इसीलिए जवानी में ही मरते लिए मजबूर हो गये। पिताजी को आये दि पुलिस पूछने आती रहती है। चाची (हरनाम कौर) हरदम रोती रहती हैं।

किशोर वय से ही भगतसिंह को परि में ऐसा वातावरण प्राप्त हो गया था उन्हें सतत् देश की आजादी के लिए करने को उकसाने लगा। उनके एक चा सरदार अजीतसिंह पुराने क्रांतिकारी और वे उसी धुन में पूरे ३८ वर्षों तक में भारत की आजादी के लिए संगठन सेना बनाने में लगे रहे। यहां उन्हें जेल ही सड़ना पड़ता। बाहर रहकर खुले वे काम कर नहीं पाते। सुभाषचन्द्र और जवाहरलाल नेहरू की मुला अजीतसिंह से विदेश में हुई थी। बोस ने जर्मनी में जिन दिनों "आजाद फौज"। ("फ्राइज इंडियन लिजो") अजीतसिंह ने उन्हें बहुत मदद दी। से सहभागी रहे। वे लाला हरदयाल, अंबाप्रसाद सरीखे महान क्रांतिकारि साथी रहे थे। सन् १९०६ की कल कांग्रेस में भी अजीतसिंह अपने अग्रज किशनसिंह (भगतसिंह के पिता) के शामिल हुए थे।

ऐसे पितृव्य के परिवार में पला क्रांतिकारी बन गया तो स्वाभाविक ही घर में ५०-६० पुस्तकें थीं। इनमें

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अम्बाप्रसाद की लिखी "बागी मसीह" थी, 'सन् १८५७ की बगावत', "जफर सेना", "देशी फौज", "उंगली पकड़ते, पहुंचा पकड़ा" और "बंदर बांट" आदि पुस्तकें भी थीं, और इन सभी को ब्रिटिश सरकार ने जब्त घोषित कर रखा था। इनमें लाला हरदयाल की भी लिखी कई किताबें थीं। साथ ही घर में "भारतमाता सोसायटी" के विप्लवी अखबार "पेशवा", "भारत माता", "इंडिया", "पंजाब" और "जमीऊल वतन" की फाइलें भी छिपा कर रखी गई थीं, जिन्हें भगतसिंह पढ़ते रहे। विप्लवी कवि लालचंद फलक की कविताएं वे गुनगुनाते रहते। भगतसिंह के साथी कुन्दनलाल गुप्त से जब मैं नागपुर में मिला तो उन्होंने मुझे बताया था कि "भगतसिंह जिस वक्त फांसी का फंदा पहनने चले, उसके पहले फांसी की कोठरी तक जाते-जाते "फलक" की ये दो पंक्तियां धीरे-धीरे गुनगुना रहे थे :

दिल से निकलेगी मरकर भी वतन की उल्फत,
मेरी मिट्टी से भी खुशबू ए वतन।

वह प्रेम ही क्या जिसे मौत मिटा दे। देश के प्रति उस महान बलिदानी के ये उद्‌गार आने वाली पीढ़ियों को भी प्रेरित करते रहेंगे।

जलियाँवाला बाग की मिट्टी

आगे भगतसिंह ५वीं कक्षा में लाहौर के डी०ए०वी० कालेज में भर्ती हुए और 'नवां कोट' में रहने लगे। इन दिनों भगतसिंह की संस्कृत में बड़ी रुचि थी। संस्कृत में उन्हें १५० में से ११० अंक प्राप्त हुए थे। तभी सन् १९१९ के १३ अप्रैल को "जलियां हत्या कांड" से देश में हाहाकार मच गया। भगतसिंह की छोटी बहिन अमरकौर से एक बार सरदार भगतसिंह के छात्र-जीवन की चर्चा चली तो उन्होंने बताया, "जलियां बाग कांड" के वक्त भगतसिंह १२ वर्ष के पूरे नहीं हुए थे। कक्षा सात में पढ़ते थे। जिस दिन अमृतसर के जलियांवाला बाग में इकट्ठी जनता पर गोरों ने मशीनगनें चलाईं, उसके अगले दिन भगतसिंह सुबह स्कूल के लिए गये लेकिन बजाय स्कूल के पहुंच गये "जलियां बाग"। लौटने में बहुत देर हो गई। घर वाले फिक्रमंद थे कि कहां रह गये। काफी देर करके मुंह लटकाये बहुत चिंतित होकर घर आये तो मैंने पूछा, "इतनी देर कहां की ?"

जवाब देते हैं "एक चीज देखोगी ?"

मैंने कहा, "क्या लाये हो ?"

उन्होंने जेब से एक लाल-सी दिखती शीशी निकाली और कहा, "देखो, इसमें जलियांवाला बाग की खून से सनी मिट्टी है। कितनी जानें ली हैं गोरों ने वहां।" फिर जो कुछ वहां सुना-देखा था, अमर कौर जी ने कहा था कि, "वह सब मुझे सुनाते रहे बड़े गुस्से से। खाना नहीं खाया। फिर भागकर बाग से ढेर सारे फूल तोड़ लाये। उनसे उस शीशी को सजाया। उसके बाद भी कई दिन तक ताजे फूल तोड़ लाते, उस शीशी पर चढ़ाते रहे, शहीदी खून से तब जैसे उनका रिश्ता जुड़ गया था।"

स्कूल छोड़ा

सन् १९२१ आया। भगतसिंह ९वीं कक्षा में थे। गांधीजी की आवाज पर स्कूल छोड़ दिया। अनेक लोगों ने सरकारी नौकरियां छोड़ दीं। गांधीजी के साथ चल पड़े। गांधीजी ने एक साल में आजादी दिलाने की बात कही थी। इस आह्वान ने देश में आंदोलन की आग फैला दी। भगतसिंह को तो पहले से ही "जलियांवाला बाग हत्याकांड" का लहू पुकार रहा था। उन्होंने जमकर लोहा लिया। 'मैं भी स्कूल छोड़कर आंदोलन में भाग लूंगा'—उन्होंने अपने मामाजी की मार्फत पिता से अनुमति मांगी। पिता स्वयं आंदोलनकारी थे, मना कैसे कर सकते थे। भगतसिंह भी विदेशी वस्तुओं की होली जलाने, जुलूस आदि निकालने में प्रवीण हो गये। चौरीचौरा में जनता ने एक दरोगा सहित २२ पुलिसजनों को थाने में आग लगाकर मार डाला। गांधीजी ने इसके कारण अपना असहयोग आंदोलन स्थगित कर दिया। तब लाला लाजपतराय और पं० मोतीलाल नेहरू सरीखे कई नेताओं ने गांधी जी को विरोध में कई पत्र लिखे, लेकिन गांधीजी नहीं माने। अब क्या हो ?

लड़ाई जारी रखेंगे

जो दुकानदार काम-धंधा छोड़कर आंदोलन में लगे थे, वे फिर दुकानों पर जा बैठे। वकील वकालत में लग गये। किसान खेती में लौट गये, लेकिन वे छात्र क्या करें जो स्कूल-कालेज छोड़ आये थे। भगतसिंह और उनके कई साथी भगवतीचरण वोहरा, यशपाल, सुखदेव, सुखदेवराज, धन्वन्तरी, काशीराम आदि ने तय किया कि वे जैसे भी हो सकेगा, लड़ाई जारी रखेंगे। भगतसिंह १५

उन दिनों केसरिया कपड़ों की बहार थी

लखनऊ में जहां आजकल हजरतगंज में जी० पी० ओ० पार्क है, वहां ब्रिटिश जमाने में एक "रिंग थियेटर" था, जिसमें "काकोरी केस" का मुकदमा पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल, रोशनसिंह और राजेंद्र लाहिड़ी आदि पर चलाया गया। जिन दिनों मुकदमा चल रहा था, एक बड़ी लारी में सब क्रांतिकारी अभियुक्त बिठाकर सख्त पहरे में कान्यकुब्ज कालेज के समीपवर्ती पुल के नीचे से हजरतगंज की अदालत में ले जाये जाते थे। तभी वसंत पड़ा। जेल में क्रांतिकारियों ने तय किया, "केसरिया रंग के कपड़े पहनकर जेल से अदालत जायेंगे।" फिर क्या थी, हल्दी पीसकर पानी में घोली गई और किसी ने टोपी केसरिया रंगी तो किसी ने रूमाल और किसी ने कुर्ता ही रंग डाला। जब इन बसंती कपड़ों में क्रांतिकारी कैदी जेल से लारी में बैठकर अदालत जाते तो दर्शक जनता रोज ही सड़क के दोनों ओर खड़े होकर इन सबका मौन स्वागत करती थी। उन दिन जब इन केसरिया कपड़ों में देखा तो जनता का भी दृश्य देखने लायक था। सड़क के दोनों तरफ जनता की भीड़ भी केसरिया रंग में अपने पूरे वस्त्र रंगकर क्रांतिकारी देशभक्तों के पथ में अपने पलक-पांवड़े बिछाकर खड़ी थी और क्रांतिकारियों के कंठ से समवेत गान उभरकर वातावरण में एक अजीब फिजां बना रहा था—

मेरा रंग दे बसन्ती चोला।
इसी रंग में वीर शिवा ने
मां का बंधन खोला।
यही रंग हल्दी घाटी
में था खुलकर खेला।
इसी रंग में रंग राणा ने
जननी जय-जय बोला।
वन-वन वह मारा फिरता था
दिल में लिए फफोला।
नव वसंत में भारत के हित
वीरों का यह मेला॥

इसमें शायद अंतिम पंक्ति के ऊपर की दो पंक्तियां बाद में बढ़ाई गई हैं। इसे लखनऊ जेल में क्रांतिकारियों ने वसंत के एक दिन पूर्व रात में रचा था और जो कितने ही वर्षों तक देशभक्तों के कण्ठों से गूंजता रहा।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

साल के हो रहे थे। वे लाहौर में लाला लाजपतराय के नेशनल कालेज में भर्ती हो गये। इसमें फ्रांस, इटली और रूस आदि देशों की राज्य क्रान्तियों और "रोलट कमेटी" की रिपोर्ट भी पाठ्यक्रम में सम्मिलित थी। छात्रों को यहां राष्ट्रीयता का पाठ पढ़ाया जाता था। भाई परमानंद, जयचंद विद्यालंकार और आचार्य जुगुल किशोर जैसे यहां अध्यापक थे। राजाराम शास्त्री भी तब वहां लाला लाजपतराय के द्वारा स्थापित पुस्तकालय में लाइब्रेरियन थे। मौका मिलता तो भगतसिंह अपनी पगड़ी झुलाते हुए इनके साथ होटल में आ बैठते और उनकी कटोरी का घी उठाकर रोटी पर उंड़ेलकर पी जाते और "नमस्ते" करके चलते बनते। राजाराम शास्त्री के यहां एक बार मिलने गये तो उन्होंने बताया, भगतसिंह ने "एनारकिज्म एण्ड अदर एसेज" नाम्नी पुस्तक का खूब अध्ययन किया। उसमें वेला नाम के एक ऐसे फ्रेंच विप्लवी का बयान था जिसमें असेम्बली में बम फेंकने के बाद निर्भीक रूप से अदालत में अपने उद्देश्यों को मुखरित किया था और सहर्ष कड़े दंड की मांग की थी। फांसी पाकर वेला शहीद हो गया था। भगतसिंह ने उसका पूरा बयान कई बार कंठस्थ कर लिया था।

फ्रेंच शहीद "वेला" की याद

यही कारण है, भगतसिंह ने जब अदालत में बयान दिया तो उसमें शहीद वेला का भी उल्लेख किया। भगतसिंह बी०ए० के प्रथम वर्ष में आये ही थे। सन् १९२३ चल रहा था कि शादी का आग्रह हुआ। यह आग्रह भगतसिंह के घर छोड़ने का कारण बन गया। उन्हीं दिनों क्रांतिकारी नेता शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल पंजाब के दौरे पर गये। उन्हें भगतसिंह ने अपनी शादी के प्रस्ताव के बारे में बताया। शचिनदा ने कहा, "घर छोड़ दो। शादी करके काम नहीं कर सकोगे।" आखिरकार घर से विदाई का वक्त आ गया। उस दिन भगतसिंह घरवालों को बेहद खुश नजर आते। दिखावा कर रहे थे। दादी-चाची ने समझा, चलो अपनी शादी की बात से खुश तो है। उस दिन एक सम्पन्न घर के आदमी भगतसिंह को देखने आये और वरीच्छा करके शादी तय कर दी। भगतसिंह उस समय लाहौर के पास खासरियां गांव में खेती करने लगे थे। मुझे भगतसिंह की बहिन अमरकौर जी ने बताया था कि "शादी तय हो जाने पर वीर जी (भगतसिंह) बेबे (मां) से कहने लगे, "बेबे! अब तो मेरी शादी पक्की हो गई है। दान-पुण्य कर लो। गरीबों को अनाज-कपड़े वगैरह दे लो।" रात देर तक वे ऊधम मचाते रहे।

खैर, भोर हुई। भगतसिंह ने बहाना बनाकर तांगा हांकने वाले को खेत पर खाना लेकर भेज दिया और आप खुद मेहमानों को शहर पहुंचाने चले। तांगा भी खुद ही हांका। भावी ससुर समझे, लड़का बड़ा नेक है। पर होनी कुछ और ही थी। उधर ब्याह की तैयारी, इधर भगतसिंह जो लाहौर से लुप्त हुए तो शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल के आदेशानुसार कानपुर चले गये। उन दिनों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ जानकारी मुझे "प्रताप" के संपादक श्री सुरेश भट्टाचार्य ने दी थी। सुरेशदा जाने माने विप्लवी थे। "प्रताप" में भी काम करते थे। एक रात मैं श्री शचीन्द्रनाथ बख्शी के साथ उनके घर गया तो उन्होंने बताया, "भगतसिंह सन् १९२४ में लाहौर से कानपुर चले आये। उन दिनों योगेशचन्द्र चटर्जी कानपुर में दल के इंचार्ज थे। भगतसिंह "प्रताप" में काम करते रहे।

विद्यार्थीजी के बाद यही सुरेशदा "प्रताप" के संपादक हुए थे। सन् १९१४ में पढ़ते समय ही चार वर्ष उरई जेल में नजरबन्द रहे, फिर काकोरी केस में भी दस साल की सजा काटी। प्रताप में हिन्दी बड़ी अच्छी लिखते थे। "वर्तमान" हिन्दी दैनिक के भी संपादक रह चुके थे। अमित आपदा और कष्ट झेलकर भी उन्होंने किसी से कोई सम्मान या प्रतिदान नहीं चाहा।

भगतसिंह के कानपुर प्रवास पर मुझे अन्य क्रांतिकारियों से जो जानकारी हो सकी, तदनुसार भगतसिंह पहले कुछ दिन पं० मन्नीलाल अवस्थी के घर रहे। उन दिनों योगेश चटर्जी के साथ ही अजय, विजय, बटु यानी अजय घोष, विजयकुमार सिंहा तथा बटुकेश्वर दत्त, जयदेव कपूर, शिववर्मा, सुरेन्द्रनाथ पाण्डेय भी कानपुर रह रहे थे। मुझे जयदेव कपूर ने बताया कि "कितनी चांदनी रातें गंगा में नाव खेते हुए भगत और बटुकेश्वर दत्त के साथ गुजरीं देश की आजादी ही चर्चा का मुख्य रहता था।"

आगे कानपुर से उन्हें घर लौटना क्योंकि दादी सख्त बीमार थीं। अमरकौर बताती हैं "वीरजी (भगतसिं इतने दिनों बाद घर लौटे तो मुझे आ गई। इस पर आपने शोर करके घर को वहीं बुला लिया और कहा, "देखो मेरी आमद के आनन्द में अमरो के आं रहे हैं। बात ऐसी थी हर कोई हंस प मैं भी हंसी।"

खामोश इतिहास

इस छोटी बहिन को वे "अम कहते थे। बीबी अमरकौर की बात तो मुझे एक पुरानी घटना याद हो उस दिन वे अपने बेटे (नाम याद नहीं साथ लखनऊ आ रही थीं। मुझे इसकी जानकारी नहीं थी लेकिन राह चलते एक रुकी और उसमें से उनके स्वागतकर्त्ता उतरकर मुझसे अनुनय करने लगे कि कृपया जरा स्टेशन चले चलें।" मैंने "क्या बात है?" वे बड़ी विवशता से "क्या बतायें, भगतसिंह की बहिन अमर जी आ रही हैं। लेकिन हम लोग पहचानते नहीं हैं।" खैर, मैं भी उनके बैठ लिया। स्टेशन पर पहुंचा तो देखा फ्रंटि मेल का समय हो चुका है। कुछ लोग श्रेणी के डिब्बे में अमरकौर जी को खो हैं लेकिन वे नहीं मिलीं। मैं उन्हें कुछ कि तब तक मैंने सामने देखा, प्लेटफार्म एक लम्बी-सी महिला चश्मा लगाये खद्दर का कुर्ता-सलवार पहने चल रही हैं। साथ में एक सिख नौजवान, खद्दरपोश हैं। दरी व बिस्तर वह खुद में दबाये हैं। मैंने जल्दी में कहा, "ब बीबी अमरकौर तो चली आ रहीं शायद तीसरे दर्जे के डिब्बे से ही उतरीं कुली करना भी जरूरी नहीं समझा। करने आये लोग उनको अवाक् देखते गए। दरअसल क्रांतिकारी परिवार झंझावातों को झेलकर जीते रहे हैं, यह कथा समाज के बहुत से लोगों को नहीं अमरकौर का उस दिन प्लेटफार्म यात्री का वह स्वरूप भी दमन-झंझाव ही सुप्त इतिहास अपने दामन में खा समेटे-छिपाये हैं, यह बताने की चीज

अस्तु, अपनी दीदी की बीमारी का करके वे कुछ दिन घर रहे। आगे दि "अर्जुन" दैनिक में काम किया। इसी

इज़्ज़त बचाने के लिए

सालों में खोई ताकत दिनों में दोबारा हासिल करके विवाहित जीवन का असली लुत्फ़ उठायें

इलाज के लिए 125 रु. 250 रु. 500 रु. 1025 रु. 2100 रु. 3100 रु. 5500 रु.

सलाह लें

हीरो फार्मेसी (रजि०)

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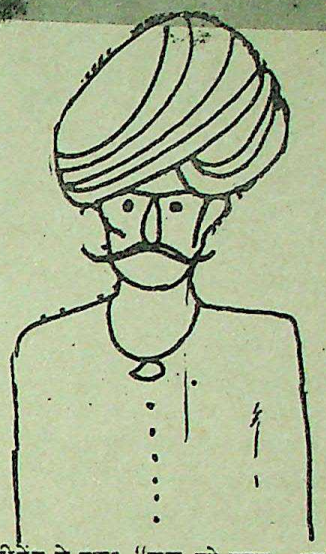
रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल और उनके साथियों ने
अगस्त सन् १९२५ को लखनऊ के निकट
काकोरी स्टेशन के आगे ट्रेन रोककर सर-
कारी खजाना लूट लिया। इसके अगले महीने
३ सितम्बर को मेरठ में क्रांतिकारियों की
एक जरूरी बैठक हुई, इसमें बिस्मिल तो आये
लेकिन शचीन्द्र सान्याल, योगेश चटर्जी,
मुकुन्दीलाल दास, राजेन्द्र लाहिड़ी और
भगतसिंह व आजाद नहीं आ सके थे।
'प्रताप' के सुरेश भट्टाचार्य बैठक में मौजूद
लेकिन मैं उनसे तसदीक नहीं कर सका कि
आजाद और भगतसिंह इसमें आहूत थे या
नहीं। इसी बैठक में श्री शचीन्द्रनाथ बख्शी
को झांसी केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गई थी।
"काकोरी केस" के सुराग पाने के लिए
पुलिस भगतसिंह को भी खोज रही हो क्या
आश्चर्य! यों उसमें इनका कोई संबंध रहा
नहीं था।

इसी बीच लाहौर में "दशहरा बम कांड"
के मामले में भगतसिंह पकड़े गये मगर वह
मामला उन पर बना नहीं। नंगी खाट पर
बैठे और जंजीरों से बंधे केशधारी भगतसिंह
का फोटो उन दिनों का ही है। ६० हजार
रुपए की जमानत लेकर भगतसिंह को छोड़ा
गया। जेल में इन्हें अमानवीय यातनायें दी
गई। रिहा हुए थे बोर्स्टल जेल से। अब
भगतसिंह को खासरिया में दूध का डेरी फार्म
चलवा दिया गया ताकि कुछ काम में लगे
रहें। इस काम में वे डेरी फ़ार्म तड़के चार
बजे खुलवा देते थे। भैंसें दुहते। फिर डिब्बों
में दूध तांगे से ढोकर लाहौर सप्लाई कर
आते। कभी-कभी उन्हें गोबर भी उठाना
पड़ता। इसमें उन्हें कभी संकोच नहीं हुआ।
डेरी पर सुखदेव आदि सभी क्रांति-वार्ता में
प्रायः निरत रहते। जमकर दूध भी पीते। दल
के काम से भगतसिंह बीच-बीच में कई दिन
गायब हो जाते। तब नौकरों की बन
आती। मनचाहा दूध उनके गले उतर जाया
करता। बीबी अमरकौर बताती थीं—"एक
बार विद्यावती ने भगतसिंह से बहुत नाराज
होकर कहा—"तू तो चार-पांच दिन तक
लौटता ही नहीं शहर से। यहां डेरी पर बहुत
नुकसान होता है, दूध नौकर पी जाते हैं।"
सुनकर भगतसिंह मटक-मटक कर गाते और
भांगड़ा करने लगते। गाते जाते थे, "बंड दे
मेरीवा नूं, बेबे बंड दे, ए घर कम नई
होणा"—मां! जितना चाहे गरीबों को
बांट दे। इस घर में कुछ कमी नहीं
होगी। और बकौल अमरकौर जी के तब
वे भी बेटे का भांगड़ा देखकर गुस्सा भूलकर
हंस देती। डेरी करते हुए भी भगतसिंह दल
के काम में एकजुट थे। तभी "साइमन
कमीशन" भारत आया। भगतसिंह डेरी बंद
कर चुके थे।●

मरना मंजूर किया, लेकिन बैलों पर नहीं चढ़े

ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी का जमाना था। बर्मा में अंग्रेज लड़ रहे थे, उनके दाँत खट्टे कर रहे थे बर्मा के देशभक्त क्रिलवी। बैरकपुर में गोरों की छावनी थी, यहीं बंगाल रेजीमेंट के सिपाही भी थे। बैरकपुर छावनी कलकत्ता से १२ मील दूर पड़ती थी—निकट ही प्रवहमान थी हुगली नदी। अंग्रेज कमांडर सर पैंगेट और कैप्टन कार्टनाइट इसी छावनी में तैनात थे, बड़ा लाट था अमहर्स्ट। सन् १८१६ की बात है। बर्मा में देशी सिपाहियों की जरूरत पड़ी तो कम्पनी सरकार ने बैरकपुर छावनी को आदेश भेजा कि चटगांव के मार्ग से ७०० सिपाही बर्मा की लड़ाई में भेजे जाएं। इस आदेश के पालन के लिए कैप्टन कार्टनाइट ने बैरकपुर छावनी से ७०० सैनिक चुने जो सभी बंगाली थे, बंगाल रेजीमेंट के ही थे।



हुक्म हुआ कि "तुम सबको बैल की पीठ पर बैठकर बर्मा पहुंचना है।" क्योंकि उनकी सवारी के लिए कम्पनी को वहाँ बैल ही सुलभ थे—अन्य साधन घोड़े आदि उन्होंने गोरे फौजियों के लिए सुरक्षित रखे थे, फिर जाना था पानी के रास्ते से।

बंगाल रेजीमेंट के वे सात सौ सिपाही गांवों के बेटे थे, पढ़ना लिखना नहीं जानते थे। पुरानी परम्परागत मान्यताओं के अनुसार वे और उनके पुरखे यही विश्वास करते आये थे कि गौ अवध्या है तथा बैल पर बैठना पाप है। फिर वे चटगांव के मार्ग से बर्मा तक की लम्बी समुद्री यात्रा बैलों पर सवार होकर कैसे करने लगे—अवश्य ही बैलगाड़ियों का चलन था और बैरकपुर छावनी में बैलगाड़ियों की व्यवस्था भी थी, लेकिन बर्मा स्थल मार्ग से नहीं जाना था। बैल जितने चाहते, किसानों के यहां से वे बेगार में ही पकड़ मंगाते थे। ७०० बैल भी बेगार में छीन कर लाये गये थे। गोरों की संगीनों का सामना निःशस्त्र किसान कर नहीं सके थे।

विद्रोह की गन्ध

जब बंगाल रेजीमेंट को यह आदेश मिला तो उन सात सौ सैनिकों ने सलाह किया और वह हुक्म न मानने का निश्चय कर लिया। जासूसों ने यह खबर गोरों तक पहुंचा दी कि देशी सिपाही बगावत पर अमादा हैं।

अगले दिन जब सैनिकों की परेड हो रही थी, अंग्रेज कैप्टन कार्टनाइट ने सीधे बंगाल रेजीमेंट से पूछा, "कल जो हुक्म तुम्हें दिया गया उसके मुताबिक आज तुम्हें बर्मा कूच करना है। तैयार हो जाओ।"

उन सीधे-सादे सैनिकों ने जवाब दिया—"हम बैल पर नहीं बैठेंगे, यह अनुचित है।" इतना सुनना था कि गोरा कैप्टन आग-बबूला हो गया। गोरों को आदेश दिया—"इनकी बन्दूकें छीन लो, वर्दियां उतरवा लो और बैरकों में मत घुसने दो।" यही किया गया। फिर कैप्टन कार्टनाइट ने कमांडर सर पैंगेट को उकसाया। पैंगेट ने कोर्ट मार्शल का हुक्म जारी कर दिया। तत्काल वे सात सौ सैनिक ढकेलकर हुगली के किनारे ले जाये गये। वे कतारों में खड़े किये गये और गोरे सैनिकों की बंदूकें देर तक उन पर बरसती रहीं। सात सौ सैनिकों को मारने में दो घंटे लगे क्योंकि कुछ घायल होकर बच जाते थे जिन्हें गोरे सिपाही हुगली के प्रवाह में डुबाकर मारते थे। आखिर उनमें से एक भी सैनिक जिन्दा नहीं बचा। बंगाल की ही धरती पर बंगाल के वे सात सौ किसान-पुत्र जिन्होंने सैनिक वर्दी पहनकर गलती की थी, निरीह इंसानों की तरह मौत के घाट उतार दिये गये और कहीं किसी ने चूं भी न की।

बैरकपुर छावनी का यह प्रथम विद्रोह था और ये सब उसके प्रथम शहीद थे। इनके नाम कोई नहीं जानता। यह घटना भी इतिहास में अविदित ही रह गई है। बैरकपुर की इसी बलिदानी मिट्टी से सन् १८५७ की ज्वालाएं धधकीं—उससे मंगल पांडे पैदा हुए और क्रांतिकारियों तथा तमाम देशभक्त सपूतों के लिए बैरकपुर वन्दनीय बन गया।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

शहादत की होड़ में तीन महामृत्युञ्जय

"आत्मबलिदान अत्याचार की कसौटी पर सदैव खरा उतरा है। पिछले दिनों, संसार के कई देशों से, विशेषकर इंग्लैंड की लौह (या नृशंस?) महिला थैचर के राज्य आयरलैंड से आये दिन युवा क्रांतिकारियों के अनशन द्वारा आत्म-बलिदान के समाचार आते रहे हैं। इसी प्रकार एशिया के बौद्ध प्रधान क्षेत्रों से आत्मदाह की रोमांचकारी घटनाओं का जो क्रम देखने में आया है, उससे मानवता की मर्यादा को क्लेश होना स्वाभाविक है। लेकिन अनाचार से निपटने के लिए निहत्था व्यक्ति ऐसे अस्त्रों की खोज करता रहा है, जिनके द्वारा जान की बाजी लगाकर बड़ी से बड़ी शक्ति का मुकाबला किया जा सकता है। इसी प्रकार की बहुत-सी अनजानी घटनाएं भारतीय क्रांतिकारियों के जीवन से भी सम्बन्धित हैं।

ऐसा ही इतिहास है: तीन बिरले क्रांतिकारियों का जिन्होंने सन् १९३३ में अंडमान की जेल में हंसते-हंसते अपने आपको आत्मसम्मान की रक्षार्थ न्यौछावर कर दिया था। उन्हें सन् १९३० में झांसी कमिश्नर पर बम फेंकने के अपराध में आजीवन कारावास का दंड मिला था और अंडमान भेज दिया गया था।"

● लक्ष्मीकान्त शुक्ल

बात उन दिनों की है जब भारतीय क्रांतिकारी राजबंदियों का एक दल अण्डमान की जेल में पहुंच चुका था। औरों के आने की खबर थी। जेल के अंग्रेज प्रशासक उन पर भांति-भांति की प्रताड़नाओं का अभ्यास कर रहे थे। यतीन्द्रनाथ दास की शहादत के फलस्वरूप भारतीय जेलों में राजबन्दियों को दी जाने वाली सभी मानवीय सुविधाएं अंडमान में छीन ली गईं। छोटी-छोटी काल-कोठरियों का जीवन, सड़ा-गला भोजन और उस पर चौबीस घंटे गोरे संतरियों का दमन क्रांतिकारी बन्दियों के जीवन पर आ पड़ा था। लगभग सभी आजीवन के साथी थे—बंगाल, बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश तथा पंजाब के सिरफिरे नवयुवक। उन जघन्य परिस्थितियों में जीवन भर कैसे रहा जायेगा, और उस पर अंग्रेज प्रहरियों का उदंडतापूर्ण व्यवहार प्रतिशोध की भावना से सराबोर। यही उस समय सबके विचारों का द्वंद्व था स्वजनों से दूर उस कालेपानी के वातावरण में।

कालेपानी के उस मनहूस माहौल में ज्यों-ज्यों दिन बीतते थे, क्रान्तिकारियों में अनाचार से निपटने का संकल्प भी उसी क्रम से उभरता गया। साहस की चिनगारी ने लपट का रूप धारण कर लिया और उस जेल के भीतर कैद, असहाय समझा जाने वाला मुट्ठी भर युवा समुदाय ब्रिटिश शासकों से निपटने के लिए मोर्चे की योजनाएं बनाने लगा। अंडमान के पिछले क्रान्तिकारियों के इतिहास से उन्हें साहस बटोरने का बल मिला।

काफी बहस-मुबाहिसे के बाद निश्चय हुआ कि सामूहिक भूंख-हड़ताल के माध्यम से जहां तक संभव हो लड़ाई चलाई जाय। इस पर किसी ने उस योजना की आलोचना करते हुए कहा, "इससे क्या होगा? भूख से तड़पकर मरते जाओगे और वे तुम्हें समुद्र में दफनाकर अपना रिकार्ड भरते रहेंगे कि अमुक बीमारी से मर गया। देश में उस पर किसी को कोई आपत्ति भी कैसे हो सकती है—लोग तो मरते ही रहते हैं।"

"तो फिर और हो भी क्या सकता है?"

"बहुत कुछ" अपनी मर्दानी मूछें ऐंठते महावीर सिंह ने उत्तर दिया, "शहादत के लिये तैयार होना चाहिए। फिर देखें राक्षस कहां तक हमारा मुकाबला कर हैं।"

वह बलिदानी हुंकार

इस विषय को लेकर क्रांतिकारियों में दिन विचार-विमर्श होता रहा। किस और क्यों मरा जाय आदि कई समस्याएं आयीं। अंत में साथी महावीर सिंह ने परिस्थितियों में आत्म-बलिदान के उद्देश्य देते हुए समझाया कि जैसे भी बन पड़े भूख-हड़ताल के समाचार अंग्रेजी हुकूमत साथ-साथ भारतीय समाचार पत्रों पहुंचाया जाय और अनशन आरम्भ की के चार-छह दिन के भीतर ही किसी कारी की मृत्यु हो जाये—बस देश साथ होगा और दुश्मन के पांव उखड़ने लगेगी। अब प्रश्न यह है कि बलिदे स्वेच्छा से जायेगा कौन?

"हम! हम!! हम!!!" एक साथ क्रांतिकारियों के कंठ हुंकार उठे।

उस आत्मबलिदान की होड़ में कोई से पीछे रहना नहीं चाहता था, जबकि मरने की उस समय जरूरत नहीं थी। प्रश्न क्रांतिकारियों के सम्मान की प्रति था। मौत उनके लिए सदैव एक रही है। उसे प्रतिस्पर्धा की बात कैसे सकती है।

बड़ी हुज्जत के बाद भाई महावी के ही सुझाव पर यह निश्चय हुआ कि लाटरी के द्वारा कर लिया जाय पहले दो नाम निकल आवें वह आत्मोत्सर्ग कर दे। शेष लोग अनशन हुए उनके बलिदान की प्रक्रिया को आहुति पहुंचाते रहे।

सबके नामों की पर्चियां लिख-लिख एक मिट्टी के घड़े में छोड़ दी गईं।

Research Institute, Melukote Collection

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization

ब हिलाया-डुलाया गया ताकि किसी प्रकार
ा कोई संशय न रह जाय।
एक-एक करके लाटरी निकाली जाने
गी। मौत का एलान। पहला नाम था—
ाल के एक तरुण क्रांतिकारी श्री मोहित
त्रेय और दूसरा श्री मोहन किशोर नामदास
। घोषणा सुनते ही इन क्रांतिवीरों के
हरे प्रसन्नता से खिल उठे। प्राणों की बाजी
वे जीते थे। उन्हें अपने जीवन का लेश मात्र
मोह न था और न थी सांसारिक महत्वा-
क्षाओं की कोई अभिलाषा। मानों उन्हें
चमुच ही लाटरी मिल गई हो—शहादत का
जाना। क्रांतिकारी जीवन का महान लक्ष्य,
कि इन दोनों को केवल पांच और सात
की सजायें और भुगतनी शेष थीं।
भाई महावीर सिंह जो आयु में इन दोनों
थियों से काफी बड़े थे, इस परिस्थिति को
न न कर सके। उस जमात से उठकर जाते
ए वे कह रहे थे, "ये, अकेले नहीं जाएंगे,
ाव मेरा था, मैं भी उनका साथी हूं।"
स समय लोगों को यह बात एक भावुकता
त्र जान पड़ी।
पूर्व नियोचित योजना के अनुसार अनशन
नोटिस जेल अधिकारियों को भेज दी गई
उसकी प्रतिलिपि तिकड़म से, कलकत्ता
एक प्रमुख दैनिक को। रावण की लंका में
विभीषण जैसे लोग थे।

हादत के महारथी

उपरोक्त तीनों क्रांतिकारियों का संक्षिप्त
चय यहां दे देना चाहूंगा :

ई महावीर सिंह इटावा (उत्तर प्रदेश)
के निवासी थे, उनकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा
धिकतर कानपुर में हुई थी। गिरफ्तारी के
य वह डी० ए० वी० कालेज के छात्र थे।
उनका संपर्क क्रांतिकारी दल थे साथ हुआ
र सरदार भगतसिंह आदि के साथ लाहौर
यन्त्र केस में उन्हें आजन्म कारावास का
मिला था। कुछ दिन भारतीय जेलों में
कर सन् १९३२ में उन्हें अंडमान भेज
गया। उनका व्यक्तित्व सदैव से सुडौल
कुश्ती-अखाड़े के वह शौकीन थे। सशस्त्र
तिकारी उपायों से अंग्रेजी हुकूमत से लोहा
ा तथा देश को आजाद कराना उनके
न का एक मात्र लक्ष्य था। उनके जीवन
स्ती तथा साहस संभवतः उन्हें विरासत
के राजपूती परिवार से मिली थी।

मोहन किशोर नामदास का जन्म जिला
मैमनसिंह (बंगाल) के एक साधारण
ार में हुआ था। छात्रावास में ही वे
ी के विप्लवी दल के संपर्क में आ गये
और छोटी अवस्था में ही एक राज-

नैतिक डकैती के मामले में सात साल की कड़ी कैद की सजा देकर अंग्रेजी हुकूमत ने उन्हें अंडमान भेज दिया था। वे देखने में कर्मवीर, गंभीर स्वभाव के लगते थे। राष्ट्र के नाम पर वह सदैव मर मिटने को तत्पर रहते थे। जीवन-मरण का उन्हें कोई मोह न था।

श्री मोहित मैत्रेय का जन्म भी बंगाल के एकसाधारण हरिजन परिवार में हुआ था। छात्रावस्था में ही वे विप्लवी बन गये थे और १६ वर्ष की आयु में ही उन्हें क्रांतिकारी कार्यों के लिए अस्त्र-शस्त्र एकत्रित करने के अपराध में पांच साल का कारावास हो गया था तथा अधिक ये अधिक यातनाएं देने के इरादे से उन्हें थोड़ी सजा के बावजूद भी अंडमान भेज दिया गया था। सम्भवतः अंडमान में क्रांतिकारियों के बीच वे सबसे छोटी आयु के बन्दी थे।

खुली लड़ाई

जैसा कि ऊपर लिखा जा चुका है अनशन का नोटिस जेल अधिकारियों के पास पहुंच चुका था और निश्चित तिथि पर सभी क्रांतिकारी योद्धा अपनी-अपनी कोठरियों में स्थायी रूप से बन्द कर दिये गये थे। किसी को एक दूसरे से मिलने-जुलने की कौन कहे, खैर-खबर लेने की भी सहूलियत नहीं रह गई थी। पहरा और भी कड़ा हो गया था। खुलकर लड़ाई छिड़ चुकी थी। कुछ गिने-चुने दीवानों का एक बड़ी आततायी शक्ति के साथ मुकाबला था। यह मई सन् १९३३ की बात है।

जैसा कि अनुमान था, भारतीय समाचार पत्रों ने एक तूफान बरपा कर दिया और जनता के कान खड़े हुए। हुकूमतपरस्तों की चाल बदरंग साबित हुई। साथ ही अंडमान जेल की इन परिस्थितियों से निपटने के लिए अभिनिज्ञ, स्वास्थ्य अधिकारियों ने तीसरे दिन से ही अनशनकारियों को जबरन नाक से रबड़ की नली के द्वारा खाना खिलाना चाहा। डाक्टरों के साथ पठान पहरेदारों की टोलियां भूखे क्रांतिकारियों से जूझने लगी। उन्हें पकड़कर जमीन पर गिरा दिया जाता और नाक की नली द्वारा तरल राशन उनके पेट तक पहुंचाने का प्रयत्न किया जाने लगा। प्रारंभ के दिनों में क्रांतिकारी, विशेषकर भाई महावीर सिंह सरीखे लोग, घंटों डाक्टरी दलों से झड़प करते रहते थे और जब वे अकेले अनेक के मुकाबिले पस्त हो जाते तो डाक्टर अपनी मनमानी निर्दयता का प्रदर्शन करके चले जाते थे। अनशनकारियों के लिए यह एक बड़ा ही कष्टकर व्यवधान था।

भाई महावीर सिंह से डाक्टर लोग बहुत घबराते थे। एक दिन प्रातः मालूम हुआ कि उन्हें कोठरी से हटाकर अस्पताल ले जाया गया है और वे मूछित अवस्था में थे। शाम होते-होते उनका प्राणांत हो गया। भाई महावीर सिंह अपनी आन पर शहीद हो गये। कहते है जब उस दिन पठानों की जकड़ में डाक्टर नाक की नली से उनके पेट में औषधियुक्त दूध पहुंचा रहा था तो अवसर पाकर उन्होंने अपने शरीर को एक ऐसा झटका दिया कि नाक द्वारा पेट तक पहुंचायी गई रबर की नली खिसककर फेफड़ों की ओर जा पहुंची और दूध के प्रवाह ने उन्हें ध्वस्त कर दिया। ऐसी अवस्था में शरीर को झटका देने का क्या परिणाम हो सकता है इसका ज्ञान भाई महावीर सिंह को था।

दूसरे दिन एक के बाद एक श्री मोहन किशोर तथा मोहित मैत्रेय भी महावीर सिंह का अनुकरण करके शहीद हो गये। मानों तीनों ने शहादत के लिए पहले से ही एक ही प्रणाली अपनाने की योजना बना ली थी। यह सब दस दिन के भीतर हो गया। परिणामस्वरूप १७ मई, १९३३ को अंग्रेजी समुद्री बेड़े के विमान अंडमान द्वीप के सेल्यूलर जेल के ऊपर मंडराते देखे गए। इन तीनों की शहादत के समाचार से देश में जो प्रतिक्रिया हुई उससे घबराकर अंग्रेजी सरकार ने समझौते का रुख अपनाया और अंडमान के क्रांतिकारियों को फिर से उनकी आवश्यक सुविधाएं मिलने लगीं परन्तु किस मूल्य पर? क्या कभी ये महामृत्युंजय इतिहास में भुलाए जा सकते हैं? ●

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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जब सांडर्स को गोलियों से जड़ दिया

• मंजुल पण्डित

दल ने फैसला किया 'साइमन कमीशन' पर बम फेंका जाय। इन दिनों आजाद दल (हि० सो० रि० आ०) के सेनापति थे। आगरा में हींग की मंडी और नाई की मंडी में दो मकान किराये पर लेकर बम बनाने की योजना क्रियान्वित हुई। श्री शिव वर्मा, सुखदेव, जयदेव कपूर, सदाशिवराव मलकापुरकर, विजय कुमार सिन्हा, डा० गया प्रसाद ने यहां कलकत्ते के यतीन्द्रनाथ दास से बम बनाना सीखा। आजाद और भगत सिंह की निगाह योगेश चटर्जी को मुक्त कराने की योजना पर भी थी। योगेश इन दिनों आगरा जेल में ही थे। बाद में पुलिस को शक होने पर एक दूसरा मकान नूरी दरवाजे पर लिया गया। इस मकान में भगतसिंह, सुखदेव, राजगुरू, आजाद, शिव वर्मा, जयदेव, सदाशिवराव, भगवान दास रहते थे। यहां कई बार भगतसिंह और आजाद के बीच मजाक में गुत्थमगुत्था होता था। भगतसिंह "मेरा रंग दे बसन्ती चोला" गाते थे। सवेरे सिर्फ एक आना नाश्ते के लिए मिलता था। एक बार सिर्फ एक-एक कप चाय पर ही तीन दिन गुजारे गये थे। आजाद चाय नहीं पीते थे। खाना दिन में एक बार सभी बारी-बारी से लाते थे। भगतसिंह सबके कपड़े धोते-धोते आयरलैंड की आजादी का इतिहास बताने लगते। सुखदेव का पार्टी नाम "विलेजर" था। आगरा में बने बमों का परीक्षण भगतसिंह ने झांसी के बेतवा के वन में किया। वहीं बम फेंकने का अभ्यास किया। भगतसिंह एक बार दतिया से आगरा वापसी पर आजाद की साइकिल साथ लिए गए थे।

साइमन बच गया

बम तैयार हो जाने पर आगरे में योजना बनी कि जयदेव कपूर साइमन कमीशन पर बम फेंके। राजगुरू के साथ जयदेव कपूर दिल्ली में कमीशन को बम मारकर खत्म करने के लिए गए। लेकिन मौके पर साइमन साहब मिले नहीं। बच गये।

इन्हीं दिनों दिल्ली के सीताराम बाजार में एक घर किराये पर लिया गया जहां जयदेव कपूर, शिववर्मा और भगतसिंह ठहरा करते थे। कानपुर, सहारनपुर और दिल्ली में भी फैक्टरियां चालू की गईं। दिल्ली में विमलप्रसाद जैन, स०ही० वात्स्यायन 'अज्ञेय', यशपाल जैन, धन्वन्तरी आदि झंडेवाला में "हिमालयन टायलेट्स" का साइनबोर्ड लगाकर बम का मसाला तैयार करते थे। ४० पौंड तक यह मसाला यहीं बना। प्रो० नन्दकिशोर निगम, विद्याभूषण, काशी राम, भवानी सहाय आदि दिल्ली में सक्रिय थे। भगतसिंह और विजयकुमार सिन्हा को दूसरे प्रांतों में भी आने-जाने का भार सौंपा गया, तब भगतसिंह ने अपने लम्बे केश कटा दिये। कुंदनलाल का कहना था कि "बम बनाने के क्रम में एक बार सांडर्स-वध के पहले भी भगतसिंह कलकत्ता गये थे और वहां से बम बनाने के लिये केमिकल्स तथा गटकाटन छुपाकर लाये। इसी बीच यतीन्द्र दास से वे मिले थे।

वस्तुतः सरदार भगतसिंह के प्रस्ताव आजाद ने कोशिश तो यह की कि सा कमीशन के प्रमुख लार्ड साइमन को ही दिया जाए पर वह बच जाता रहा। के आदेश से मनमोहन गुप्त (मन्मथ गुप्त के अनुज) और मार्कण्डेय, लार्ड के मार्ग की रेल पटरी बम से उड़ा रहे थे कि बम ट्रेन में ही फट मार्कण्डेय शहीद हुए। १३ यात्री भी २८ घायल हुए। मनमोहन गुप्त हो गये। श्री मनमोहन गुप्त उस से बहुत ही रंजीदा हुए, लार्ड साइमन बच गया था। फिर आ शस्त्रों के साथ भगवानदास और राव को बम्बई रवाना किया। पहले से ही पूना में डटे थे। भुसावल पर तलाशी होने पर ये दोनों वहीं लिए गए।

विजयकुमार सिन्हा के प्रस्ताव पर भगतसिंह, बटुकेश्वर दत्त आदि चटर्जी को बलात् रिहा कराने कानपुर योजना थी कि जब पुलिस दादा को ले जा रही होगी, गंगापार जंजीर उन्हें उतार लिया जाएगा, ऐन बटुकेश्वर दत्त साइकिल सहित पु मौजूद रहेंगे। यह सब हुआ, परन्तु कारगर न हो सकी। उसी दिन कि कतरे ने आजाद की जेब से ५० रुप कर दिये। योगेश दादा की ट्रेन आ चली गई। भगतसिंह उस दिन बड़े और दुःखी थे। इसी तरह आगरा पर भी उन्हें छुड़ाने की युक्ति की जब वे आगरा जेल से लखनऊ स्थानान्तरित किये जा रहे थे। सोच था, स्टेशन पर छापा मारकर योगे छुड़ा लिया जाएगा। लेकिन योगेश बन्द गाड़ी में ट्रेन छूटने के ठीक पहले लाया गया और वे बेड़ियां बजा गाड़ी में जा बैठे। ट्रेन छूट गई। उन्हें दूसरी गाड़ी से जाते देखते फिर फूट-फूटकर रो पड़े।

भगतसिंह कलकत्ते से लौटे तो हैट और विप्लवी नेता प्रतुल गांगुली हुई एक पिस्तौल लिये आये। वे कांग्रेस में भी घूमते रहे थे। लौटकर के साथ ही वे सक्रिय रहे। उधर सुखदेव सचेष्ट थे। पैसे का बड़ा था। आजाद के कहने पर भगत बार पं० मोतीलाल नेहरू से भी मि वे कोई आर्थिक मदद नहीं दे सके।

आत्म परीक्षा

एक दिन भगतसिंह ग्वालियर के नाका चन्द्रबदनी पर इनका अड्डा

Research Institute, Melukote Collection

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization...

बटुकेश्वर दत्त, सुखदेव, विजय कुमार आदि भी वहां थे। सब लोग छत पर बैठे थे कि प्रसंग उठा कि अगर छत से नीचे कूदने की जरूरत पड़े तो कौन तुरन्त कूद जायेगा? जोर दिया गया कि यह इम्तहान अभी हो जाए। भगतसिंह फौरन छत से दस फुट नीचे छलांग लगा गये। पीछे सुखदेव भी आंगन में कूद पड़े। लेकिन बटुकेश्वर दत्त कहने लगे, "मुझे हाथ-पैर नहीं तोड़ना है।" तब विजय कुमार ने कहा, "यदि मान लो, कभी कूदना ही पड़ा तो क्या करोगे?" बोले—"अच्छा भाई, लो मैं भी कूदता हूं।" और कूद गये। नीचे पथरीला छज्जा था, उस पर गिरे तो वह टूट गया। फलतः हाथ जख्मी हो गया। बाद में आजाद आये तो नाराज हुए कि "यह करने की क्या जरूरत थी? अगर ज्यादा चोट लग जाती तो ऐसे कब तक कहां इलाज कराते। खुलकर इलाज कराना तो संभव ही न होता।"

आखिर साइमन कमीशन लाहौर आया। ३० अक्तूबर का दिन था। भगतसिंह और भगवतीचरण बोहरा की "नौजवान सभा" ने उसके विरोध में जुलूस निकालने और प्रदर्शन करने का निर्णय लिया। भगतसिंह के आग्रह पर लाला लाजपतराय उसका नेतृत्व करने चले। अन्य भी दल जुलूस में शामिल थे। अंग्रेज सरकार ने स्टेशन पर से ही दफा १४४ लगा रखी थी। लाला लाजपतराय जुलूस के आगे थे। एक युवक ने उन पर छाता लगा रखा था। उनके इर्द-गिर्द भगतसिंह के साथी सजगता से मौजूद थे। भगतसिंह के साथ उनके पिता किशनसिंह भी जुलूस में थे। अपार जनता थी। सवाल था, साइमन साहब और उनके साथ आये अंग्रेज प्रतिनिधि किस तरह उस विशाल जनसमूह को रोककर स्टेशन के बाहर सड़क तक आयें। अंग्रेज एस० पी० स्काट ने असिस्टेन्ट सुपरिटेंडेंट पी० सांडर्स को लेकर साइमन साहब को रास्ता देने के लिए जनता पर लाठीचार्ज करवाया, लेकिन लाला लाजपतराय सामने से नहीं हटे। तब स्काट ने उनपर स्वयं लाठी चार्ज किया। लाजपतराय की बांहों में लाठियां लगीं। लेकिन यह घाव नहीं, वस्तुतः लाला लाजपतराय के सिर पर लगी चोट लाइलाज साबित हुई। जनता भी लाठी चार्ज करने से खून से नहा गई। गोरों ने उस पर घोड़े दौड़ा दिये - साइमन कमीशन के बहिष्कारस्वरूप उसी दिन संध्या समय लाहौर के मोरी दरवाजे के सामने वाले मैदान में विशाल जनसमूह के सामने लाला लाजपतराय ने कहा—

"साथियों, मैं कहता हूं कि मेरे ऊपर जो लाठी प्रहार हुआ है, वह इस देश में ब्रिटिश राज की कफन की अन्तिम कील सिद्ध होगी।" लाला जी का १७ नवम्बर को निधन हो गया। उस समय प्रसिद्ध क्रांतिकारी श्री कुंदन लाल गुप्त लाहौर में ही थे क्योंकि भगतसिंह उन्हें लेकर "पंजाब नेशनल बैंक" को लूटने की योजना में लगे थे। आजाद, राजगुरू और सुखदेव भी मौजूद थे। कुन्दनलाल जी ने बताया कि "लालाजी को श्रद्धांजली देने के लिए जो जनसभा उस समय हुई उसमें देशबन्धु चित्तरन्जनदास की पत्नी वासंती देवी कह गई कि "जब तक लालाजी की चिता की राख ठंडी होगी, कोई माई का लाल उनके खून का बदला अवश्य चुका लेगा।" वासंती देवी कुछ अर्से तक कांग्रेस की प्रधान रही थीं।

भगतसिंह और उनके साथियों ने लाला जी के अपमान को राष्ट्रीय अपमान समझा और प्रण किया कि वे इसका बदला अवश्य लेकर रहेंगे। १८ नवम्बर को लालाजी की अर्थी में डेढ़ लाख जनता के बीच नारे लग रहे थे "खून का बदला खून से लेंगे" ठीक उसी समय भगतसिंह आजाद के साथ निशाने-बाजी में निरत थे ताकि कहीं बदला लेते वक्त गोली चूक न जाय।

९ दिसम्बर को इसी इरादे से एक बैठक बुलाई गई जो मोजंग हाउस में हुई। विचार हुआ कि स्काट तो डर के मारे किले में जाकर रहने लगा है और थाने भी आता नहीं। अतः उसके सहायक सौंडर्स का पीछा करने की बात हुई। तय हुआ भगतसिंह, आजाद और राजगुरू इस मुहिम पर जायेंगे और शत्रु को मारने के बाद वहीं पर और भी अंग्रेजों से लड़ते हुए खेत रहेंगे।

उस दिन १७ दिसम्बर था। लालाजी एक महीना पूर्व इसी दिन शहीद हुए थे। भगतसिंह, आजाद, राजगुरू पिस्तौलें भरकर बाहर निकले। भगतसिंह और आजाद साइकिलों पर थे। राजगुरू पैदल चले। जयगोपाल को पहले ही रवाना कर दिया गया था कि वह देखे कि अंग्रेज अफसर थाने में आया है या नहीं। यों, आजाद मौके की छानबीन पहले ही कर आये थे।

सांडर्स का अंत

भगतसिंह और राजगुरू एकदम थाने के पास जा खड़े हुए, आजाद माऊजर जेब में रखे डी० ए० वी० कालेज के गेट के पास खड़े थे और जयगोपाल शत्रु की शिनाख्त के लिए तैनात था। आखिर जयगोपाल ने संकेत किया क्योंकि अंग्रेज अफसर मोटरसाइकिल पर थाने के अहाते से गेट पर आ गया था। राजगुरू ने फौरन गोली चलाई। अंग्रेज चीखा और ढेर हो गया। मोटर साइकिल भी लुढ़क गई। फौरन भगतसिंह ने एक पर एक छह गोलियां चलाकर उसे जमीन से जड़ दिया। वासंती देवी का आह्वान चरितार्थ हुआ। मुट्ठी भर साधनहीन युवकों ने देश के अपमान का बदला उस विदेशी सत्ता से चुका लिया जो उस समय समग्र संसार में प्रथम सैनिक शक्ति समझी जाती थी और यह उक्ति प्रचलित थी कि उसके राज्य में कभी सूरज नहीं डूबता। आजादी के दीवानों ने उसे चुनौती दे डाली कि देखें तुम दमन के बल पर आजादी की भावना को कहां तक दबाते हो! →

यही मौत अच्छी है

करतारसिंह फांसी की कोठरी में बन्द हैं। दादा आकर पूछते हैं—"करतार, किसके लिए मर रहे हो? जो तुम्हें गालियां देते हैं? तुम्हारे मरने से देश का कुछ लाभ हो, सो भी तो नहीं दीखता। करतार सिंह ने धीरे से पूछा, "दादा जी अमुक व्यक्ति कहां है?"

"प्लेग से मर गया।"

"अमुक कहां है?"

"हैजे से मर गया"।

"तो क्या आप चाहते थे कि करतार सिंह भी बिस्तर पर महीनों पड़ा रह कर दर्द से कराहता हुआ किसी रोग से मरता? क्या उस मृत्यु से यह मृत्यु अच्छी नहीं?"

दादा चुप हो गए।

दीपावली की शुभकामनाओं के साथ

म० प्र० स्ट्रा बोर्ड एण्ड पेपर मिल्स

विदीशा

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National P...

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अज्ञात लोगों को गोली चलाते देखकर थाने के पहरेदार संतरी ने शोर मचाया, जिससे अंग्रेज ट्रैफिक इंस्पेक्टर फर्न तीन पुलिसवालों को लेकर आगे बढ़ा। इनमें एक हेड था। फर्न ने राजगुरू को गिरफ्त में लेने की कोशिश की। राजगुरू ने उसे गोली मारनी चाही लेकिन देखा, पिस्तौल ही नहीं चल रही है, जाम हो गई है। तब आप यों ही फर्न से भिड़ गये। धोबी पाट लगाकर धरती पर दे पटका और भाग लिये। वह उठा ही था कि भगतसिंह ने उस पर गोली दाग दी, तब वह अंग्रेज बच्चा झूठे ही पृथ्वी पर ऐसे गिर पड़ा जैसे उसे सच ही गोली लग गई हो। ऊपर से आजाद चिल्लाए, "बस आओ।" उनका निर्देश पाते ही भगतसिंह और राजगुरू डी०ए०वी० कालेज छात्रावास की तरफ दौड़े। लेकिन यह क्या, राजगुरू तो पुनः लौट पड़ा है और सड़क से जाने क्या उठाने में लगा है! आजाद ने डांटा—"क्या कर रहा है? चल।" राजगुरू मौन दौड़ते आ रहे थे।

चाननसिंह अब भी दोनों सिपाहियों सहित भगतसिंह और राजगुरू का पीछा किये जा रहा था। अंग्रेज से हिन्दुस्तानी आदमी ज्यादा साहसी निकला। तब तक भगतसिंह और राजगुरू डी०ए०वी० कालेज में प्रविष्ट हो गये। आजाद ने पुलिस वालों को चेतावनी दी, "क्यों मरोगे, हटो, लौटो।" आजाद के डराने से दोनों सिपाही वहीं ठहर गये लेकिन चाननसिंह बाज नहीं आया। वह बढ़ा ही था कि आजाद का माउजर गरजा और वह वहीं चित हो गया। पता चला, अस्पताल पहुंचते ही मर गया। फिर भी आजाद, भगतसिंह और राजगुरू वहीं जमे रहे कि और पुलिस या गारद आये तो अरमान निकाल लिये जाएं। जब कोई आता न दिखा तो साइकिलों पर बैठकर चल दिये। ठिकाने पर पहुंचे तो आजाद ने राजगुरू को फिर डांटा "तुझे वहां खोजने की क्या सूझी थी?" राजगुरू ने बंद मुट्ठी उनके आगे खोल दी। यह वह मैगजीन थी जो भगतसिंह की पिस्तौल से वहां गिर गई थी। उस क्षण यह देखकर आजाद और भगतसिंह उनकी सूझ और समझ से चकित थे।

सवेरा हुआ तो लाहौर में अनेक इश्तहार दीवालों पर चिपके मिले, जिनमें अंग्रेजी में लिखा था—"सांडर्स मर चुका। लाला लाजपतराय का प्रतिशोध चुका लिया गया।"

फिर क्या था, हर गली-चौराहे पर खुफ़िया पुलिस। पूरे शहर में सख्त पहरा और पुलिस की धूम। प्रत्येक नवजवान की रोक-टोक जारी। लेकिन वे जवांमर्द तब भी अकड़ते हुए स्टेशन तक पहुंच गये। भगतसिंह के संदूक पर उस वक्त "आई० पी० एस०" (इंडियन पुलिस सर्विस) लिखा था। फेल्ट हैट, ओवरकोट और बढ़िया लांग बूट आदि। ठाठ भी वैसा ही था।

भाई भगवतीचरण बोहरा की पत्नी दुर्गा देवी भी दल में थीं। पति पर "मेरठ के सिलसिले में पहले ही वारंट था। वे भगतसिंह की "पत्नी"। उनके साढ़े साल के बेटे शची को भगतसिंह ने गोद लिया और शान से पहले दर्जे के डिब्बे में गये। दोनों की जेबों में भरे रिवाल्वर साथ नौकर बने हुए राजगुरू सिर मुड़ाए और दरी बगल में दबाये थे। उसी ट्रेन में आ भी पुरोहित के वेष में तीर्थयात्रियों के बनकर बैठ गये। रामनामी ओढ़े। माथे छापा तिलक लगाये और कमंडलु हाथ भरा माउजर टेंट में लगाये आगे स्टेशन पर उतरकर गायब हो गये। राज भी लखनऊ तक साथ रहे, फिर आगरा आये।

वैशम्पायन बच्चन ने घर आने पर बताया था कि आजाद भैया ने चाननसिंह मौत पर रंज प्रकट किया और कहा "तुमने एक गरीब भारतीय और गोरे अ की कर्त्तव्यपरायणता में जमीन-आसमान फर्क देखा! एक कर्त्तव्य अदा करते हुए गया, दूसरा सिर्फ पिस्तौल की आवाज सु ही विरम गया। मैं नहीं चाहता था चानन जान दे लेकिन मजबूर होकर मुझे इ माउजर चलाना पड़ा। भगतसिंह भी बा कहते सुने गये, "सांडर्स क्या खूबसूरत था!" →

संस्मरण

राजगुरु का प्रायश्चित्त

एक दिन राजगुरू और भगतसिंह में परस्पर हंसी मजाक में बात बढ़ गई कि कौन कितना दृढ़ है। राजगुरू अपने को किसी से कम क्यों मानने लगा! कोशिश करता था—हर जोखिम में, साहस के हर काम में आगे रहे। भगतसिंह को कुछ गांठता नहीं था—यहां तक कि जब सांडर्स को गोली मारने के लिए भगतसिंह और राजगुरू को एक साथ भेजा गया तो गोली चलानी थी भगतसिंह को, परन्तु राजगुरू ने सांडर्स को देखते ही गोली चला दी। बाद में राजगुरू साथियों से कहता था कि भगतसिंह ने व्यर्थ ही अपनी छः गोलियां खराब कीं, मैंने तो उसे पहले ही एक गोली से खत्म कर दिया था। राजगुरू की गोली सांडर्स का माथा भेद गई थी और माथे का लक्ष्य भेद व्यर्थ नही जाता, एक ही गोली काम तमाम कर देती है। भगतसिंह ने अपनी पिस्तौल बाद में जाकर सांडर्स पर इसलिए खाली कर दी कि कहीं जिन्दा न रह गया हो। राजगुरू में प्रतिस्पर्द्धा—बलिदान की स्पर्द्धा की भावना आगे रहती थी जो बहुतों में नजर नहीं आती।

अस्तु; उक्त मजाक का पता जब आजाद को लगा तो उन्होंने राजगुरू को बुलाकर फटकारा। यहां तक कह गये कि "और कभी यह हरकत की तो घर वापस भेज दूंगा।"

यह बात राजगुरू को लग गई। अनमना रहने लगा। सोचता रहा—"क्या वह भगतसिंह से मनोबल में कम है? आखिर मेरी कौन सी बात से पंडितजी (आजाद) बुरा मान कर घर भिजवाने के लिए कह सके?" एक दिन वह साथियों के लिए खाना बना रहा था। चूल्हा खूब दहक रहा था। रोटी सेंकते-सेंकते राजगुरू ने संडासी चूल्हे में ही पड़ी रहने दी और जब वह खूब तप कर लाल हो गयी तो चट उससे अपनी छाती तीन बार दाग दी। खलबल हो गया। बड़े-बड़े हो गये। आजाद से शिकायत हुई तो राजगुरू से कहा, "यह तुमने क्या किया।"

आप कहने लगे—"देख रहा था कि पुलिस यातना देगी तो मैं कितना सह सकूंगा।"

आजाद ने कहा—"हद है तेरी। किस बात के लिए मना करूं।" ऐसे थे और उनकी निष्ठा। आज राजनीतिक में जरा-जरा सी बात पर झगड़ कर लोग बदलने लगते हैं, या इस्तीफा देकर अनुभव करते है। परन्तु एक राजगुरु उनके साथी थे जो डांटे जाने पर का ही प्रायश्चित करते थे—अपने नाराज हो लेते थे। ●

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection. National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization...

खजाने के फेर में रात भर खुदाई की

उन दिनों आजाद काकोरी केस के बाद फरार हालत में झांसी में पं० हरीशंकर नाम से मास्टर रूद्रनारायण के यहां रह रहे जो कॉंग्रेस में जेल काट चुके थे, आजाद के बहुत निकट थे।

उनकी पत्नी को आजाद "भाभी" कहते थे और इतने घनिष्ठ संबंध बन गये थे कि कभी-कभी सगे देवर-भाभी की तरह दोनों देर तक झगड़ते भी रहते थे। आज भी आजाद का एक फोटो उनकी उन्हीं भाभी यानी मास्टर रूद्रनारायण की पत्नी के साथ प्राप्य है।

इन्ही मास्टर जी ने एक दिन सूचना दी कि "ओरछा स्टेट में जहां बेतवा नदी बहती है—वहीं पास के भग्न महल में लक्ष्मी जी का एक मंदिर बना है। प्रसिद्ध है कि वहां अकूत खजाना अर्से से गाड़कर छिपा रखा है। खजाना खोदते लोग इसलिए डरते हैं कि उस खजाने पर एक महा-भयंकर नाग पहरा देता बैठा रहता है। पास आने पर वह विष-धर फुफकारकर दौड़ता हैं डसने को।" आजाद को दल के कार्यों के लिए उन दिनों घोर अर्थाभाव अनुभव हो रहा था। सोच नहीं पा रहे थे कि किस तरह धन जुटाया जाय। यह खबर सुनी, तो उधर विशेष ध्यान न दिया। अलबत्ता नाग के पहरा देने की बात पर मुस्कराए बोले—"खजाना-वजाना तो होने से रहा लेकिन हां, मैं तुम्हारे उस पहरेदार विषधर से जरूर निपट सकता हूं। देखूं तो किस तरह वह खजाना नहीं खोदने देगा।"

किसी ने कहा, "पंडित जी, वह कोई मृतात्मा यानी भूत-बाधा भी हो सकती है।"

आजाद बोले—"यह सब बकवास हैं। यह पाखंड मैं मानता नहीं। चलो, चलकर यह भी देख लेते हैं।" रामानन्द, मोटर ड्राइवर के यहां आजाद उन दिनों रहते थे। एक दिन रामानन्द, मास्टर रूद्रनारायण और आजाद ओरछा के लिए रवाना हुए। खोदने के लिए कुदाली, फावड़ा वगैरह भी साथ ले लिए। सांझ झुरमुटे में तीनों लोग बेतवा नदी के उन खंडहरों में जा धमके और उस खंडहर-प्रायः महल में, जिसके नजदीक ही लक्ष्मीजी का मन्दिर स्थित था—भूमि खोदना शुरू कर दिया। पूरी रात उत्खनन चलता रहा। काफी चौड़ा गहरा खड्डा खुद गया। आदमी की ऊंचाई के बराबर मिट्टी का ढेर लग गया। सूर्योदय का समय होने आया। खोदते-खोदते हाथों में छाले पड़ गये, लेकिन न कहीं नाग देवता के दर्शन हुए और न खजाना ही नजर आया। आपस में हंसते, बहस करते आजाद ने कहा, "चलो! देख लिया तुम्हारा भूत और विषधर! भोर हो रहा है, चलकर बेतवा में मार्जन कर लें और झांसी वापस चलें। आये थे। खजाना लेने। हुंह····।"

तीनों जने मिट्टी सने हाथ-पांवों से बेतवा पर पहुंचे। मार्जन किया। झांसी लौट पड़े, रास्ते में एक-दो बार आजाद मास्टर रूद्र-नारायण की इस अफवाह पर बड़बड़ाये भी। मास्टर साहब चुप। दरअसल यदि उनके सामने नाग के भय की बात न आई होती तो वे ओरछे के उस खंडहर में कभी न जाते।

—व० त्रि०

बंगाली भगतसिंह

भगतसिंह कलकत्ता पहुंचे तो उनका नाम हरी रखा गया। बंगालीकट कुर्ता-धोती तथा शाल कन्धे पर रहती। यह था वहां उनका पहनावा। आजाद भगतसिंह की "हीरा" कहकर प्रशंसा करते थे। साथी से अधिक उन्हें आत्मीय मानते थे। सगे-सहोदर से भी ज्यादा प्रेम करते थे। भगतसिंह को भी उन्हें छेड़ने-हंसाने में आनन्द आता था। वे आजाद और दल के दाहिने हाथ थे। भगवतीचरण "दिमाग" थे। दल में 'सोशलिस्ट' शब्द का संयुक्त होना भगतसिंह के ही चिंतन की देन थी। साइमन कमीशन का विरोध देश में अभी जारी था। भगतसिंह ने सुझाव दिया, हम सब साइमन कमीशन के खिलाफ कोई ऐसा काम करें जिससे हमारे लक्ष्य और आदर्शों को जनता के सामने व्यापक स्तर पर उजागर किया जा सके। वे सदा आगे की बात सोचते थे।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National P...

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केवल धड़ों को सुनाने के लिए

असेम्बली में बम फेंकने के निर्णय पर राजगुरू ने कहा, "मैं जाऊंगा।" आजाद ने घुड़का उसे। भगतसिंह ने उससे कहा— "गिरफ्तारी के बाद एक प्रभावी बयान देना होगा, तुम्हें अंग्रेजी कितनी आती है।" राजगुरू कहते हैं, "वाह! "लघु कौमुदी" और "अमरकोश" रटकर शास्त्री परीक्षा पास कर सकता हूं तो चार पन्ने का अंग्रेजी बयान नहीं रट सकता?"

वे आतुर हुए कि भगतसिंह से कहीं पिछड़ न जायें। पर कोई माने तब न! आजाद ने नाराज होकर कहा, "नहीं मानता तो घर चला जा।" निश्चित हुआ कि भगतसिंह के बजाय विजयकुमार सिन्हा और बटुकेश्वर दत्त बम फेंकेंगे। यह बात सुखदेव को विदित हुई तो उसने भगतसिंह से जो मन आया कह डाला। उसका कहना था कि असेम्बली में बम फेंकने स्वयं तुम्हारा न जाना उचित नहीं। दुनिया क्या कहेगी कि तुम सिर्फ योजना पेश कर देते हो और जोखिम की जगह दूसरों को भेज देते हो। सिर्फ, अदालत में बयान देने की भी तुम्हारी जैसी क्षमता किसमें है। शायद तुम्हें अपनी इस योग्यता का बखूबी अहसास है और इसी वजह से तुम अपने पर जरूरत से ज्यादा घमंड करने लगे हो।" सुखदेव ही दल में ऐसा साथी था जो भगतसिंह से ऐसे कड़ुवे और अनपेक्षित शब्द कह सकता था। दुर्गा भाभी कहती है, "बाद में सुखदेव बहुत रोता रहा था। मैंने खुद भी उसकी रुदन से आरक्त और सूजी हुई आंखें देखी थीं।" कारण, भगतसिंह जैसा मित्र भी उसका कोई दूसरा न था और अब भगतसिंह अड़ गये थे कि "मैं ही बम फेंकने जाऊंगा और अपने को वहीं गिरफ्तार करवा दूंगा। अदालत में न बचाव करूंगा, न सफाई दूंगा। फांसी पाकर हम अपना ध्येय कहीं अधिक सफलता से देश-वासियों के सामने रख सकेंगे।" भगतसिंह को उनके इस निश्चय से दल के नेता आजाद भी इधर-उधर नहीं कर सके, यद्यपि वे इसके कारण भारी पशोपेश और चिंता में पड़ गये थे—भगतसिंह की क्या कीमत है, इसे आजाद से ज्यादा कौन जान सकता था।

दीवाना खून

वस्तुतः क्रांतिकारी जीवन-दर्शन केवल मार-धाड़ का ही नाम है नहीं वरन् उसके साथ राष्ट्र का सांगोपांग विकास, उत्थान, सुख-सम्पन्नता और जनजन की खुशहाली, जागरूकता, समता, नैतिकता और चरम मानवीय ध्येय नितांत निविड़ता से जुड़ा है, गुंफित है। वे क्या चाहते थे, किस लिए शलभ दीवानों की तरह, खुद को निछावर कर गये, विखे गये इस मिट्टी में अपनी सुगंध आज के और आगत पीढ़ियों को भी यह समझने करने तथा तदनुरूप अपना जीवन ढाल की जरूरत होगी। उनके ध्येय तथा इरादे को उजागर करने वाला दस्तावेज हमें प्राप्त है और वे हैं रक्ताभा लिए हुए कुछ पर्चे भगतसिंह ने असेम्बली में फेंके, उसका हिं अनुवाद यहां प्रस्तुत है :—

लाल पर्चे

"बहरों को सुनाने के लिए विस्फोट बहुत ऊंचे शब्द की आवश्यकता होती है। पिछले दस वर्षों में ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वा शासन सुधार के नाम पर इस देश का अ मान करने की कहानियां दुहराने आवश्यकता नहीं है और न ही हिंदुस्था असेम्बली पुकारी जाने वाली इस सभा द्वा हिन्दुस्थानी राष्ट्र के सिर पर पत्थर फें फेंक कर हमारा अपमान करने के उदाहर को याद दिलाने की आवश्यकता है। यह सुपरिचित और स्पष्ट है। आज फिर जब जनता साइमन कमीशन के कुछ सुधारों के टुक की आशा में आंखें फैलाए है और इन टुकड़ो लोभ में झगड़ा कर रही है, विदेशी सरकार जनिक सुरक्षा और औद्योगिक विवाद का के रूप में अपने दमन को और भी कड़ा देने का यत्न कर रही है। इसके साथ आने वाले अधिवेशन में समाचारपत्रों राजद्रोह रोकने के कानून जनता पर थोप की धमकी दी जा रही है। सार्वजनिक करने वाले मजदूर नेताओं की अंधा गिरफ्तारियां यह स्पष्ट कर देती हैं कि कार की विचारधारा क्या।"

"राष्ट्रीय दमन और अपमान की इस जनापूर्ण परिस्थिति में अपने उत्तरदायित्व गंभीरता से अनुभव करके 'हिन्दुस्तान समा वादी प्रजातंत्र सेना' ने अपने सैनिकों को कदम उठाने की आज्ञा दी है। इस कार्य प्रयोजन है कि कानून का यह अपमानज प्रहसन समाप्त कर दिया जाय। वि

"बहरों को सुनाने के लिए विस्फोट की जरुरत होती है।... जनता के प्रतिनिधियों से हमारा आग्रह हैं कि वे इस असेम्बली के पाखण्ड को छोड़कर अपने-अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में लौट जाएं और जनता को विदेशी दमन और शोषण के विरूद्ध क्रान्ति के लिए तैयार करें"

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शोषक नौकरशाही जो चाहे करे। परंतु उसकी वैधानिकता की नकाब फाड़ देना आवश्यक है।"

जनता से आग्रह

"जनता के प्रतिनिधियों से हमारा आग्रह है कि वह इस असेम्बली के पाखंड को छोड़कर अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में लौट जायं और जनता की विदेशी दमन और शोषण के विरुद्ध क्रांति के लिए तैयार करें। हम विदेशी सरकार को यह बता देना चाहते हैं कि हम देश की जनता की ओर से सार्वजनिक सुरक्षा और औद्योगिक विवादों के दमनकारी कानूनों और लाला लाजपतराय की हत्या के विरोध में यह कदम उठा रहे हैं।"

"हम मनुष्य के जीवन को पवित्र समझते हैं। हम ऐसे उज्ज्वल भविष्य में विश्वास रखते हैं जिसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को पूर्ण शांति और स्वतंत्रता का अवसर मिल सके। हम मानव रक्त के बहाने और अपनी विवशता के लिए दुखी हैं, परन्तु क्रांति द्वारा सबको समान स्वतंत्रता देने और मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के शोषण को समाप्त करने के लिए क्रांति में कुछ न कुछ रक्तपात अनिवार्य है।"

"इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद।"

ह० बलराज
कमाण्डर-इन-चीफ
हिन्दुस्तान समाजवादी प्रजातंत्र सेना

ये "बलराज" और कोई नहीं, स्वयं चन्द्रशेखर आजाद ही थे।

क्रांति-दर्शक

सन् १९२९ की ८ अप्रैल थी। यह बात कम ही लोग जानते हैं कि उस दिन बम-विस्फोट के पांच मिनट पूर्व तक स्वयं दल के नेता चन्द्रशेखर आजाद, वैशम्पायन, सुखदेव और भगवतीचरण बोहरा के साथ असेम्बली की दर्शक दीर्घा में बैठे थे। उन सभी के पास भारी पिस्तौलें थीं लेकिन बम फेंकने का संकेत होते ही ये चारों लोग तुरंत दर्शक-दीर्घा से बाहर निकल कर दल की कार में आ बैठे। कार का इंजिन स्टार्ट कर दिया गया और उसी स्थिति में कार रोके रखी गई। ठीक पांच मिनट बाद ही भगतसिंह ने अंग्रेजों के पिट्ठुओं और उनके खैरख्वाह अधिकारियों के नजदीक खाली जगह पर एक बम फेंका। ये बेंचें पीछे की तरफ थीं। विस्फोट की भयंकर आवाज और नीली धूम्रराशि से असेम्बली हाल भर गया। ठीक वही समय था जब दोनो बिलों को विशेषाधिकार से पारित की जाने की घोषणा हुई थी लेकिन अब वही लार्ड साइमन ऐसे भागते नजर आ रहे थे जैसे गधे के सिर से सींग। उनके सभी चमचों में भगदड़मच गई। अभी असेम्बली में धुआं भरा था कि भगतसिंह का हाथ दोबारा अखबार के चोंगे से बाहर निकला और एक विस्फोट पुनः हुआ और ऊंची-पक्की प्राचीरें हिला गया। बहरे इसी तरह सुना करते हैं—क्रांतिकारियों को कटघरे में खड़े करने के पहले विडालाक्षियों ने क्या कभी यह सोचा कि किस तरह अंध-बधिर बनकर वे भारत का धन-दौलत लूट रहे हैं, किस तरह यहां के कच्चे माल से लंकाशायर, यार्कशायर, के कारखानों को पाटने में लगे हैं और हिन्दुस्तान भूख, गरीबी और राशि-राशि अपमानों की पीड़ा, दंश से छटपटा रहा है। प्रथम विश्व-युद्ध जीतने के बाद क्या तोहफा दिया इस काले देश को? पेश थे दमनकारी उक्त दो विधेयक। फिर उन्हीं हाथों ने अपनी जगह ही खड़े-खड़े फेंके लाल परचे और गूंज उठे नारे—१. "इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद २. साम्राज्यवाद का नाश हो ३. हिन्दुस्तानी समाजवादी प्रजातंत्र संघ—जिन्दाबाद।" पिस्तौलें नीचे रख दी हैं—गिरफ्तार करा रहे हैं खुद को। वे चले गये, लेकिन उनका इन्कलाब का नारा उस दिन असेम्बली से निकल कर पूरे देश में छा गया। विजयकुमार सिन्हा ठीक ही कहते हैं कि आजादी की लड़ाई की यह एक नवीन उपलब्धि थी। आजाद उस दिन भगतसिंह को खोकर क्या सोच रहे थे, कौन जान सकता है।

न्याय का नाटक

नौ दिन मुकदमा चला, जिसमें दोनों को धारा ३०७ में जन्म-कैद सुनाई गई। हाई कोर्ट में उन्होंने बम फेंकना स्वीकार किया और क्रांति की व्याख्या भी की। "बम-कांड" से भगतसिंह से जो रिवाल्वर पुलिस को मिला उससे साबित हो गया कि इसी रिवाल्वर से अंग्रेज डी० एस० पी० सांडर्स को मारा गया है,।

बम फैक्ट्री यथावत् चालू

इसके बाद भी बम फैक्टरियां चालू रहीं। कोई साथी घर वापस नहीं गया, न कोई विश्राम लेने बैठा। लाहौर में किला गूजर में सुखदेव को पिकरिक एसिड सहित पकड़ा गया और भी चौदह क्रांतिकारी गिरफ्तार हुए। "लाहौर षड्यंत्र केस" में ३२ अभियुक्त घोषित हुए। इनमें १६ पर मुकदमा शुरू हुआ। नौ फरार करार दिये गये तथा सात लोग मुखबिर बन गये।

सर्वश्री भगतसिंह, जयदेव कपूर, शिव वर्मा, बटुकेश्वर दत्त, महाबीर सिंह, कमल नाथ तिवारी, डा० गया प्रसाद, यतीन्द्रनाथ→

संस्मरण

अखबार बरामद होने की सजा

सन् १९५७ की क्रांति के दिनों में दिल्ली से एक अखबार निकला करता था, जिसका नाम था "पयामे आजादी"—अर्थात् स्वतंत्रता का संदेश। इस अखबार में अंग्रेजों के उस अपप्रचार का मुंहतोड़ जवाब क्रांतिकारियों ने देने की कोशिश की थी, जिसमें अंग्रेजों ने क्रांतिकारी सैनिकों को "पोंगा पंथी" तथा "प्रति-क्रियावादी" साबित करना चाहा था। फलतः गोरों ने चिढ़कर यह फरमान जारी किया कि जिस आदमी के पास या जिसके परिवार से यह अखबार बरामद होगा या उसको पढ़ते-रखते पाया जायेगा, उसे सख़्त से सख़्त सजा दी जायेगी। वह सजा प्राणदंड से भी भीषण होती थी यानी अगर हिंदू के पास "पयामे आजादी" का पर्चा मिला तो बिना कोई अदालत-कचहरी में लाये उस आदमी को जबर्दस्ती गो-मांस खिलाया जाता था और फिर उसे गोली से उड़ा देते थे। यदि यही अख-बार मुसलमान नागरिक के पास बरामद किया गया तो अंग्रेज उसके मुंह में सुअर का गोश्त भर देते थे और फिर या तो उसे फांसी पर चढ़ा देते थे या गोली मारकर खत्म कर देते थे। पूरे देश में इस अखबार के बरामद हुए पन्ने आग में जलाकर राख बना दिये गये।

अभी अलबत्ता "पयामे आजादी" की एक प्रति किसी तरह सहेजकर लंदन के ब्रिटिश म्युजियम में रखी मिलती है। कहीं उसका कोई नाम-निशान बाकी नहीं रहा क्योंकि अंग्रेज उस अखबार को देश में कहीं एक चिन्दी भी देखना गवारा नहीं करते थे।

—विप्लवी

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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दास, किशोरीलाल, सुखदेव, सुरेन्द्रनाथ पाण्डेय, जितेन्द्रनाथ सान्याल, प्रेमदत्त, आज़ाराम, देशराज और अजयकुमार घोष कटघरे में थे और इनपर न्याय का नाटक प्रारंभ हो गया।

सर्वश्री भगवतीचरण बोहरा, यशपाल, विजयकुमार सिन्हा, चन्द्रशेखर आजाद, रघुनाथ, राजगुरू, जिन्हें काशीवासी दर्ज किया गया था, कैलाश, सद्गुरूदयाल अवस्थी और कुन्दनलाल गुप्त फरार एलान किये गये। इनमें रघुनाथ यानी राजगुरू, कुन्दन लाल गुप्त, विजयकुमार सिन्हा बाद में पकड़ लिये गये। काफी बाद में यशपाल भी गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये, इलाहाबाद में एक आयरिश परिचित के घर में। जयगोपाल, हंसराज बोहरा, रामशरण दास, ललित मुकर्जी, ब्रह्मदत्त, मनमोहन मुकर्जी और फणीन्द्र घोष मुखबिर बन गये। इसी समय "चांद" मासिक पत्र के "फांसी" अंक के प्रकाशन-स्थल इलाहाबाद के "चांद कार्यालय" की पुलिस द्वारा तलाशी ली गई। यहां एक रजिस्टर पर हरनारायण कपूर का नाम दर्ज मिला, जिसे शिववर्मा ने स्वीकार किया कि "यह कपूर मैं ही था। वस्तुतः "फांसी" अंक में भगतसिंह ने पंजाब और "गदरदल" के शहीदों पर तथा शिववर्मा ने उत्तर प्रदेश आदि के विप्लवी शहीदों पर ७० से भी ऊपर लेख विभिन्न नामों से लिखे थे। फलतः "फांसी" अंक के संपादक चतुरसेन शास्त्री पकड़े गये। बाद में छोड़ दिये गये। उन दिनों शास्त्री जी ने भगतसिंह और शिववर्मा की बलिदानी भावना की भूरि-भूरि सराहना की। ●

संस्मरण ● वचनेश त्रिपाठी

वे पंक्तियां, जो सच निकलीं

"हिन्दुस्तान सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिकन एसोसियेशन" के सक्रिय सदस्य प्रो० नन्दकिशोर निगम से आजाद का काफी सम्पर्क रहा। आजाद जब दिल्ली आते तो हिन्दू कालेज के होस्टल में उन्हीं के साथ ठहरा करते थे। यहाँ तक कि "गाडोदिया स्टोर" की डकैती के बाद सब रुपयों समेत आजाद उन्हीं के यहां सीधे पहुंचे थे। मैं एक बार जब उनके मकान पर रात में रूका तो निगम जी ने आजाद से सुनी वे कुछ स्फुट पंक्तियां दोहराईं, जिन्हें आजाद मौज में आकर अक्सर गुनगुनाया करते थे। वे पंक्तियां हैं :—

"टूटी हुई बोतल है, टूटा हुआ पैमाना।
सरकार तुझे दिखा देंगे ठाठ फकीराना।।"

* * * * *

"दुश्मन की गोलियाँ का हम सामना करेंगे।
आजाद ही रहे हैं, आजाद ही मरेंगे।।"
"शहीदों की चिताओं पर, पड़ेंगे खाक के ढेले।
वतन पर मिटने वालों का यही बाकी निशां होगा।।"

समाधि का अपमान

अंतिम दो पंक्तियां सिद्ध करती हैं कि आजाद को पूर्व कल्पना थी कि आजादी आने पर शहीद और जीवित क्रांतिकारियों के साथ शासन का कैसा कुछ बर्ताव होगा। आजाद की पंक्तियां आज पग-पग पर चरितार्थ होती नजर आती हैं। सच ही, शहीदों की चिताओं पर न सिर्फ खाक के ढेले पड़े हुए हैं वरन अभी इसी वर्ष स्वयं आजाद के बलिदान की जब अर्द्ध शताब्दी मनाई गई तो मैंने इलाहाबाद जिले के रसूलाबाद में गंगा के किनारे देखा कि आजाद की जो समाधि समारोह के ऐन वक्त पर सीमेंट आदि का पलस्तर करके दुरुस्त की गई थी, वह समारोह समाप्त होने तथा उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमन्त्री महोदय की रवानगी के बाद ही, जबकि अभी उसका पलस्तर भी नहीं सूख पाया था, इंजीनियर के आदेश से तोड़कर बिखेर दी गई। जब इसके खिलाफ उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा तक में शोर हुआ तो प्रशासन के पक्ष से अखबारों में सफ़ाई पेश की गई कि "समाधि को सुधारा जा रहा है।" परन्तु अनेक विप्लवी जानते हैं तथ्य क्या है ?

कुसंस्कारी सरकार

इसी तरह जब कुछ क्रांतिकारी आजाद की स्मृति में डाक टिकट निकालने के संदर्भ में दिल्ली जाकर प्रधानमन्त्री से मिले और संचार मन्त्रालय को लिखित ज्ञापन दिया कि आजाद पर डाक टिकट निकाला जाय तो कुछ दिन बाद ही संचार मन्त्रालय से जवाब आया कि ऐसे टिकट निकालने के लिए जो परामर्शदात्री समिति सिफारिश करती है, उसने आजाद पर डाक-टिकट निकालने के लिए सिफारिश करने से इन्कार कर दिया है, अतः डाक टिकट नहीं निकाला जा सकता। यह हाल है, आजाद सरीखे शहीदों की स्मृति के साथ शासन के निर्मम खिलवाड़ का। संचार मन्त्रालय का वह पत्र मेरे पास सुरक्षित है, "काकोरी केस" के श्री रामकृष्ण खत्री और उनके कई विप्लवी साथी यह व्यथा-कथा लिए कसमसाते रहते हैं। इसी से कहना पड़ता है कि आजाद ने शहीदों की चिताओं पर खाक के ढेले पड़ने की जो बात कही थी, वह सच साबित हुई। यह एक नितांत लज्जास्पद प्रसंग है। ●

दो मुक्तक

● वे क्या जाने

(सरकार द्वारा चन्द्रशेखर आजाद की स्मृति में डाक टिकट न निकालने के संदर्भ में)

रवि किरण को वे क्या देखें,
क्या जाने पूरब की लाली।
जिनकी आंखे रात में खुलती,
वे चाहें बस रातें काली।।
लहू में जिनके सूरज पलते,
वही देश को जिन्दा रखते।
देश प्रेम को वे क्या समझें,
जिनका काम बजाना ताली।।
बिना सुमन का उपवन देखो,
बनता जाए देश हमारा।
शूलों का ही आदर करता,
बना हुआ जो अपना माली।।

● जगदीश कुमार आकाश

● कुछ न किया

नाम लें चन्द्रशेखर का यहां,
हृदय कहता वीरवर वैसा कहां।
मर गया हंसकर इलाहाबाद में,
कर सके कुछ भी नहीं हम याद में।।

● वाल्मीकी प्रसाद विकट

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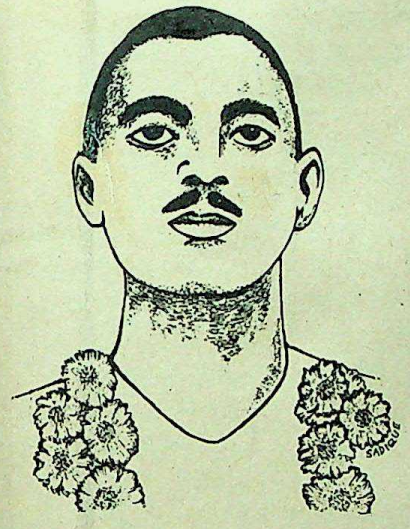
कायर मत बनो सुखदेव!



भगतसिंह और सुखदेव दोनों ही लाहौर षड्यंत्र केस के सिलसिले में जेल में बंद थे। अदालत से दोनों को फांसी की सजा का हुक्म हो चुका था। दोनों मौत के फंदे की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे थे। देश में फांसी की सजा के विरुद्ध क्रोध उफन उठा था। सुखदेव अति भावुक श्रेणी के मनुष्य थे। उनके मन में आया कि 'हमारी फांसी रुक जायेगी और हमें आजन्म कारावास का दंड भोगना पड़ेगा। १४ वर्ष काले पानी में रहकर हम निर्जीव हो जायेंगे। उस स्थिति में जीने से अच्छा है कि मैं आत्म-हत्या कर लूं।' उन्होंने अपना विचार भगतसिंह को लिख भेजा। उसके उत्तर में भगतसिंह ने उन्हें यह पत्र लिखा।

प्रिय भाई,

मैंने आपके पत्र को कई बार ध्यानपूर्वक पढ़ा। मैं अनुभव करता हूं कि बदली हुई परिस्थिति ने हम पर अलग-अलग प्रभाव डाला है। जिन बातों से जेल के बाहर घृणा करते थे, वे आपके लिए अब अनिवार्य हो चुकी हैं। इसी प्रकार मैं जेल से बाहर जिन बातों का विशेष रूप से समर्थन करता था, वे अब मेरे लिए विशेष महत्व नहीं रखतीं। उदाहरणार्थ, मैं व्यक्तिगत प्रेम का विशेष रूप से मानने वाला था, परन्तु अब इस भावना का मेरे हृदय एवं मस्तिष्क में कोई विशेष स्थान नहीं रहा। बाहर आप इसके कड़े विरोधी थे, परन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में अब आपके विचारों में भारी परिवर्तन एवं क्रांति आ चुकी है। आप इसे मानव-जीवन का एक अत्यन्त आवश्यक एवं अनिवार्य अंग अनुभव करते हैं और इस अनुभूति से आपको एक प्रकार का आनन्द भी प्राप्त हुआ है।

आत्महत्या घृणित है

आपको याद होगा कि एक दिन मैंने आत्महत्या के विषय पर आपसे चर्चा की थी। तब मैंने आपको बताया था, कई परि-स्थितियों में आत्महत्या उचित हो सकती है— परन्तु आपने मेरे इस दृष्टिकोण का विरोध किया था। मुझे उस चर्चा का समय एवं स्थान भली प्रकार स्मरण है, हमारी यह बात शहनशाही कुटिया में सायंकाल के समय हुई थी। आपने मजाक के रूप में हंसते हुए कहा था कि इस प्रकार की कायरता का कार्य कभी उचित नहीं माना जा सकता। आपने कहा था कि इस प्रकार का कार्य भयानक और घृणित है, परन्तु इस विषय पर भी मैं देखता हूं कि आपकी राय सर्वथा बदल चुकी है। अब आप उसे कुछ अवस्थाओं में न केवल उचित, वरन् अनिवार्य एवं आवश्यक अनुभव करते हैं। मेरी इस विषय में अब वही राय है, जो पहले आपको थी। अर्थात् आत्महत्या एक घृणित अपराध है, यह पूर्णतः कायरता का कार्य है। क्रांतिकारी का तो कहना ही क्या, कोई भी मनुष्य ऐसे कार्य को उचित नहीं ठहरा सकता।

आप कहते हैं कि आप यह नहीं समझ सके कि केवल कष्ट-सहन करने से आप अपने देश की सेवा किस प्रकार कर सकते हैं। आप जैसे व्यक्ति की ओर से ऐसा प्रश्न करना बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है, क्योंकि नौजवान भारत सभा के ध्येय "सेवा द्वारा कष्टों को सहन करना एवं बलिदान करना" को हमने सोच-समझकर कितना प्यार किया था। मैं यह समझता हूं कि आपने अधिक से अधिक संभव सेवा की। अब वह समय है कि जो कुछ आपने किया है, उसके लिए कष्ट उठायें। दूसरी बात यह है कि यही वह अवसर है, जब आपको सम्पूर्ण जनता का नेतृत्व करना है।

लक्ष्य में सफल

मानव किसी भी कार्य को उचित मानकर ही करता है, जैसे कि हमने लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली में बम फेंकने का कार्य किया था। कार्य करने के पश्चात् उसका परिणाम और उसका फल भोगने की बारी आती है। क्या आपका यह विचार है कि यदि हमने दया के लिए गिड़गिड़ाते हुए दंड से बचने का प्रयत्न किया होता तो हमारा यह कार्य उचित होता? नहीं इसका प्रभाव लोगों पर उल्टा होता। अब हम अपने लक्ष्य में पूर्णतया सफल हुए हैं।

बन्दी होने के समय हमारी संस्था के राजनैतिक बन्दियों की दशा अत्यन्त दयनीय थी। हमने उसे सुधारने का प्रयास प्रारंभ कर दिया। मैं आपको पूरी गंभीरता से बताता हूं कि हमें यह विश्वास था कि हम बहुत कम समय के भीतर ही मर जायेंगे। हमें उपवास की स्थिति में कृत्रिम रीति से भोजन दिये जाने का न तो ज्ञान ही था, न हमें यह विचार सूझता ही था। हम तो मृत्यु के लिए तैयार थे। क्या आपका यह अभिप्राय है कि हम आत्महत्या करना चाहते थे? नहीं, प्रयत्नशील होना एवं श्रेष्ठ और उत्कृष्ट आदर्श के लिए जीवन दे देना कदापि आत्महत्या नहीं कही जा सकती। हमारे मित्र (श्री यतीन्द्रनाथ दास) की मृत्यु तो स्पृहणीय है। क्या आप इसे आत्महत्या कहेंगे? हमारा कष्टों को सहना फल लाया। समस्त देश में एक विराट और सर्वव्यापी आंदोलन प्रारंभ हो गया। हम अपने लक्ष्य में सफल हुए। इस प्रकार के संघर्ष में मरना एक आदर्श मृत्यु है।

इसके अतिरिक्त हममें से जिन लोगों को यह विश्वास है कि उनको मृत्युदण्ड दिया जायेगा, उनको धैर्यपूर्वक उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा करनी चाहिए जब यह सजा सुनाई जायगी और तत्पश्चात् उन्हें फांसी दी जायेगी। यह मृत्यु भी सुन्दर होगी। परन्तु आत्महत्या करना, केवल कुछ दुखों से बचने के लिए अपने जीवन को समाप्त कर देना तो कायरता है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि आपत्तियां व्यक्ति को पूर्ण बनाने वाली होती हैं। मैं और आप, वरन् मैं कहूंगा हममें से किसी ने भी किंचित कष्ट सहन नहीं किया है। हमारे जीवन का यह भाग तो अभी आरंभ होता है।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nat

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

आपको यह स्मरण होगा कि अनेक बार इस विषय पर हमने बातचीत की है कि रूसी साहित्य में जो वास्तविकता प्रत्येक स्थान पर मिलती है, वह हमारे साहित्य में कदापि नहीं दिखाई देती। हम उनकी कहानियों में कष्टों और दुखदाई स्थितियों को बहुत पसन्द करते हैं, परन्तु कष्ट सहने की उस भावना को अपने भीतर अनुभव नहीं करते। हम उनके उन्माद और उनके चरित्र की असाधारण ऊंचाइयों के प्रशंसक हैं, परन्तु इसके कारणों पर सोच-विचार करने की कभी चिंता नहीं करते। मैं कहूंगा कि केवल आपत्तियां सहन करने के उल्लेख ने ही उन कहानियों में सहायता, दर्द की गहरी टीस और उनके चरित्र तथा साहित्य में ऊंचाई उत्पन्न की है। हमारी दशा उस समय दयनीय और हास्यास्पद हो जाती है, जब हम अपने जीवन में रहस्यवाद अकारण ही प्रविष्ट कर लेते हैं। यद्यपि इसके लिए कोई प्राकृतिक या ठोस आधार नहीं होता। हमारे जैसे व्यक्तियों को, जो प्रत्येक दृष्टि से क्रांतिकारी होने का गर्व करते हैं, सदैव हर प्रकार से उन आपत्तियों, चिंताओं, दुखों और कष्टों को सहन करने के लिए तत्पर रहना चाहिए, जिनको हम स्वयं आरंभ किये संघर्ष के द्वारा आमंत्रित करते हैं एवं जिनके कारण हम अपने आपको क्रान्तिकारी कहते हैं।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि जेलों में और केवल जेलों में ही कोई व्यक्ति अपराध एवं पाप जैसे महान सामाजिक विषय का प्रत्यक्ष अध्ययन करने का अवसर प्राप्त कर सकता है। मैंने इस विषय का कुछ साहित्य पढ़ा है और जेल ही ऐसे विषयों का स्वाध्याय करने का सबसे अधिक उपयुक्त स्थान है। स्वाध्याय का सर्वश्रेष्ठ भाग है : स्वयं कष्टों को सहना।

आप भली प्रकार जानते हैं कि रूस में राजनैतिक बन्दियों का बन्दीगृहों में आपत्तियां सहन करना ही जारशाही का तख्ता उलटने के पश्चात् उनके द्वारा जेलों के प्रबन्ध में क्रांति लाये जाने का सबसे बड़ा कारण था। क्या भारत को ऐसे व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता नहीं है, जो इस विषय से पूर्णतया परिचित हों और इस समस्या का निजी अनुभव रखते हों ? केवल यह कह देना कि दूसरा कोई इस काम को कर लेगा या इस कार्य को करने के लिए बहुत लोग हैं, किसी प्रकार भी उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता। इस प्रकार जो लोग क्रान्तिकारी क्षेत्र के कार्यों का भार दूसरे लोगों पर छोड़ने को अप्रतिष्ठापूर्ण एवं घृणित समझते हैं, उन्हें पूरी लगन के साथ वर्तमान व्यवस्था के विरुद्ध संघर्ष आरंभ कर देना चाहिए। उन्हें चाहिए कि वे उन विधियों का उल्लंघन करें, परन्तु उन्हें औचित्य का ध्यान रखना चाहिए। क्योंकि अनावश्यक एवं अनुचित प्रयत्न कभी भी न्यायपूर्ण नहीं माना जा सकता। इस प्रकार का आंदोलन क्रान्ति के कार्यकाल को बहुत सीमा तक कम कर देगा। जितने आंदोलन अब तक आरंभ हुए हैं, उन सबसे पृथक रहने के लिए आपने जो तर्क दिए हैं, मैं उन्हें समझने में असमर्थ हूं। कुछ मित्र ऐसे हैं, जो या तो मूर्ख हैं या नासमझ। वे आपके इस व्यवहार को (जिसे वे स्वयं कहते हैं कि किंचित् भी नहीं समझ सकते, क्योंकि आप उनसे बहुत ऊंचे और उनकी समझ से बहुत परे हैं) अनोखा और अद्भुत समझते है।

जब बिस्मिल कल्लू चमार बने

"काकोरी केस" के कैदी क्रांतिकारी लखनऊ में मुकदमे के दौरान कितनी निश्चिंत तथा निर्भय वृत्ति रखकर अपनी दिनचर्या आनन्द और उत्साह से आप्लावित रखते थे, इसका एक संस्मरण मुझे "काकोरी केस" में सजा प्राप्त क्रांतिकारी श्री रामदुलारे ने सुनाया था। वे कहते थे—

"फांसी और लम्बी सजाओं के निश्चित रहते भी हम क्रांतिकारियों का संकल्प था कि जीवन के जो भी दिन बाकी हैं उन्हें पूरी उमंग से जियेंगे—म्लानता पास न फटकने देंगे। इसी निश्चय के कारण पूरे दिन गाना-बजाना, खेल-कूद और हंसी-विनोद होता रहता था। अखाड़ेबाजी और कबड्डी आदि का समां बंधा था। सितार-हारमोनियम पर सफाई दिखाते थे। पढ़ते भी थे। वसंत की रात जेल में एक नाटक अभिनीत हुआ—नाम था "अछूतोद्धार"। इसमें पं० रामप्रसाद 'बिस्मिल' ने "कल्लू चमार" का अभिनय बड़ा सुन्दर किया था और उसमें एक गाना भी गाया था, जिसकी दो पंक्तियां ये हैं :—

तोरे नैना मिलत नाहीं !
बदायूं ढूंढ़ेउं बनारस ढूंढेब,
तोरे से नैना मिलत नाहीं।

बड़ी ही धुन से गाया था बिस्मिल ने यह गीत !"

● विप्लवी

वास्तव में यदि आप यह अनुभव करते हैं कि बन्दीगृह का जीवन वास्तव में अपमानपूर्ण है, तो आप उसके विरुद्ध आंदोलन करके उसे सुधारने का प्रयास क्यों नहीं करते ? संभवतया आप यह कहेंगे कि यह संघर्ष सफल नहीं हो सकता, परन्तु यह तो वही तर्क है, जिसकी आड़ लेकर साधारणतया निर्बल लोग प्रत्यक्ष आंदोलन से बचना चाहते हैं। यह वह उत्तर है, जिसे हम उन लोगों से सुनते रहे हैं, जो जेल से बाहर क्रान्तिकारी प्रयत्नों में सम्मिलित होने से जान बचाना चाहते थे। क्या आप यही उत्तर मैं आपके मुख से सुनूंगा ? कुछ मुट्ठी भर कार्यकर्त्ताओं के आधार पर संगठित हमारी पार्टी अपने लक्ष्यों और आदेशों की तुलना में क्या कर सकती थी ? क्या हम इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकालें कि हमने इस काम के प्रारंभ करने में नितान्त भूल की है ? नहीं, इस प्रकार का परिणाम निकालना उचित नहीं होगा। इससे तो उस व्यक्ति की भीतरी निर्बलता प्रकट होती है, जो इस प्रकार सोचता है।

आगे चलकर आप लिखते हैं कि चौदह वर्ष तक बन्दीगृह के कष्टों से भरपूर जीवन बिताने के पश्चात् किसी व्यक्ति से यह आशा नहीं की जा सकती कि उस समय भी उसके विचार वही होंगे, जो जेल जाने से पूर्व थे, क्योंकि जेल का वातावरण उसके समस्त विचारों को रौंदकर कुचल देगा। क्या मैं आपसे पूछ सकता हूं कि क्या जेल से बाहर का वातावरण हमारे विचारों के अनुकूल था ? फिर भी असफलताओं के कारण क्या हम उसे छोड़ सकते थे ? क्या आपका आशय यह है कि यदि हम इस क्षेत्र में न उतरे होते तो कोई भी क्रान्तिकारी कार्य कदापि न हुआ होता ? यदि ऐसा है तो आप भूल कर रहे हैं। यद्यपि यह ठीक है कि हम भी वातावरण को बदलने में बड़ी सीमा तक सहायक सिद्ध हुए हैं, तथापि हम तो केवल अपने समय की आवश्यकता की उपज हैं।

मैं तो यह भी कहूंगा कि साम्यवाद के जन्मदाता मार्क्स, वास्तव में इस विचार को जन्म देने वाला नहीं था। असल में यूरोप की औद्योगिक क्रान्ति ने ही एक विशेष प्रकार के विचारों वाले व्यक्ति उत्पन्न किये थे। उनमें मार्क्स भी एक था। हां, अपने स्थान पर मार्क्स भी निस्सन्देह कुछ सीमा तक समय के चक्र को एक विशेष प्रकार की गति देने में आवश्यक सहायक सिद्ध हुआ।

मैंने (और आपने भी) इस देश में समाजवाद और साम्यवाद के विचारों को जन्म नहीं दिया, वरन् यह तो हमारे ऊपर हमारे समय एवं परिस्थिति के प्रभाव का परिणाम है। निस्सन्देह हमने इन विचारों का प्रचार करने के लिए कुछ साधारण एवं

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कार्य अवश्य किया है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि जब हमने इस प्रकार एक कठिन कार्य को हाथ में ले ही लिया है, तो हमें उसे जारी रखना चाहिए और आगे बढ़ना चाहिए! आपत्तियों से बचने के लिए आत्महत्या कर लेने से जनता का मार्गदर्शन नहीं होगा, वरन् यह तो एक प्रतिक्रियावादी कार्य होगा।

जेल के नियमों के अनुसार जीवन की निराशाओं, दबाव और हिंसा के असीम परीक्षायुक्त वातावरण का विरोध करते हुए हम कार्य करते रहें। जिस समय हम अपना कार्य करते थे, उस समय नाना प्रकार से हमें कठिनाइयों का निशाना बनाया जाता था। यहां तक कि जो लोग अपने आपको महान् क्रांतिकारी कहने का गौरव अनुभव करते थे, वे भी हमको छोड़ गये। क्या ये परिस्थितियां असीम परीक्षायुक्त न थीं? फिर अपने आंदोलन एवं प्रयासों को जारी रखने के लिए हमारे पास क्या कारण और तर्क था?

क्या आपको याद है कि जब हम इस विषय पर चर्चा कर रहे थे कि हमारी बम फैक्ट्रियों में अत्यन्त तीव्र एवं प्रभावकारी विष भी रखा जाना चाहिए, तो आपने बड़ी दृढ़ता से इसका विरोध किया था! आप इस विचार से ही घृणा करते थे। आपको इस पर विश्वास नहीं था। फिर अब क्या हुआ? यहां तो ऐसी विकट और जटिल परिस्थितियां भी नहीं हैं। मुझे तो इस प्रश्न पर विचार करने में भी घृणा होती है। आपको उस मनोवृत्ति से भी घृणा थी, जो आत्महत्या करने की अनुमति देती है। आप मुझे यह कहने के लिए क्षमा करें कि यदि आपने अपने बन्दी बनाये जाने के समय ही इन विचारों के अनुकूल कार्य किया होता (अर्थात् आपने विष खाकर उस समय आत्महत्या कर ली होती) तो आपने क्रान्तिकारी कार्य की बहुत बड़ी सेवा की होती, परन्तु इस समय तो इस कार्य पर विचार करना भी हमारे लिए हानिकारक है।

भौतिकवादी दृष्टि

एक और विशेष बात, जिस पर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं, यह है कि हम लोग ईश्वर, पुनर्जन्म, नरक-स्वर्ग, दण्ड एवं पारितोषिक, अर्थात् भगवान द्वारा किये जाने वाले जीवन के हिसाब आदि में कोई विश्वास नहीं रखते। अतः हमें जीवन एवं मृत्यु के विषय में भी नितांत भौतिकवादी रीति से सोचना चाहिए। एक दिन जब मुझे पहचाने जाने के लिए दिल्ली से यहां लाया गया था, तो गुप्तचर-विभाग के कुछ अधिकारियों ने मेरे पिताजी की उपस्थिति में मुझसे इस विषय पर बातचीत की थी। उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं कोई भेद खोलने और इस प्रकार अपना जीवन बचाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं, इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि मैं जीवन से बहुत दुखी हूं। उनका तर्क था कि मेरी यह मृत्यु तो आत्महत्या के समान होगी, परन्तु मैंने उनको उत्तर दिया था कि मेरे जैसे विश्वास और विचारों वाला व्यक्ति व्यर्थ में ही मरना कदापि सहन नहीं कर सकता। हम तो अपने जीवन का अधिक से अधिक मूल्य प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं। हम मानवता की अधिक से अधिक संभव सेवा करना चाहते हैं। विशेष कर मेरे जैसा भला मनुष्य, जिसका जीवन किसी भी रूप में दुखी या चिंतित नहीं है, किसी समय भी आत्महत्या करना तो दूर रहा, उसका विचार भी हृदय में लाना ठीक नहीं समझता। वही बात मैं इस समय आपसे कहना चाहता हूं।

आशा है आप मुझे अनुमति देंगे कि मैं आपको यह बताऊं कि मैं अपने बारे में क्या सोचता हूं। मुझे अपने लिए मृत्युदण्ड सुनाए जाने का अटल विश्वास है। मुझे किसी प्रकार की पूर्ण क्षमा या नम्र व्यवहार की तनिक भी आशा नहीं है। यदि कोई क्षमा हुई भी, तो पूर्णतः सबके लिए न होगी, वरन् वह भी हमारे अतिरिक्त अन्य लोगों के लिए नितान्त सीमित एवं कई बन्धनों से जकड़ी हुई होगी। हमारे लिए तो न क्षमा हो सकती है और न वह होगी ही। इस पर भी मेरी इच्छा है कि हमारी मुक्ति का प्रस्ताव सम्मिलित रूप में और विश्वव्यापी हो और उसके साथ ही मेरी अभिलाषा यह है कि जब यह आंदोलन अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुंचे, तो हमें फांसी दे दी जाये। मेरी यह इच्छा है कि यदि कोई सम्मानपूर्ण और उचित समझौता होना कभी संभव हो जाये, तो हमारे जैसे व्यक्तियों का मामला उसके मार्ग में कोई रुकावट या कठिनाई उत्पन्न करने का कारण न बने। जब देश के भाग्य का निर्णय हो रहा हो तो व्यक्तियों के भाग्य को पूर्णतया भुला देना चाहिए। हम क्रान्तिकारी होने के नाते अतीत के समस्त अनुभवों से पूर्णतया अवगत हैं। इसलिए हम नहीं मान सकते कि हमारे शासकों और विशेषकर अंग्रेज जाति की भावनाओं में इस प्रकार का आश्चर्यजनक परिवर्तन उत्पन्न हो सकता है। इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन क्रान्ति के बिना संभव ही नहीं है। क्रान्ति तो केवल सतत कार्य करते रहने से, प्रयत्नों से, कष्ट सहन करने से एवं बलिदानों से ही उत्पन्न की जा सकती है, और की जायेगी।

जहां तक मेरे दृष्टिकोण का सम्बन्ध है, मैं तो केवल उसी दशा में सबके लिए सुविधाओं और क्षमादान का स्वागत कर सकता हूं जब उसका प्रभाव स्थायी हो और देश के लोगों के हृदयों पर हमारी फांसियों से कुछ अमिट चिन्ह अंकित हो जायें। बस यही, इससे अधिक कुछ नहीं।

आपका
भगतसिंह

पराधीनता का अहसास

"भारत में ब्रितानी शासन को दृढ़ करने में किस तरह सीमा प्रांतों या पिछड़े प्रदेशों के पोलिटिकल एजेंटों और ईसाई प्रचारकों का चोली-दामन का साथ रहा है, इसके अध्ययन के लिए असम के प्रांतों का सा क्षेत्र और न मिलेगा। यायावर प्रायः कहा करता कि देश की पराधीनता सबसे अधिक अखरती है तो एक अपने हिमालय के अंग, संसार के सबसे ऊंचे शिखर का नाम एवरेस्ट सुनकर और एक सीमा प्रदेशों में जाने के परमिट के लिए फिरंगी पोलिटिकल एजेंट के दफ्तर में जाकर"।

(अज्ञेय कृत 'अरे यायावर रहेगा याद' से)

स्वयं मिलें पुराने रोग चिकित्सालय पत्र व्यवहार करें
दमा, एक्जिमा, मृगी, गठिया तथा वातरोग, भगंदर, पेट दर्द
स्त्री/पुरुष गुप्त रोग, धातु क्षीणता, ल्यूकोरिया
सफेद दाग, सफेद बाल या बाल झरना, पुराना ज्वर
रोग विवरण सविस्तार लिखकर भेजें
डा० आर० बी० सिंह
प्राचार्य:- जी.एच. मेडिकल कालेज, गया।
मगध होमियो फार्मेसी (फोन: ५६६)
जी.टी. रोड-गया-८२३००१ (बिहार)

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nati...

Funding: Vatsva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

संस्मरण

उन्हें डाकू समझा गया !

झांसी के प्रवास-काल में आजाद का आना-जाना दतिया, बसई, खनियाधाना, भोपाल में ही हुआ; क्योंकि इन जगहों पर उन्होंने बन्दूक-पिस्तौल की निशानेबाजी की व्यवस्था कर रखी थी। वहां कुछ लोग उन्हें "ज्योतिषी पंडित" ही समझते रहे। "पंडज्जू" कहकर ही वे बुलाए जाते। महाराज खनियाधाना खलकसिंह जू देव उन्हें "किशन लाल ज्योतिषी" कह कर परिचय देते थे। आजाद ज्योतिष के बारे में कुछ भी न जानते थे। दतिया ठाकुर नाहरसिंह आजाद को ठाकुर समझते थे और यह धारणा शुरू में रहे थे कि वे शेर-बाघ के अच्छे शिकारी लेकिन बाद में उन्हें शक ने घेरा कि हो हो ये कोई इनामी डाकू सरदार हैं।

गहरी नींद में

यह संदेह हुआ उन्हें उनके मोहना के चाकर के बहकाने से। मोहना ने भरे कि "इस आदमी को आप गिरफ्त करा दें।" नाहरसिंह को उस समय की तंगी थी। आ गए मोहना के फेर अस्तु नाहरसिंह मान गया कि आजाद को पकड़वाकर इनाम लेंगे। इत्तफाक से आजाद पास सोने की मुद्रा में लेटे कुछ सोच रहे थे। योजना सुनी तो खर्राटे भरने का करने लगे ताकि नाहरसिंह समझे उनका मेहमान आजाद गहरी नींद में थोड़ी देर मोहना से खुसर-फुसर नाहरसिंह बाहर गया कहीं—शायद पुलि से सांठगांठ करने। तभी आजाद चुपच उठे। नाहरसिंह के पिस्तौल-बंदूक में जि गोलियां थीं, सब कब्जे में कीं। अ माउजर भरकर टेंट में किया।

तब तक नाहर और मोहना वापस गये। आजाद तुरन्त उठे, पानी भरा लो हाथ में पकड़ा क्योंकि उन दिनों वे पेचि से पीड़ित थे—कई कई बार शौच जाते नाहर समझा, शौच जाते होंगे। प आजाद ने आगे जाकर लोटा पटक दि खेत में, और यह जा-वह जा। रातों पैदल भागकर झांसी आ गये। दतिय तौबा की। पता चलने पर साथियों ने "हम नाहरसिंह को खत्म कर देते हैं आजाद हंसे। कहा—"किस-किस मारोगे ! जरूरी होता तो मैं ही गोलियाँ उन दोनों पर चला देता। बेकार है। यह।" कुछ देर मौन फिर कहा, "यह भी तो सोचो—पैसों कष्ट से और मुझे डाकू समझकर ऐसा निश्चय किया। आगे वह सं सकता है—तब उसे पछतावा होगा। किसी काम भी आ सकेगा।" ●

—व० वि०

गीत

जब से ये अंग्रेज आए !

जब से ये चौपट चरण आए, सफाई हो गई।
थी भलाई जो यहाँ, वह भी बुराई हो गई॥
मालपुआ, वस्मेहलुआ तरातर की जगह।
लिबलिबाती तेल की फीकी, मिठाई हो गई॥
धर्म,धन, बल, बुद्धि का, भारत सदा जो केन्द्र था।
उसकी भी औलाद अब, पूरी गदाई हो गई॥
पूर्वजों की शुद्ध परिपाटी पे ठोकर मार कर।
वेद, गीता छोड़कर इंग्लिश रटाई हो गई॥
कृष्ण, अर्जुन, भीष्म, योद्धा द्रोण की संतान के।
आंख पर ऐनक तो, चेहरे पर हवाई हो गई॥
था बड़ा गौरव उसी में, जब बगल बन्दी रहो।
अब कमीजो कालरों में नेकटाई हो गई॥
बाप जीते ही रहें, मर जाएं तो परवाह क्या।
आप बाबू बन गए, मूछें सफाई हो गई॥
पाउडर पफ मल चले हैं, रौब टपकाने मगर।
गाल में बंगाल की खाड़ी सी खाई हो गई॥
जब इन्होंने और सोचा, कुछ कमी महसूस की।
दुमकटे दो चार कुत्तों से मिताई हो गई॥
पायजामा खोलकर, पतलून का पीछा किया।
तब तरक्की धोबियां की, भी धुलाई हो गई॥
होटलों में चाय बिस्किट मिस्कियां उड़ने लगी।
रोग बढ़ कर मौत की पूरी बेवाई हो गई॥

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

न कोई व्यक्तिगत चिन्ता,
न किसी का डर
वह सच में था.

शाहों का शहंशाह!

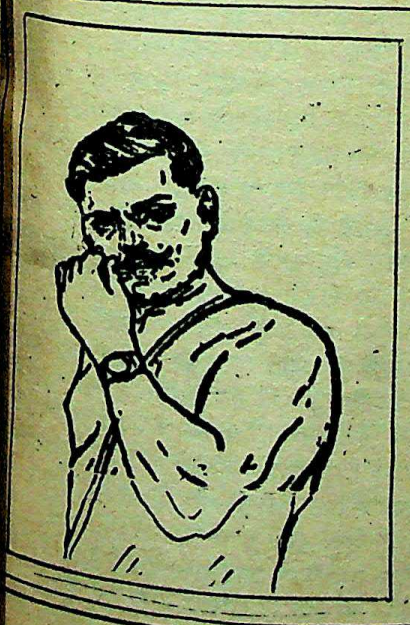
एक हवलदार कम्मोदसिंह था, जिसे आजाद को पकड़कर पुरस्कार और पदोन्नति प्राप्त करने का सब से ज्यादा भूत सवार था। जनाब मास्टर रूद्रनारायण की ही बैठक में आजाद से पंजा लड़ाते, और कहते मास्टर साहब से, "मास्साब! काश! आजाद कभी मेरे हाथ लग जाये तो पांचों उंगलियां अपनी घीं में समझो।"

'काकोरी' (उत्तर प्रदेश में लखनऊ का एक निकटवर्ती स्टेशन) में सरकारी खजाना लूटने के बाद चन्द्रशेखर आजाद फरार हो गए, पुलिस ने उनकी कई प्रांतों में खोज की लेकिन वे हाथ न आये। उनको पकड़वाने के लिए अंग्रेज सरकार ने ५ हजार रुपये का इनाम भी घोषित कर रखा था। पुलिस की सरगर्मी देखकर आजाद झांसी चले आये और 'हरिशंकर मोटर ड्राइवर' के नाम से वहां की बुन्देलखंडी कम्पनी में मोटर मैकेनिक का काम सीखने लगे। यह कंपनी झांसी के बाजार सदर में थी। फरार हालत में आजाद ने इसी कंपनी के उस्ताद सिराजुद्दीन खां और कल्लू पुरोहित से कार चलाना और मोटर मरम्मत का काम भी सीखा। आजाद के दिल में हिन्दू मुसलमान का कोई भेद न था। उनके एक विश्वस्त साथी श्री विश्वनाथ वैशम्पायन एक बार उनके घर सण्डीला (जिला हरदोई) आये तो उन्होंने मुझे आजाद का एक विलक्षण संस्मरण सुनाया।

"घी हम लायेंगे"

उन्होंने बताया कि एक बार सिराजुद्दीन खां की बेटी की शादी की तैयारी हो रही थी। कहा गया ओरछे में घी सस्ता और अच्छा मिलता है; लेकिन लाया कैसे जाय। आम रास्ते से ला नहीं सकते थे। रियासत घी लाने पर रोक थी। चुंगी वाले रास्ते पर ही रोक लेंगे। उनसे बचाकर ही लाया जा सकता था। यह बात आजाद को ज्ञात हुई तो उन्होंने उत्साहपूर्वक तुरन्त कहा, इसमें क्या मुश्किल, घी हम लायेंगे।'

पूछा गया—'आप कैसे लायेंगे? सवारी से लाया नहीं जा सकता।'



आजाद बोले—'वाह! सवारी रखी भी कहां है वहां। हम कांवर से वन के रास्ते ले आयेंगे।'

'यानी पैदल?'

'हां, और क्या? १३-१४ मील का ही तो रास्ता है, क्या इतना भी नहीं चल सकते?'

'लेकिन सिर्फ़ चलना ही तो नहीं है, १८ सेर वजन का एक-एक पीपा दोनों तरफ कांवर पर ढोना किसके कंधे की बात है और पूरे १४ मील, झांसी ओरछे से १४ मील से क्या कम होगी।' कठिनाई बताई गई जो ठीक ही थी। लेकिन आजाद के शब्दकोष में कठिनाई नाम का शब्द हो, तब न। वे नहीं माने। सोचा, गुरु की बेटी की शादी और हम इतना भी नहीं कर सकते!

गये ओरछा, रामानन्द ड्राइवर भी साथ गए। दो कांवरें, चार पीपे ले गये और ४ पीपों की कांवरों में पैदल लाकर ही रहे। उस्ताद सिराजुद्दीन खां गद्‌गद हो उठे—भला उन्हें जिन्दगी में ऐसा शागिर्द कहां मिला था! उन दिनों आजाद रामानन्द ड्राइवर के ही साथ उनके छोटे से सस्ते किराये के मकान में रहते थे। रामानन्द ड्राइवर उनका हरिशंकर नाम ही जानते थे—यह भी जानते थे कि वे फरार क्रांतिकारी हैं, लेकिन वे 'काकोरी केस' के फरार चंद्रशेखर आजाद हैं—यह उन्हें भी पता न था और सिराजुद्दीन खां को तो यह भी नहीं मालूम था कि उनसे यह जो एक नौजवान ड्राइवरी और मोटर मैकेनिक का काम सीख रहा है—वह कोई क्रांतिकारी है तथा उस पर पांच हजार रुपये का इनाम रखा गया है गिरफ्तारी के लिये।

बाद में जब आजाद २७ फरवरी सन् १९३१ को इलाहाबाद के अल्फ्रेड पार्क (अब आजाद पार्क) में गोली चलाते-चलाते आहत हुए तो उस महान बलिदानी की लाश पहचानने के लिए अंग्रेज सरकार की पुलिस सिराजुद्दीन खां को ले गई थी—इससे पूर्व पंजाब की खुफिया पुलिस को पता चला कि हरिशंकर मोटर ड्राइवर ही चंद्रशेखर आजाद हैं, तो रामानन्द ड्राइवर को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और उनसे अनेक तरह से डरा-धमका कर आजाद का पता ठिकाना पूछने की प्रक्रिया चालू रही। लेकिन रामानन्द ने आजाद की दोस्ती का असूल निभाया और स्वयं क्रांतिकारी दल में न रहते हुए भी आजाद का भेद पुलिस को नहीं दिया।

उन्होंने इतना ही कहा कि "बुन्देलखंड मोटर कंपनी में जो आदमी ड्राइवरी सीखने आया, अपना नाम 'हरिशंकर' बताता था। उसे मेरे साथ ही लगाया गया था। काम करते रहने से दोस्ती हो गई—उसी नाते उसे और उसके कुछ अतिथियों को पहाड़ों की तरफ़ सैर कराने जरूर जाना पड़ा था। वे लोग वहां कुछ समय तक टहलते रहे थे—मैं तब तक मोटर पर ही रुका रहा। लौटे तो शहर पहुंचा आया। वे लोग पहाड़ों के पीछे रुककर क्या करते रहे, नहीं जानता।"

मोहना के 'नाहरु'

वास्तव में आजाद और भगतसिंह अपने साथियों को बम का परीक्षण करने पहाड़ों की तरफ़ ले गए थे और रामानन्द ड्राइवर ही कार से उन्हें ले गया था—इसी से पुलिस ने उसे पकड़ा और तमाम देश में, क्या लाहौर, कलकत्ता और क्या हरिद्वार-रामेश्वरम्—सभी जगह रामानंद को साथ लिए हुए इस उद्देश्य से घूमती फिरी कि वह जहां

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

जब आजाद ने खुफिया पुलिस से पंजा लड़ाया

भी आजाद को देखे, फ़ौरन पहचान कर बताए। मजा यह कि दो-तीन बार इस यात्रा के बीच ही रामानंद आजाद से छिपकर मिले भी तथा उन्हें सजग किया कि किस तरह खुफिया पुलिस उनको खोज रही है। एक गरीब ड्राइवर की देश के प्रति कैसी उद्दाम भावना थी, यह स्मरणीय है। रामानन्द की पत्नी गुनार देवी ने भी उस समय आजाद की बड़ी सेवा की। जब एक बिगड़ी कार स्टार्ट करते वक्त आजाद की कलाई की हड्डी टूट गई तब मोहल्ले वालों ने गुनार देवी पर कीचड़-उछालने की भी कुचेष्टा की कि किस लिए वह एक गैर आदमी की इस लगन से तीमारदारी करती है। रामानंद का लड़का मोहना प्रायः आजाद यानी हरिशंकर को 'नाहरू' कहता था; क्योंकि एक बार एक सूदखोर आगा ने एक कर्जदार ड्राइवर को पीटने की कोशिश की तो आजाद ने उसे बुरी तरह धरती पर दे पटका था। बस मोहना तब से उन्हें 'नाहरू' कहने लगा।

ब्रह्मचारी साधु

यह उल्लेखनीय होगा कि पुलिस के लाख सिर पटकने पर भी झांसी की जनता के किसी भी वर्ग ने आजाद की कोई मुखबिरी नही की—फिर भी पुलिस की बहुत सक्रियता को परिलक्षित कर साथियों ने आजाद को झांसी से चले जाने की सलाह दी। तब वे ओरछा के निकटस्थ ढिमरपुरा में रहने लगे—इस गांव के पास से सातार नदी बहती है, नदी के पास में ही हनुमान जी का एक मंदिर अवस्थित था, वहीं आजाद कमर में मूंज की मेखला और एक लंगोटी मात्र पहनकर रम गये। झांसी से रहते समय वे धोती कुर्त्ता नितांत मोटे और मामूली कपड़े इस्तेमाल करते थे और 'ड्राइवर' कहलाते थे। ढिमरपुरा में 'ब्रह्मचारी हरिशंकर' नाम रखा। साथ ही एक पुराना कम्बल और रामचरितमानस का एक छोटे आकार का संस्करण, पूर्ण साधु वेश। थोड़े ही दिनों में किसान उन्हें बजरंगबली का पक्का भक्त समझने लगे। हनुमान मन्दिर के अहाते में दंगल का अखाड़ा था। इसी में वे नित्य प्रातः स्नान करके कसरत करते—हजार बैठकें और ५०० दण्ड पेलना उनका रोज का नियम था—फिर मुग्दर घुमाना भी न भूलते। गांव वाले कहते—'बरमचारी जू! नेक रामायण बांचौ, तो वे मन्दिर के ही चबूतरे पर आसन जमाकर किसानों को रामायण पढ़कर सुनाते। आगे इसी मन्दिर के चबूतरे पर आजाद ने गांव के गरीब किसानों के बच्चे-बच्चियों के लिए एक छोटा सा स्कूल खोला। स्कूल में बैठने-बिछाने या कुर्सी मेज का कुछ भी झंझट नहीं, बस गुरु शिष्य पृथ्वी माता की अनावृत गोद में बैठकर पठन-पाठन की प्रक्रिया पूरी करते। आजाद के इस अभिनव रूप की लोगों को कम ही जानकारी है—यह अखबारों में छपा भी कम है। वस्तुतः फरार विप्लवी के ठौर-ठिकाने का कुछ पता नहीं रहता—न वह किसी को बताता ही है—यहां तक कि आजाद ड्राइवर के रूप में जितने भी दिन झांसी में रामानन्द ड्राइवर के घर रहे, इसकी जानकारी उनके निकट के साथियों को भी नहीं हो पाई। आजाद के संदेशवाहक और अंगरक्षक क्रांतिकारी वैशम्पायन (बच्चन) मुझे बताते थे कि 'रामानन्द के यहां आजाद भैया के रहने का पता किसी क्रांतिकारी को भी नहीं था। अवश्य ही यह जानकारी हमें थी कि वे रामानंद ड्राइवर के साथ ही काम करते हैं।'

आजाद की फटकार

आजाद के दल के एक सदस्य झांसी के भगवानदास माहौर गाने में बहुत रुचि रखते थे। जब भी कोई जरा-सा मौका मिला, छेड़ दी कोई तान। एक बार वे एक गीत की प्रथम पंक्ति को अलाप रहे थे

"हृदय लागी प्रेम की बात ही निराली
मन्मथ शर हो।"

वहां दल के नेता चन्द्रशेखर आजाद भी बैठे थे। उन्हें भगवानदास का यह "प्रेम-गीत" भाया नहीं—फौरन फटकार बताई कि "अबे! क्या गा रहा है यह! भूल मत, हम क्रांतिकारी हैं, हमारे हृदय में लगेगी थी-नाट-थी रायफल की गोली, मन्मथ शर-फनमथ शर नहीं। ऐसी चीज अलाप करके क्यों साथियों का मन खराब कर रहा है।" भगवान दास चुप। साथी क्रांतिकारियों के होठों पर मन्द स्मित कौंध गई।

—डा० वीर सेन

"जे जे गुन हते वा मे"

कोई भी पकड़ धकड़ होते ही आजाद तुरन्त अपना अड्डा बदल दिया करते थे। विप्लवी के लिए यह सजगता तथा गोप्यता अपरिहार्य होती है। आजाद के संपर्क में समय झांसी में जो भी क्रांतिकारी युवक उनकी माताएं यही समझती थीं कि 'ह शंकर बहुत सीधा लड़का है और प ब्राह्मण है।' कारण साथियों के घरों में थाली में भोजन करते रहने पर भी उ यह सहभोज माताओं की पकड़ाई में आया नहीं। अलबत्ता एक दिन ज भगवानदास माहौर और सदाशिव मल्कापुरकर के साथ बैठकर एक ही में खाने में जुटे थे कि एकाएक भगवान माहौर का छोटा भाई राधासरन वहां धमका। वह रहा होगा कोई दस साल या एकाध साल कम का हो। उसने जो सबको एक ही थाली में खाते देखा चिल्लाने के लिये मुंह खोला। भगवान की माता यानी अपनी मां, जिसे वह कहता था, से शिकायत के लिए उसके मु अभी 'बा—' ही उच्चारित हो पाया था आजाद उसका मतलब भांपकर खुद ही को जोर से पुकार उठे। कहने लगे, कब से मना कर रहा हूं कि इस तरह ख गलत है लेकिन मानते ही नहीं। खाये जा रहे हैं—अरे राधासरन। दौड़कर ला माता जी को अभी।"

इस तरह मामला टल गया—आ इस सहभोज में पकड़े जाने से साफ बच राधासरन ने मां को समझाया कि (भगवानदास) और सदाशिवराव एक थाली में खा रहे थे।"—दरअसल आ का मुंह भी उस समय ग्रास से भरा लेकिन वे राधासरन को देखते ही मुंह ग्रास एक बारगी बिना चबाये ही उ कर गये क्योंकि भगवानदास की मां कट्टर सनातनी थीं। बाद में जब पता चला कि हरिशंकर ही 'आजाद' थे, सब लड़कों के नेता, तो आश्चर्य से कह 'हे भगवान! जे जे गुन हते वामे।"

झांसी में आजाद जितने दिन भी होकर रहे, उनके रहन-सहन का ढंग था कि कभी भूलकर भी पुलिस को न हुआ कि 'हरिशंकर ड्राइवर' नाम व्यक्ति है कौन? वह ड्राइवरों के ठेठ स अपनाये रहे—लुंगी लगाये रहने का उ जो चित्र आज मिलता है, वह उन्हीं का है। पुलिस इंस्पेक्टरों के साथ सिराज एण्ड कम्पनी की किसी टैक्सी में घूमते उन्हें देखा गया। पुलिस अधिकारियों से सीधे उन दिनों ड्राइविंग लाइसेंस लेना था—आजाद ने पुलिस दफ्तर से ही जा

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स्वयं वह लाइसेंस भी प्राप्त किया और उस समय वे कभी न हिचके, न झिझके। पुलिस अफसरों की आंखों में आंखें डालकर वे बात किया करते, कैसा निर्भीक व्यक्तित्व था उनका, कितना जबर्दस्त मनोबल !

झांसी के ड्राइवर रामदुलारे शर्मा, जिनके यहां आजाद रहते थे—मौका आया और सुखदेव, भगतसिंह तथा विजयकुमार सिन्हा झांसी आये, तो आजाद ने उन्हें भी रामदुलारे के यहाँ ही रखा। कितना भरोसा था आजाद को उस गरीब ड्राइवर पर, जिसके साथ वे ड्राइवरी का नाटक करते रहे। रामदुलारे यह तो जानते थे अन्दाज के तौर पर कि उसके जो नये मेहमान हैं वे भी क्रांतिकारी ही होंगे लेकिन उसे क्या पता था कि ये भगतसिंह, सुखदेव, विजयकुमार सिन्हा हैं और ये लोग 'लाहौर षड्यन्त्र केस' के फरार हैं। बाद में भगतसिंह का फोटो जब अखबारों में छपा तब रामदुलारे जान सका कि उसके मेहमान कितने महान विप्लवी थे। लेकिन क्या मजाल कि झांसी कोतवाली में बन्द किये जाने के दिनों में उससे कभी ऐसा राज पुलिस पा सकी हो जिसे आजाद न चाहते हों। यह बड़ी बात है। उस ड्राइवर पर नाज होता है।

पुलिस की जलन

जब फणीन्द्रनाथ मुखबिर बन गया और पुलिस उसे पकड़कर झांसी लाई ताकि उसकी शिनाख्त और राजदेही से अन्य क्रांतिकारी भी पकड़े जा सकें—उस समय आजाद झांसी में मौजूद थे और रामदुलारे शर्मा के यहां ही उनका अड्डा था। लेकिन ये जो पकड़ने आये थे—वे थे पंजाब पुलिस के अधिकारी। झांसी पुलिस का माथा तो ठनका और मन ही मन वे पछताये भी बहुत कि आजाद जैसा फरार क्रांतिकारी यहां रहा, उनसे पंजे लड़ाता रहा, किस्सा-गोई भी करता रहा—ड्राइविंग लाइसेंस भी ले गया, गाड़ियों पर भी ड्राइवर बनकर घुमाया और अब उसके पकड़ने का श्रेय और पुरस्कार लेने आ पहुंची पंजाब पुलिस। झांसी पुलिस की छाती पर सांप लोट गया। वे बाधक बनने की सोच बैठे। मदद की क्रांतिकारियों की। जैसे ही पंजाब पुलिस झांसी में घुसी और पता चला कि वह वहां-वहां क्रांतिकारियों की खोजबीन करेगी। छापे मारकर खाना तलाशी आदि लेगी—झांसी पुलिस ने खुफिया विभाग के हवलदार कम्मोदसिंह को दौड़ाया मास्टर रुद्रनारायण के घर कि उन्हें तत्काल खबरदार कर दो कि पंजाब पुलिस किस उद्देश्य से आई है। हालांकि यही कम्मोदसिंह था, जिसे आजाद को पकड़कर पुरस्कार और पदोन्नति प्राप्त करने का सबसे ज्यादा भूत सवार था। जनाब मास्टर रुद्रनारायण की ही बैठक में आजाद से पंजा लड़ाते, जोर आजमाइश करते और कहते मास्टर साहब से, 'मास्साब ! काश ! आजाद कभी मेरे हाथ लग जाये तो पांचों उंगलियां अपनी घी में समझो।'

मास्टर जी कहते, "हां, भाग्य आजमाओ, शायद मौका मिल जाय"—और फिर आजाद हंसते, रुद्रनारायण भी। कम्मोदसिंह शेखचिल्ली के सपनों में खोया रहता, ठीक आजाद यानी हरिशंकर ड्राइवर के बहुत निकटस्थ होकर ही। दरअसल पुलिस को शक था कि मास्टर जी क्रांतिकारियों से रब्त-जब्त (पत्राचार) रखते हैं। असहयोग आन्दोलन में जेल हो आये थे। उनके मकान के आगे बतौर निगरानी खुफिया पुलिस पहरा रखती थी—निगरानी रखने वालों में कम्मोदसिंह भी था। हालांकि एक बार मास्टर जी के घर तलाशी हो चुकी थी फिर भी आजाद का उनके यहां आना-जाना था, खाना भी वहीं खाते। कभी रहते भी। मास्टर जी पंजा लड़ाने का शौक रखते थे, आजाद भी इसमें रुचि रखने लगे। चूंकि खुफिया पुलिस वाले दरवाजे के पास बैठे रहते या मंडराते रहते तो मास्टर जी पंजा लड़ाने की दावत उन्हें भी दे देते—वे उनके कमरे में आ जमते—आजाद की वहां उपस्थिति की भला हवलदार कम्मोदसिंह व उसके साथियों को क्या खबर थी। मास्टरजी की पत्नी को आजाद 'भाभी' कहते—आजाद का उनके साथ का फोटो कहीं-कहीं अब भी मिलता है।

जीजा जी का मकान

खैर! वही कम्मोदसिंह जब मास्टर जी को यह बताने आया कि सतर्क हो जायें पंजाब पुलिस आजाद को पकड़ने आ गई है, तो उन्हें हैरत हुई। वे हड़बड़ा गये। रातोंरात आजाद को खबर की। आजाद रामदुलारे शर्मा ड्राइवर के घर रात ही को भागे लेकिन वह मिले नहीं। दोबारा तड़के चले। चिन्तित थे कि भगतसिंह, सुखदेव आदि के कुछ मैले कपड़े उसी घर में रह गये हैं—हटा दें। अभी रामदुलारे के मकान पर पहुंचे भी न थे कि रास्ते में पान की दुकान पर खड़े रामदुलारे के साले ने आजाद से कह दिया कि 'जीजा जी का मकान पुलिस ने घेर लियो है, का जानौ काहे खातिर।' आजाद साइकिल पर थे, फौरन निर्विकार मुद्रा में आगे निकल गये। गनीमत हुई कि रामदुलारे के घर तक नहीं पहुंचे। फिर सदाशिवराव मलका-

अब दीप तुम्हारे हाथों में

फांसी की सजा सुनने के बाद मुलतान जेल में बंदी अपने साथी बटुकेश्वर दत्त के नाम भगतसिंह का लिखा पत्र।

सेन्ट्रल जेल, लाहौर
नवम्बर, १९३०

प्यारे भाई,

मुझे दंड सुना दिया गया है और फांसी का आदेश हुआ है। इन कोठरियों में मेरे अतिरिक्त फांसी की प्रतीक्षा करने वाले बहुत से अपराधी हैं। ये लोग यही प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं कि किसी तरह फांसी से बच जायें, परन्तु उनके बीच शायद मैं ही एक ऐसा आदमी हूं, जो बड़ी बेताबी से उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा हूं, जब मुझे अपने आदर्श के लिए फांसी के फंदे पर झूलने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त होगा।

मैं खुशी के साथ फांसी के तख्ते पर चढ़कर दुनिया को यह दिखा दूंगा कि कि क्रांतिकारी अपने आदर्शों के लिए कितनी वीरता से बलिदान दे सकते हैं।

मुझे फांसी का दंड मिला है, किंतु तुम्हें आजीवन कारावास का दंड मिला है। तुम जीवित रहोगे और तुम्हें जीवित रहकर दुनिया को यह दिखाना है कि क्रांतिकारी अपने आदर्शों के लिए केवल मर ही नहीं सकते बल्कि जीवित रहकर हर मुसीबत का मुकाबला भी कर सकते हैं। मृत्यु सांसारिक कठिनाइयों से मुक्ति प्राप्त करने का साधन नहीं बननी चाहिए, बल्कि जो क्रांतिकारी संयोगवश फांसी के फंदे से बच गये हैं, उन्हें जीवित रहकर दुनिया को यह दिखा देना चाहिए कि वे न केवल अपने आदर्शों के लिए फांसी पर चढ़ सकते हैं, बल्कि जेलों की अंधकारपूर्ण छोटी कोठरियों में घुलघुलकर निकृष्टतम दर्जे के अत्याचारों को सहन भी कर सकते हैं।

तुम्हारा
भगतसिंह

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research

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संस्मरण

यह एक्शन जरा ध्यान से देखना..

(पृष्ठ ६१ का शेष)

लाला लाजपतराय को अंग्रेज पुलिस कप्तान स्काट तथा उसके असिस्टेंट सैंडर्स ने लाठियां चलाकर घायल कर डाला था। लालाजी थोड़े ही दिनों में संसार छोड़ गये। आजाद और भगतसिंह आदि ने तय किया कि लालाजी की हत्या राष्ट्रीय अपमान है और उसका बदला अवश्य लेना है। इसके लिए धन की अनिवार्य आवश्यकता थी। उपायों पर विचार होने लगा तो भगतसिंह ने सुझाव रखा लाहौर के पंजाब नेशनल बैंक को लूटने का। यह सुझाव आजाद ने सबकी राय से मान्य किया और बैंक में "एक्शन" करने की आयोजना की। तय हुआ, आजाद के मार्गदर्शन में भगतसिंह, महावीर सिंह (एटा), कुन्दनलाल गुप्त (प्रतापगढ़), सुखदेव, किशोरी लाल, हंसराज, राजगुरू, जयगोपाल, कैलाश शर्मा इस काम के लिए जायेंगे। सन् १९२८ का दिसम्बर महीना

• राजगुरु

था। आजाद खुद मौका देखने लाहौर गये, जहां, पंजाब नेशनल बैंक की इमारत थी। कई दफे आजाद आये—गये ताकि सब बातों की पहले ही जांच कर सकें।

एक्शन की रूपरेखा

आजाद ने एक्शन की रूपरेखा यह निश्चित की थी कि ऐन मौके पर जाकर सुखदेव बैंक के चपरासी की बंदूक उसको पिस्तौल से धमकाकर हस्तगत कर लेंगे, भगतसिंह और महावीर सिंह बैंक के अन्दर पहुंचकर जो भी लोग कर्मचारी आदि वहां मौजूद होंगे, उन्हें बाहर नहीं आने देंगे। किशोरीलाल और जयगोपाल बैंक का खजाना साथ ले जाए गए थैलों में सहेज लेंगे। हंसराज बैंक के खजांची से निपटेगा और कैलाशपति टैलीफोन आदि के तार वगैरा काट देंगे। खजाने में से सिर्फ नोट कब्जे में करने होंगे, बाकी सिक्के या जेवरात वगैरा छुवेंगे नहीं। यह अनिवार्य हिदायत थी कि बहुत जरूरत होने पर कोई फायर करेगा—व्यर्थ रक्तपात से बचने के लिए कहा गया।

जिस दिन बैंक में यह एक्शन करना था उसकी पिछली रात आजाद भगतसिंह के साथ लाहौर में एक फिल्म देखने गए। आजाद को पिक्चर देखने का कोई शौक न था वरन् वे उसे क्रांतिकारियों के लिए आपत्तिजनक ही समझते थे। अलबत्ता भगतसिंह खाने व नाश्ते के पैसे बचाकर भी फिल्म देखने में रुचि रखते थे। भगतसिंह के कहने से आज़ाद को भी साथ जाना पड़ा था। फिल्म लगी थी "राम काका की कुटिया"। यह कथा जिस पुस्तक में थी, उन दिनों वह बहुचर्चित रही थी। मैंने भी सन् '३२ में इसे पढ़ा था। उसकी कथा के अंतर्गत भी एक "बैंक एक्शन" यानी बैंक को लूटे जाने का दृश्य था। जिस वक्त फिल्म में बैंक में डाका डालने का दृश्य दिखा आजाद ने मौन संकेत करते हुए धीरे से भगतसिंह की उंगलियां अपनी मुट्ठी में दबा ली। भगतसिंह मौन देखे जा रहे थे। अतः आजाद उनके कान में फुसफुसाए—"कल हमें भी तो यही कुछ अन्जाम देना होगा, खूब गौर से यह एक्शन देखना।"

दूसरे दिन सब लोग बैंक पहुंच गये। भगतसिंह और महावीर सिंह को किराए की एक मोटर लाने भेजा गया। बैंक में सभी क्रांतिकारी मुस्तैदी से डटे थे। प्रतीक्षा थी मोटर की। बिना मोटर उतना रुपया ले जाना सम्भव न था। काफी देर बाद, शाम को भगतसिंह और महावीर सिंह निराश वापिस लौटे, मोटर न मिलनी थी न मिली। उस दिन एक्शन नहीं हो पाया। तब आड़े वक्त काम आए लाहौर की दुर्गा भाभी और उनके पति भगवतीचरण वोहरा। इस दम्पति ने घर का धन देकर पार्टी के काम को आगे बढ़ाया। स्वयं भी दल में सक्रिय थे ही वरन "मेरठ षड्यन्त्र केस" में भगवती चरण पर वारंट भी था। वे फरार थे। फिर भी स्काट को खत्म करके लाला लाजपतराय की हत्या का बदला चुकाने के लिए उन पति-पत्नी ने अपने पास से यथेष्ट आर्थिक सहयोग स्वेच्छा और प्रसन्न मन से दिया, यह मामूली बात नहीं।●

पुर कर और भगवानदास को चेताव "हे भगवान वह तेरा दादा (फणीन्द्र) आ पहुंचा यहां भी। साला....' क्रुद्ध हो उठे थे। आजाद ने उसी दिन शिवराव मलकापुरकर और भगवानदा कहा, 'घर छोड़ दो।' आजाद उन दोनों लेकर दतिया के रास्ते ग्वालियर आये। दल के एक सदस्य गजानन सदाशिव दार रहते थे—जनकगंज में। तीनों ठहरे। वैशम्पायन (बच्चन) ने मुझे क कि 'आजाद भैया ने ग्वालियर से मुझे भिजवाई थी प्रतापगढ़ कि मैं अब झां जाऊं, न घर रहूं वरन् ग्वालियर ही आ बच्चन जी भी आजाद के पास ग्वा पहुंच गये। गुप्तचरों को विश्वास जम कि ये तीनों लोग भी क्रांतिकारी दल और ड्राइवर हरिशंकर, आजाद ही हैं। शिवराव मलकापुरकर अभी भी झां ही रहते हैं—उन्हीं के हाथ से पत्र लि कर आजाद ने वैशम्पायन को झांसी न तथा ग्वालियर पहुंचने की ताकीद थी। भुसावल बमकांड में भगवान माहौर के साथ सदाशिवराव को भी आ कैद का पुरस्कार मिला था।

इस सन्दर्भ में एक बात विशेष उल्लेखनीय है कि आजाद के झांसी-आ के पूर्व से ही शचीन्द्रनाथ बख्शी व क्रांतिकारी संगठनकर्त्ता थे और बख्शीजी भगवानदास, सदाशिव, वैशम्पायन को भर्ती किया और आजाद को बख्शीजी झांसी में ड्राइवरी आदि के बहाने का प्रबन्ध किया—मुझे स्वयं भगवान माहौर तथा बच्चन ने बख्शीजी से यह तथ्य बताया था।

भगवानदास बताते थे खूनी पेचिश रहते आजाद एक दिन पूरे २५ मील पैदल दाहिनी कलाई की हड्डी टूट जाने से में पहले जैसी शक्ति नहीं रह गई थी, भी खुफिया 'चीफ' कम्मोदसिंह, मा० नारायण के कमरे में पंजा लड़ाकर जब को हरा देता तो आजाद खुद चीफ से जाते और उसका पंजा मरोड़कर ही मा कोई उन्हें मना करता तो कहते चीफ भाई को पछाड़ दे, यह मैं देख नहीं स हवलदार कम्मोदसिंह खिसियाकर रह आजाद बेझिझक जो मन में आता क नहीं चूकते।

उस जमाने में दो आने में एक सेर दूध मिल जाता था, बहुत हुआ तो एक गरम दूध चढ़ाकर सो जाते। फिर उ खाना छोड़ देते थे।●

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सत्तावनी क्रान्ति से ८४ वर्ष पहले

आजादी की देवी को पहला रक्त अर्घ्य

क्या कोई ऐसा भी प्रमाण है कि कि सन् १८५७ की क्रांति के भी काफी पहले अंग्रेजों की सेना में कोई माँ का सपूत भारतीय सिपाही क्रांतिकारी बना था ? इसके उत्तर में अभी तक प्रायः अज्ञात एक महान शहीद की साक्षी प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं--डा० वीरसेन

अविभाजित बंगाल का सिराजगंज । उसके समीप बारीपुर का नाला बहता है । ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के फौजी गोरे देर से उस जंगल में जाने क्या ढूंढ रहे थे कि तभी उन्होंने देखा कि नाले की तेज धारा में एक फौजी टोप बहता जा रहा है । उन दिनों भारत में वैसे टोप या हैट गोरे अफसर ही पहनते थे । अंग्रेज ठिठक रहे।

उनके हुक्म से कुछ सिपाही नाले में उतरे तथा खोजा कि शायद कहीं और भी कोई निशान मिल जाय मगर और तो नहीं, मिला सिर्फ एक फौजी गोरे अफसर का हैट । गोरों ने पहचाना, यह कैप्टन टिमोथी का टोप था । लेकिन साहब गया कहां, कुछ पता नहीं । युद्ध हुए कई दिन गुजर रहे थे । तभी से कैप्टन टिमोथी, सार्जेंट मेजर डगलस को ढूंढा जा रहा था । बहुत खोजने पर मेजर डगलस की लाश मिली । खून और कीचड़ में लथपथ । तलवार और भाले से ही उन्हें मारा गया था । यह लाश थी ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के सेनानायक की । बड़ा नाज और भरोसा था कंपनी को अपने इस गोरे अफसर की बहादुरी पर लेकिन विप्लवी संन्यासियों ने सम्मुख समर में सिर्फ भालों, तीरों और तलवार के बूते मैदान मार लिया । गोरे न केवल परास्त हुए, वरन मारे गये और जो बचे, उन्हें भागने और जान बचाने के लाले पड़ गये ।

एक तरफ गोरों की तोपें, बंदूकें, रिवाल्वर और बम थे, दूसरी तरफ घुड़सवार विप्लवी वीर संन्यासी । घोड़ों, बैलगाड़ियों पर ये चलते थे । तीर-तलवारों-भालों-देसी बंदूकों और कुछ तोपों का भी सहारा इन्हें था । वे सब अपना घरबार तजकर दासता और दमन से जूझने निकल पड़े थे । देश को ही उन्होंने एक मात्र अंतिम देवता मानकर अपना सब कुछ उसी के चरणों में होम दिया था । चार-चार, छह-छह हजार के गिरोहों में वे कम्पनी की फौज पर छापा मारते, काटते-पीटते और उनके पिट्ठुओं को लूटकर फिर से घने जंगलों-पहाड़ों में लुप्त हो जाते थे । गोरे बहुत त्रस्त थे इन संन्यासी क्रांतिकारियों के क्रिया-कलापों से । कई संन्यासी दलों के पास देसी बंदूकें और छोटी तोपें भी थीं ।

कम्पनी इन दिनों (सन् १७७३) गांवों में जमींदार बना रही थी, विरोधी विद्रोही राजे-रजवाड़ों को निर्मूल कर रही थी, क्योंकि वे ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी की न तो गुलामी करने को तैयार थे, न उसके इशारों पर नाचकर इस देश में उनकी जड़ जमाने को ही राजी हो सके । अतः कंपनी ने उनकी जागीरें जब्त करके अपने पिट्ठू नये-नये सरगना खड़े किये । उन्हें जमीनें ही नहीं पूरे-पूरे गांवों की मालगुजारी वसूलने के हक दिये । विप्लवी संन्यासी इन जमींदारों और नवाबों से कर वसूल कर आगे बढ़ जाते थे, न देने पर लूट लेते थे । कंपनी के लिए यह बहुत बड़ा सिरदर्द बन बैठा था । पूरे बंगाल, बिहार, मध्य भारत और उत्तर भारत तक इन संन्यासियों का संगठन विप्लव-मंत्र गुंजाता घूम रहा था । इनमें मुसलमान, सूफी फकीर भी शामिल थे । भवानी पाठक, देवी चौधरानी, रानी भवानी, हनुमंतगिरि, जरवालगिरि, दरयानगिरी, मोतीगिरी, संन्यासी दर्पदेव, मूसा शाह, मजनू शाह, गोवर्द्धन दिकपति, अचलसिंह, बदितेद्दीन मदार, नरहरि चौधरी अपने सशस्त्र दलों के साथ गोरी फौजों को नाकों चने चबवाते घूमते रहे ।

मिदनापुर, वीरभूम, विष्णुपुर, घाटशीला, नयाग्राम, बांकुड़ा, लालगढ़, मयना, रामगढ़, झाड़ग्राम, काशीजोड़ा, जामिरपाल, कल्याण-पुर, बलरामपुर, विन्दग्राम, श्रीहट्ट, खड़गपुर, बुधग्राम, बर्दवान, ढाका, लश्करपुर, रामपुर, बोआलिया, पटना, रंगपुर, दिनाजपुर, पूर्णिया, जाफरगंज, कूच बिहार, बहरामपुर, दानापुर, जलपाईगुड़ी, जामबुनी, बगुड़ा, शिवगंज, चिलमारी, मैमनसिंह, जमालपुर, जाफरशाही, मधुपुर, मुक्तागाच्छा, अतिया, खीरपाई, पाकुल्ला, मिर्जापुर, घाटाला कंचनपुर, पथरघाटा, गोविंदागंज, नारायणगढ़, तमलुक, जलेश्वर, आनन्दपुर, मानभूम, बगड़ी, गनगनी, गढ़बेता आदि अनेक नगरों-गांवों में गोरों से विप्लवी संन्यासी सेना से जमकर युद्ध हुए जिनमें गोरों की तरफ से कैप्टन एडवर्ड, मेजर डगलस, कैप्टन टिमोथी, कैप्टन टामस, लेफ्टिनेंट कीथ, मि० बोनट विप्लवी संन्यासियों के हाथों मारे गये । कैप्टन मार्टिन ह्वाईट, कंपनी एजेंट मि० केली, लेफ्टिनेंट मारिसन, कैप्टन रेनेल, मि० रिचर्ड, कैप्टन डी० मैकेंजी, कैप्टन नूडसन, मि० केलसाल, कैप्टन जोन्स, कैप्टन स्टुअर्ट मि० विलियम्स, मि० जूलियस मीहाफ आदि अंग्रेज अफसरों को संन्यासियों ने क्रांतिकारी युद्धों से छठी का दूध याद दिला दिया । इनमें रामपुर बोआलिया कोठी के अंग्रेज अफसर मि० बोनट को गिरफ्तार करके संन्यासी दल ने पटना भिजवा दिया था जहां उन्हें समाप्त कर दिया गया । ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी की ढाका में जो कोठी थी उस पर विप्लवी संन्यासियों का ही

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ध्वज फहराता था। कैप्टन रेनेल और रिचर्ड को संन्यासी दल ने युद्ध में घातक रूप से घायल किया। लेफ्टिनेंट मारिसन, कैप्टन एडवर्ड को आमने-सामने की लड़ाई में संन्यासी दल ने धूल चटाई। कैप्टन टिमोथी इसी सेना में था जिसकी लाश तो नहीं मिली लेकिन गोरों को उसका विलायती हैट बहते नाले में मिला। यह पानी से तरबतर हैट इस बात की निशानी थी कि विप्लवी संन्यासी दल ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के अंग्रेज सेनाधिकारियों के किस तरह छक्के छुड़ा रहे हैं और किस तरह उनके अन्याय, अत्याचारों का मुंहतोड़ जवाब अपने शौर्य, संगठन और आमने-सामने के संग्राम में दे रहे हैं।

सरल सच्चे विप्लवी

घटना यों घटी थी कि सन् १७७३ की जनवरी के प्रथम सप्ताह में बंगाल स्थित बगुड़ा जिले के अंग्रेज कलक्टर मि० हाच को खबर लगी कि संन्यासी दल ने दिन-दहाड़े छापा मारकर चौगांव क्षेत्र के जमींदार के सरिश्तेदार को पकड़ लिया है। ये तीन हजार संन्यासी उस आदमी को बंदी बनाकर शेरपुर में डेरा डालकर बैठ गये। शेरपुर-बगुड़ा के बीच छह कोस का फासला है। जल्दी ही दो हजार सशस्त्र संन्यासी और भी उनसे जाकर मिल गये। इनके साथ सैकडों घोड़े थे और ८० बैलगाड़ियों पर छोटी तोपें, देसी बंदूकें, तलवारें, बर्छे, भाले आदि

"क्रांतिकारी इतिहास के उस आदि युग का यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय है। जो गोरे प्राणभय से भागकर इतस्ततः जंगल में लुप्त हो गये थे, किसानों ने टोह लेकर उन्हें विप्लवी संन्यासियों के हवाले किया और जो भी अंग्रेज या भारतीय सैनिक गाँवों में दिखा, उसे भी उन्होंने संन्यासी दल के सुपुर्द किया। उनकी बन्दूकें रखवा लीं। कैसा साहस था, कैसा उत्साह! वे किसान अपढ़ ही थे किन्तु शत्रु-मित्र की परख थी उन्हें और देश की दासता के प्रति सजग थे।"

शस्त्रास्त्र भरे थे। ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के जो सिपाही जिले में तैनात थे उनकी तलब न थी कि वे इन पांच हजार संन्यासियों का सामना करें। इसलिए ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के अफसरों ने अपने अधीनस्थ जमींदारों के पक्ष में आदमी भेजकर संन्यासियों से ज्ञात किया कि किस शर्त पर वे सरिश्तेदार, जिसे "नायब" कहते थे, रिहा करेंगे?" यह बात उसी साल (सन् १७७३) की ८ जनवरी की है। संन्यासी दल ने कहा, "जो लगान जमींदार ने गांवों का वसूला है वह हमारे हवाले कर दो तो हम नायब को छोड़कर आगे चले जायेंगे।" कंपनी के हाकिम राजी हो गये। जमींदार ने नकद चांदी के १२०० रुपए सरकारी कोषागार से निकलवा कर संन्यासी दल की नजर किये।

कितने सरल-सच्चे थे ये विप्लवी दल। कोई रक्तपात नहीं, जनता को उन्होंने छुआ तक नहीं, किसी गांव वाले को सताया नहीं। नायब को गिरफ्तार करके ठहर गये ताकि सरकारी लगान वे जमींदार से वसूल सकें। जनता से कोई झगड़ा नहीं। मान्यता उनकी यही है कि कंपनी का नियुक्त किया गया जमींदार गांवों का लगान क्योंकि वसूलता है, उसे हक क्या? और अंग्रेज आका कैसे बन गया?

यह वारेन हेस्टिंग्ज का जमाना था। रोज उसे जिले-जिले से कंपनी के गोरे कलेक्टर पत्र पठाते थे कि "पूरे बंगाल-बिहार में संन्यासी दल कंपनी की सत्ता को चुनौती देते घूम रहे हैं और हम असहाय हो गये हैं। सभी जिलों में इन विप्लवी संन्यासियों का आतंक कंपनी की अमलदारी पर हावी है। कंपनी के आदमी भयभीत हैं।"

"आनन्द मठ" और "वन्देमातरम्"

वारेन हेस्टिंग्स ने कंपनी से और कुमुक उन क्षेत्रों में संन्यासियों के मुकाबले के लिए भेजी। उधर लगान के रूपए पाकर संन्यासी दल शिवगंज उतर गया। हेस्टिंग्स के आदेशानुसार कैप्टन एडवर्ड तीन कंपनी सेना सजाकर जब रंगपुर जिले तक पहुंचा तो उसे पता चला कि कोई संन्यासी दल चिलमारी के जमींदार सहित तीन आदमी कैद करके मधुपुर के वन में ठहरा हुआ है। इस दल ने १३०० रुपए उनसे मालगुजारी के प्राप्त किये तथा उससे उसी जंगल में एक विशाल मंदिर की नींव डाली। दूसरी तरफ से कैप्टन स्टुअर्ट और कैप्टन जोन्स गंगा नदी के रास्ते शिवगंज की तरफ बढ़े। खबर लगी कि ६ हजार संन्यासी लेकर वैरागी मोती गिरि मैमनसिंह पहुंच रहा है, वहीं वैरागी दरियानगिरि की संन्यासी सेना भी पड़ाव डाले हैं। २० जनवरी को जाफरशाही क्षेत्र के जमींदार से संन्यासियों ने १६०० रुपए मालगुजारी के बतौर प्राप्त किये। दरियानगिरि के साथ पांच हजार संन्यासी थे। अगर इस कार्य को विप्लव न मानकर सिर्फ लूट की घटना करार देना हो तो प्रश्न उठेगा कि पांच हजार संन्यासी इतना परिश्रम करके पचीसों मील की यात्रा का कष्ट उठाकर केवल १६०० रुपए की वसूली के लिए और वह भी एक जमींदार तक ही क्यों सीमित रहेंगे, खासकर जबकि वह जमींदार अंग्रेजों का फरमाबरदार है? लूट का ही उद्देश्य हो तो इस जमींदार के परिवार से लाखों रुपए की धन-संपत्ति, जेवर आदि को न लूटते? लेकिन अंग्रेजों के तत्कालीन किसी भी दस्तावेज से ऐसे प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं। यह भारत की उस विप्लव प्रचेष्टा की श्रृंखला का कितना गौरवास्पद प्रसंग है जो सिद्ध करता है कि वे विप्लवी संन्यासी, जिन्हें आधार बनाकर बंकिमचन्द्र चटर्जी ने "आनन्द मठ" जैसा सर्व प्रसिद्ध और देशभक्तों के लिए प्रेरणास्पद उपन्यास लिखा, "देवी चौधरानी" लिखा और जिस क्रांति से "वंदे मातरम्" जन्मा उस क्रांति के पुरोधा भगवावेषी क्रांतिकारी कितने ऊंचे चरित्र के थे। धन के लिए गांव की स्त्रियों को कभी हाथ नहीं लगाया। गांवों में रात्रि भी व्यतीत नहीं की, जंगलों में ही रैन बसेरा करने वाले वे देशभक्त संतानें माता के मंदिर भी उन जंगलों-बीहड़ों में ही बनाती थीं और उनसे स्वतंत्रता-सूर्य की, तदर्थ सर्वस्व समर्पण की प्रेरणा ग्रहण करती थीं। आगे जब बंगाल में अरविंद घोष, भगिनी निवेदिता, सखाराम गणेश देउस्कर, बारीन्द्र घोष ने गांव-गांव "आनन्द मठ" की शाखाएं-प्रशाखाएं कायम कीं वहां भी उन आदि विप्लवी संन्यासियों का ही आदर्श मूर्त हुआ। कच्चे फर्श पर मिट्टी की एक अनगढ़ मातृ-प्रतिमा बनाकर उसके चरणों में उन नव विप्लवियों ने केवल जवाकुसुम ही नहीं चढ़ाये वरन समर्पित कर दिये अपने ऊर्जस्वित युवा जीवन। जीवन का सुख-सौभाग्य अर्पण सपने सब उन "आनन्द मठों" की उस मृण्मय मूर्ति को "मां" कहकर जिस सहजता से वे अर्पण कर सके उस जीवन-दर्शन की ठीक से विवेचना इतिहास में अभी हुई नहीं। अनेक क्रांतिकारियों ने तो अपने नाम "आनन्द मठ" के आधार पर रख लिये थे। उस आदि विप्लवी चरित्र को पूर्वाग्रह से मुक्त-मन हो समझने की जरूरत आज भी है और आगे भी रहेगी। दिखाई देता है केवल बंगाल-बिहार ही नहीं, पंजाब, राजस्थान, संयुक्त प्रांत, तमिलनाडु, आंध्र, दिल्ली आदि सब प्रदेशों में उन संन्यासी दलों की प्रेरणा और आदर्श क्रांतिकारी काफिलों को अनुप्राणित

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और प्रेरित करते रहे हैं। कारण-लगभग सभी क्रांतिकारी दल बंकिम-चन्द्र का "आनन्द मठ" पढ़ने का चाव रखते थे। इस उपन्यास को अंग्रेज सरकार ने जब्त कर रखा था। संन्यासी विप्लव किंवा उन क्रांतिकारियों को आधार मैं यों मानता हूं क्योंकि विप्लवी चरित्र, फिर चाहे वह खुदीराम बोस हों या कन्हाई लाल, राजस्थान के प्रतापसिंह बारहठ हों या पंजाब के करतारसिंह सराबा या भगतसिंह, महाराष्ट्र के वासुदेव फड़के हों, चाफेकर बंधु हों या अनन्तकान्हेरे, आंध्र-तमिलनाडु के राम राजू हों या मद्रास के वंची अय्यर—इन सभी शहीद सपूतों का आदर्श इस प्रवृत्ति से ओतप्रोत रहा कि देश को अपना सब कुछ देना ही देना है, प्रतिदान में लेना कुछ नहीं। भरी जवानी में ऐहिक सुखोप-भोग तथा इच्छाओं आकांक्षाओं को आग लगाकर बलि पथ पर अग्रसर होना बिना निर्वेद के संभव नहीं। वेदांत और गीता के सारतत्व को तरुण जीवन में इस तरह धक्-धक् जलते हुए चरितार्थ करने की परम्परा, पंक्ति दर पंक्ति उन क्रांतिकारी दलों में मिलती है। यही कारण है कि बंगाल के विप्लवी जनों के घर से पुलिस को तलाशी में जहां बम बनाने का नुस्खा प्राप्त होता था वहीं वेदांत-दर्शन की पोथी भी हाथ लगती थी। तब अंग्रेज खुफिया पुलिस अधिकारी बयान देते थे कि क्रांतिकारी सरकार को धोखा देने के लिए वेदांत और गीता की पुस्तकें रखते हैं तरन्तु यह अंग्रेजों का केवल भ्रम था। वे स्वयं धोखे में थे।

"आमि वज्रधारिते"

दरअसल क्रांतिकारियों के इस जीवन दर्शन को, निर्वेद को, निष्काम त्याग भावना को सभक्त मानना उनके लिए क्या, हमारे देश के बड़े सयाने सभक्तकार लोगों के लिए भी कठिन ही रहा है। विप्लवी गाते थे :—

"आमि मरण आजि वरण करिब
शरण तबु ना चाइ,
आमि नयन आजि के दमन करेछि
अश्रु ताहाते नाइ।
शत वेदना आभार कामना आजि के
लांछना सुखे बहबि,
तबु शरण कभुना भागिब
.....
आमि वज्र धारिते चाई
झंझा-प्रलय-लय।

अर्थात

—"मैं आज मृत्यु को कंठ लगाऊंगा, आश्रय मुझे नहीं चाहिए। आज आंखों का मैंने दमन कर रखा है। उनमें अश्रु नहीं हैं। सौ-सौ वेदनाओं की मैं आज कामना करता हूं—लांछना भी सुख से सह लूंगा किंतु तब भी शरण नहीं मांगूंगा।

मुझे वज्र धारण करने की आकांक्षा है, उन्चास पवनों वाले सुलभ झंझा से मैंने रिश्ता जोड़ लिया है।"

यह बंगला कविता जिसकी है उसका नाम अज्ञात है। इसे युगांतर अखबार ने उस समय छापा था जब बंग-भग आंदोलन के दिनों में "मानिकतला बम केस" का मुकदमा अरविंद घोष, बारीन्द्र घोष, हेमचन्द्र, उपेंद्र, उल्लासकर दत्त आदि पर चल रहा था। यह कविता बताती है, संन्यासी क्रांति के बाद के क्रांतिकारी भी किस 'फिलासफी' से उत्प्रेरित, प्रभावित थे और वे कहां से जीवनी-शक्ति ग्रहण करते थे। क्या था उनका प्रेरणा-स्रोत ?

आज चतुर्दिक जो अकर्मण्यता, पलायन और नैराश्य की स्थिति छाई दिखती है तो 'आदि विप्लवी' वे संन्यासी बरबस जैसे मेघ दलों को चीरकर स्मृति के क्षितिज पटल पर आ खड़े होते हैं और हृदय पुकार उठता है "संन्यासी ! तुम कहां हो ? हे जीवनव्रती योगी ! तुम कहां मिलोगे," अस्तु।

१७७३ की जिस घटना का उल्लेख मैं यहां कर रहा हूं उसके पूर्व सन् १७७२ के दिसम्बर महीने में भी संन्यासी दल ने रंगपुर जिले में भवानीगंज की कचहरी लूट ली थी। इसके बाद कैप्टन टामस की सेना तथा विप्लवी संन्यासियों में श्यामगंज में संग्राम हुआ।

इस युद्ध में गोरों की फौज में जो भारतीय सिपाही थे उनकी सहानुभूति संन्यासियों के साथ इस सीमा तक थी कि जब गोरों ने कहा—"बागियों पर तोप दागो" तो हिंदू तोपचियों ने स्पष्ट अवज्ञा कर दी। गोले छोड़ने से मुकर गये। यही नहीं, गांव के किसान भी जो हथियार उनके हाथ लगा लेकर, फौज से भिड़ गये। संन्यासी दल का साथ दिया। क्रांतिकारी इतिहास के उस आदि युग का यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय है। जो गोरे प्राणभय से भागकर इतस्ततः जंगल में लुप्त हो गये थे, किसानों ने टोह ने लेकर उन्हें विप्लवी संन्यासियों के हवाले किया और जो भी अंग्रेज या भारतीय सैनिक गांवों में दिखा, उसे भी उन्होंने संन्यासी दल के सुपुर्द किया। उनकी बंदूकें रखवा लीं। कैसा साहस था, कैसा उत्साह ! वे किसान अपढ़ ही थे किंतु शत्रु-मित्र की परख थी उन्हें और देश की दासता के प्रति वे सजग थे।

विजयी संन्यासी

इस संग्राम में गोरे हारे। उनका मुखिया कैप्टन टामस संन्यासी दल के हाथों मारा गया। वारेन हेस्टिंग्स को इस हार ने बौखला दिया। उसने बिहार से संन्यासियों के विरुद्ध नई सेना भेजी परन्तु अगले संग्राम में भी संन्यासी विप्लवी विजयी रहे, गोरों ने मुंह की खाई। हार पर हार। संन्यासी आगे बढ़े।

जनवरी के आखिर में ३५०० संन्यासियों ने जरवालगिरि के नेतृत्व में अलामसिंह क्षेत्र में धावा बोला, अंग्रेजों के फरमाबरदार रमाप्रसादराय और उनके सरिश्तेदार किकर सरकार ने मालगुजारी नहीं दी तो उनके मकान से वह धनराशि संन्यासियों ने लूटकर कब्जे में की, परन्तु गहने नहीं छुवे। न किसी को मारा।

हेस्टिंग्स को रोज की रोज खबर मिल रही थी। वह हतप्रभ था। आखिर उसने कैप्टन एडवर्ड को आज्ञा दी कि "संन्यासी दल विपुल है उससे टकराना घातक है। लौट आओ। उसने यह भी लिखा कि "पलटन के हिन्दुस्तानी सैनिक विश्वास के काबिल नहीं रह गये हैं। वे बागियों से मिल गये हैं या आगे मिल सकते हैं।" लेकिन संन्यासी भी कच्ची गोली नहीं खेले थे, व्यूह-रचना करके उन्होंने चारो तरफ से कैप्टन एडवर्ड मेजर डगलस और कैप्टन टिमोथी को दबा रखा था। गोरे उनका घेरा तोड़ नहीं सके और संन्यासी उन्हें ढकेलते गये। फलतः एडवर्ड और डगलस अपनी एक टुकड़ी लेकर जिधर राह मिली, भाग चले। सेना से हट गये। संन्यासियों ने उनका पीछा किया, ललकारा। किंतु वाह रे विप्लवी वीर ! भागते जा रहे हैं। एक संन्यासी ने फेंककर भाला चलाया, मेजर डगलस ढेर हो गया। तब तक एक संन्यासी ने उसे खड्ग से काट डाला। वे कैप्टन टिमोथी को पकड़कर जिंदा ही खींच ले गये। हेस्टिंग्ज का अन्दाज ठीक ही निकला कि गोरी फौज भारी संन्यासी दलों से इस मोर्चे पर पेश नहीं पा सकती थी। परन्तु संन्यासियों के आक्रामक दस्ते इतने हावी हो गये कि डगलस, टिमोथी सरीखे उच्च सैन्य अधिकारी भागकर भी न बच सके। उसी कैप्टन टिमोथी का विलायती टोप नाले से बाद में बरामद किया गया था।

रक्त का अर्घ्य-दान

ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी की यह शर्मनाक पराजय जब वारेन हेस्टिंग्ज को विदित हुई तो वह चिढ़ गया और चूंकि मिदनापुर की इस पलटन में नायक सूबेदार जयराम भी लड़ाई में शामिल था, अतः सारा गुस्सा हेस्टिंग्सने इसी पर उतार दिया। उसने गोरे कलेक्टर को लिखा—"जयराम को फौरन पकड़कर जनरल के हवाले कर दो।" →

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nation

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

जयराम चौदहवीं बटालियन का नायक सूबेदार था। मिदनापुर के अंग्रेज कलेक्टर कैप्टन फारवेस ने उसे पकड़ मंगाया और जनरल सुपुर्द कर दिया। फौजी अदालत बैठी। जयराम की बंदूक रखवा ली गई। बेल्ट उतरवा ली गई। सख्त पहरे में उसको कोर्ट मार्शल का हुक्म हुआ। उस पर आरोप लगाया गया कि "वह संन्यासी दलों से मिल गया है और कंपनी की सेना की हार का खास जिम्मेवार है।" जयराम को तोप के मुंह से बांध दिया गया। गोला दगा और मांस व रक्त के लोथड़े आकाश में बिखर गये। आजादी के लिए किसी भारतीय सैनिक द्वारा अपने रक्त का शायद यह प्रथम अर्घ्य था।

अत्याचारी अंग्रेजों सुनो !

लेमिंग्टन गोली-काण्ड के बाद बाबा पृथ्वीसिंह का बयान

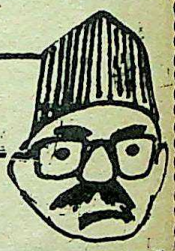
"हिन्द की जनता पर अत्याचार करने वाले अंग्रेजों, सुनो ! आँखों पर से जाला उतारकर देखो, कानों के पर्दे खोलकर सुनो, सही दिमाग से सोचो, असलियत को पहचानो और इन्सानियत की राह पर चलना सीखो। सन् १९०९ में वीर मदनलाल धींगरा ने पिस्तौल के जोर से तुम्हारी हुकूमत को चौकन्ना किया था। सन् १९१२ में वतन के प्यारों ने बम के धड़ाके से दिल्ली के "शाही जश्न" के समय तुम्हारे कानों के पर्दों को हटाकर इन्कलाब पसन्दों की पुकार सुनाई थी। जब इन्कलाब पसन्दों ने देखा कि तुम्हारी आंखों पर चर्बी चढ़ी है, तो सन् १९१५ में उन्होंने फैसला किया कि तुम्हें और तुम्हारी हुकूमत को बरबाद करने के सिवाय और कोई चारा नहीं। वे असफल हुये। फिर से सन् १९२९ में भगतसिंह और उनके साथी बटुकेश्वर दत्त ने दिल्ली की असेम्बली में बम के धड़ाके से ललकारा कि अंग्रेजों होश में आ जाओ। भगतसिंह और उनके साथियों को फांसी पर लटकाने के मन्सूबे जाहिर कर तुमने हिंद के नौजवानों को चैलेंज दिया है। इसे हम स्वीकार करते हैं। आज लैमिंग्टन पुलिस स्टेशन पर पिस्तौल से फुलझड़ी बरसाकर हमने यह बताने की कोशिश की है कि जुल्म' औ सितम के बल से हिन्द में राज्य चलाना तुम्हारे लिए मौत के साथ खेलने के बराबर होगा। आज हम इस बात का सबूत पेश कर रहे हैं कि हिन्द के युवक और युवतियाँ तुम्हारे साथ खून की होली खेलने के लिए तैयार खड़े हैं। हमने हथियारों के बल से खुले आम रास्ते पर तुम्हारी हथियारबन्द पुलिस को पीटा है, और ललकार कर कह दिया है कि अगर तुममें हिम्मत है तो मुकाबले में आकर बतलाओ। देश से प्यार करने वाले सभी युवक हमारे सहायक बनकर खड़े होंगे। एक समय था जबकि हिन्द के कुछ भोले-भाले लोग हुकूमत के खिलाफत बगावत करने वालों को देशद्रोही समझते थे। आज अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के चाकर और दलाल क्या यह नहीं देख रहे हैं कि जनता की नजर में वही देशद्रोही हैं जिनके दिल में देश का प्यार नहीं है।

मैंने अपने वतन से प्यार किया था और तुम्हारी जालिम हुकूमत ने फांसी के तख्ते पर लटकाना चाहा था। देश की जनता ने मुझे मौत के मुंह से बचाया था और मैंने अपनी शक्ति के बल से तुम्हारे सब बन्धनों को तोड़कर मुक्ति पाई। वतन को प्यार करने वालों ने जिस प्रकार से मुझे अपनी आंखों की पुतली बनाकर हर आफत से बचाकर रखा है उसी प्रकार मुझे सुरक्षित रखेंगे। आज मुझे अगर कहीं जालिम हुकूमत की पुलिस से टकराना पड़ा तो मैं यह यकीनन कह सकता हूं कि पुलिस मुझे न पा सकेगी। मेरी चिट्ठी ही उसके हाथ आएगी।

जिस तरह से हम आज सड़कों पर निकले हैं, इसी तरह देश के युवक और युवतियां सड़कों पर व मैदानों में तब तक निकलते रहेंगे जब तक कि तुम्हारी इस जालिम हुकूमत का नामोनिशान न मिटा दिया जायेगा।"

ह०— पृथ्वी सिंह

गुलाम की जिन्दगी



नौकरी हम पर फिदा, और हम फिदाये नौकरी।
मरते दम तक भी न होगी इन्तहाये नौकरी ॥
हम गुलामों की भी कोई, जिन्दगी है जिन्दगी।
जिनकी रग-रग में भरी होवे बलाये नौकरी।
माँगते ही रह गये अल्लाह से हम यह दुआ ॥
दम निकल जाए भले, पर छुट न जाए नौकरी ॥
फिर भी किस्मत ने न मानी दे गई धोखा मुझे।
कर रहे हैं बैठे ठाले घर में हाय नौकरी ॥

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

होली के दिन

खून के छींटे

घर से फरार होकर भगतसिंह कानपुर पहुंचे और गणेश शंकर 'विद्यार्थी' द्वारा संपादित-प्रकाशित साप्ताहिक "प्रताप" के संपादकमंडल में काम करते हुए क्रांतिकारी दल के कार्य करने लगे। उन्हीं दिनों उन्होंने १५ मार्च, १९२६ के "प्रताप" में "पंजाबी युवक" के नाम से 'बबर अकाली आंदोलन' के शहीदों पर यह लेख लिखा।

होली के दिन—२७ फरवरी, १९२६ के दिन, जब हम लोग खेलकूद में व्यस्त हो रहे थे, उसी समय इस विशाल प्रदेश के एक कोने में एक भीषण काण्ड किया जा रहा था। सुनोगे तो सिहर उठोगे! कांप उठोगे!! लाहौर सेंट्रल जेल में ठीक उसी दिन छह बबर अकाली वीर फांसी पर लटका दिये गये। श्री किशन सिंह जी गड़गज्ज, श्री संतासिंह जी, श्री दिलीपसिंह जी, श्री नन्दसिंह जी, श्री करमसिंह जी व श्री धरमसिंह जी लगभग दो वर्ष से अपने इसी अभियोग में जो उपेक्षा, जो लापरवाही दिखा रहे थे, उसी से जाना जा सकता था कि वे इस दिन की प्रतीक्षा कितने चाव से करते थे। महीनों बाद जज महोदय ने फैसला सुनाया। पांच को फांसी, बहुतों को काला पानी अथवा देश-निकाला और लम्बी-लम्बी कैदें। अभियुक्त वीर गरज उठे। उन्होंने आकाश को अपने जयघोषों से गुंजायमान कर दिया। अपील हुई। पांच की जगह छह मृत्युदण्ड के भागी बने। उस दिन समाचार पढ़ा कि दया के लिए अपील भेजी गई है, पंजाब सचिव ने घोषणा की कि अभी फांसी नहीं दी जायेगी।

प्रतीक्षा थी, परन्तु एकाएक क्या देखते हैं कि होली के दिन शोक-ग्रस्त लोगों का एक छोटा समूह उन वीरों के शवों को श्मशान में लिए जा रहा है। चुपचाप उनकी अन्त्येष्टि-क्रिया समाप्त हो गई।

इनकी पूजा हो

नगर में वही धूम थी। आने-जाने वालों पर उसी प्रकार रंग डाला जा रहा था। कैसी भीषण उपेक्षा थी! यदि वे पथभ्रष्ट थे तो होने दो; उन्मत्त थे, तो होने दो। वे निर्भीक देशभक्त तो थे। उन्होंने जो कुछ किया था, इस अभागे देश के ही लिए तो किया था। वे अन्याय न सहन कर सके, देश की पतित अवस्था को न देख सके, निर्बलों पर ढाये जाने वाले अत्याचार उनके लिए असह्य हो उठे, आम जनता का शोषण वह बर्दाश्त न कर सके, उन्होंने ललकारा और वे कूद पड़े कर्मक्षेत्र में। वे सजीव थे, वे देव-सदृश थे। कर्मक्षेत्र की भीषणता! धन्य है तू!! मृत्यु के पश्चात् मित्र-शत्रु सब समान हो जाते हैं, यह आदर्श है पुरुषों का। अगर उन्होंने कोई घृणित कार्य किया भी हो, तो स्वदेश के चरणों में जिस साहस और तत्परता से उन्होंने अपने प्राण चढ़ा दिये, उसे देखते हुए तो उनकी पूजा की जानी चाहिए। श्री टेगार्ड महोदय विपक्षी दल के होने पर भी जतीन मुकर्जी, बंगाल के वीरक्रांतिकारी की मृत्यु पर शोक प्रकट करते हुए उनकी वीरता, देशप्रेम और कर्मशीलता की मुक्त कंठ से प्रशंसा कर सकते हैं, परन्तु हम, कायर नरपशु, एक क्षण के लिए भी आनन्द-विलास छोड़ वीरों की मृत्यु पर आह तक भरने का साहस नहीं करते। कितनी निराशाजनक बात है! उन गरीबों का जो अपराध, नौकरशाही की दृष्टि में था, उसका उन्होंने पर्याप्त दण्ड, क्रूर नौकरशाही की भी दृष्टि में पा लिया। इस भीषण दुखान्त नाटक का एक और पर्व समाप्त हो गया। अभी यवनिका-पतन नहीं हुआ है। नाटक अभी कुछ दिन और भीषण दृश्य दिखायेगा। कथा लम्बी है, सुनने के लिए जरा दूर तक पीछे मुड़ना होगा।

भयानक नाटक

असहयोग आंदोलन पूरे यौवन पर था। पंजाब किसी से पीछे नहीं रहा। पंजाब में सिक्ख भी उठे, बड़ी गहरी नींद से उठे और उठे खूब जोरों के साथ। अकाली आंदोलन शुरू हुआ। बलिदानों की लड़ी लग गई। मास्टर मोतासिंह, खालसा मिडिल स्कूल, माहलपुर, जिला होशियारपुर के भूतपूर्व मास्टर महोदय ने एक व्याख्यान दिया। उनका वारण्ट निकला। परन्तु सम्राट का आतिथ्य उन्हें स्वीकार न था। यों ही जेलों में चले जाने के वे विरोधी थे। उनके व्याख्यान फिर भी होते रहे। कोट फतूही नामक ग्राम में भारी दीवान हुआ, पुलिस ने चारों ओर से घेरा डाला, फिर भी मास्टर मोतासिंह ने व्याख्यान दिया। अन्त में प्रधान की आज्ञा से सभी दर्शक उठ गये। मास्टर जी न जाने किधर पहुंचे। बहुत दिनों तक इसी तरह यह आंखमिचौनी का खेल होता रहा। सरकार बौखला उठी। अन्त में एक हमजोली ने धोखा दिया और डेढ़ वर्ष बाद एक दिन मास्टर साहब पकड़ लिये गये। यह पहला दृश्य था उस भयानक नाटक का।

'गुरू का बाग' आंदोलन शुरू हुआ। निहत्थे वीरों पर जिस समय भाड़े के टट्टू टूट पड़ते, उन्हें मारमारकर अधमरा-सा कर देते, देखने-सुनने वालों में से कौन होगा जो द्रवित न हो उठा हो! चारों ओर गिरफ्तारियों की धूम थी। सरदार किशनसिंह गड़गज्ज के नाम भी वारण्ट निकला। मगर वे भी तो उसी दल के थे। उन्होंने भी गिरफ्तार होना स्वीकार नहीं किया। पुलिस हाथ धोकर पीछे पड़ गई, पर फिर भी वे बचते ही रहे। उनका संगठित किया हुआ अपना एक क्रांतिकारी दल था। निहत्थों पर किये जाने वाले अत्याचार को वे सहन न कर सके। इस शांतिपूर्ण आंदोलन के साथ-साथ उन्होंने शस्त्रों का प्रयोग भी जरूरी समझा।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National P

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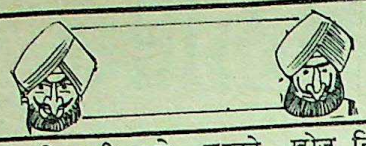


एक ओर शिकारी कुत्ते उनको खोज निकालने के लिए सूंघते फिरते थे, दूसरी ओर निश्चय हुआ कि खुशामदियों (झोली-चुक्कों) का सुधार किया जाये। सरदार किशनसिंह जी कहते थे, अपनी रक्षा के लिए हमें सशस्त्र जरूर रहना चाहिए, पर अभी कोई और कदम न उठाना चाहिए। परन्तु बहुमत दूसरी ओर था। अन्त में फैसला हुआ कि तीन व्यक्ति अपने नाम घोषित कर दें। और सारी जिम्मेदारी ले लें तथा 'झोलीचुक्कों का सुधार' शुरू कर दें। श्री कर्मसिंह, श्री धन्ना सिंह तथा श्री उदयसिंह जी आगे बढ़े। यह उचित था अथवा अनुचित, इसे एक ओर हटाकर जरा उस समय की कल्पना तो कीजिए, जब इन नवीन वीरों ने शपथ ली थी—

"हम देश-सेवा में अपना सर्वस्व न्यौछावर कर देंगे, हम प्रतिज्ञा करते हैं कि लड़ते-लड़ते मर जायेंगे मगर जेल जाना मंजूर न करेंगे।"

जिन्होंने अपने परिवार का मोह त्याग दिया था वे लोग जब ऐसी शपथ ले रहे थे, उस समय कैसा सुन्दर, मनोरम, पवित्रता से परिपूरित दृश्य रहा होगा! आत्म-त्याग की पराकाष्ठा कहां है? साहस और निर्भीकता की सीमा किस ओर है? आदर्शपरायणता की चरमता का निवास किधर है?

कपटी साधु

श्याम चुरासी—होशियारपुर ब्रांच रेलवे लाइन के एक स्टेशन के निकट सबसे पहले एक सूबेदार पर हाथ साफ किया गया। उसके बाद इन तीनों व्यक्तियों ने अपने नाम भी घोषित कर दिये। सरकार ने पूरी ताकत लगाकर इन्हें पकड़ने की कोशिश की, मगर सफलता न मिली। रुड़की कलां में सरदार किशनसिंह गड़गज्ज घिर गये। उनके साथ एक और युवक भी था जो वहीं घायल होकर पकड़ा गया। परन्तु किशनसिंह वहां से भी अपने शस्त्रों की सहायता से बच निकले। रास्ते में उन्हें एक साधु मिला। उसने उन्हें बताया कि उसके पास एक ऐसी बूटी है कि जिसकी सहायता से मनचाहा काम आसानी से किया जा सकता है। भ्रम में फंसकर एक दिन वे अपने शस्त्र रखकर इसी साधु के पास गये। कुछ दवाई रगड़ने को देकर साधु बूटी लेने गया और पुलिस को ले आया। सरदार साहब पकड़ लिए गये। वह साधु सी०आई०डी० विभाग का सब-इंस्पेक्टर था। बबर अकाली वीरों ने अपना काम खूब जोरों के साथ शुरू कर दिया। कितने ही सरकार के सहायक मार डाले गये। दोआब-व्यास और सतलज के बीच, जालन्धर और होशियारपुर का जिला पहले ही भारत के राजनैतिक मानचित्र में प्रसिद्ध है। १९१५ के शहीदों में भी अधिकतर इन्हीं जिलों के लोग थे। अब फिर वहीं पर धूम मची। पुलिस विभाग ने सारी शक्ति खर्च कर दी, परन्तु कुछ न बन पड़ा। जालंधर से कुछ दूर एक बिल्कुल छोटी-सी नदी है। उसके किनारे एक गांव में "चौंतासाहब" नामक गुरुद्वारा है। उसमें श्री कर्मसिंह जी, श्री धन्नासिंह जी, श्री उदयसिंह जी तथा श्री अनूपसिंह जी दो-एक और व्यक्तियों के साथ बैठे थे, चाय बनाने की तैयारियां हो रही थीं। बैठे-बैठे श्री धन्नासिंह ने कहा, "बाबा कर्मसिंह जी! हमें यहां से अभी इसी वक्त चल देना चाहिए। मुझे किसी बुरी घटना घटित होने का-सा आभास हो रहा है।" ७५ वर्ष के बूढ़े श्री कर्मसिंह ने इस बात पर तनिक भी ध्यान नहीं दिया। पर श्री धन्नासिंह अपने साथ १८ वर्षीय दिलीप सिंह को साथ लेकर चले ही गये। बैठे-बैठे बाबा कर्मसिंह ने श्री अनूपसिंह की ओर बड़े गौर से देखकर कहा—"अनूपसिंह, तुम अच्छे आदमी नहीं हो", मगर इसके बाद उन्होंने खुद भी इस बात पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। बातें अभी हो रही थीं कि सचमुच ही पुलिस की धमकी। सारे बम श्री अनूपसिंह के कब्जे में थे। ये सब लोग उठकर गांवों में छिप गये। पुलिस ने लाख सिर मारा, पर विफल रही। फिर में पुलिस की ओर से एक घोषणा की गई। बागियों को निकालो, वरना गांव में आग लगा दी जायेगी। पर गांव वाले विचलित नहीं हुए।

इस अवस्था को देखकर वे सब खुद ही बाहर निकल पड़े। सारे में अनूपसिंह ले भागा और जाकर आत्मसमर्पण कर दिया। शेष चा व्यक्ति वहीं पर घिरे हुए खड़े थे। पुलिस के अंग्रेज कप्तान ने कहा कर्मसिंह! हथियार छोड़ दो, तुम्हें माफ कर दिया जायेगा।" ने ललकारकर जवाब दिया—'हम अपने देश के लिए सच्चे क्रांतिकारी की तरह लड़ने-लड़ते शहीद हो जायेंगे, पर हथियार नहीं डाल सकते उन्होंने अपने तीनों साथियों को ललकारा। वे सिंह की तरह गरज उठे लड़ाई छिड़ गई। खूब दनादन गोलियां चलीं। गोली-बारूद समाप्त होने पर वे वीर पानी में कूद पड़े और घंटों गोलियों की वर्षा होते रहने पर ये चारों वीर स्वर्गधाम सिधार गये।

श्री कर्मसिंह की आयु ७५ वर्ष की थी। वह कनाडा में रह चु थे। उनका आचरण पवित्र और चरित्र आदर्श था। सरकार ने समझा बबर अकाली खत्म हो गये, परन्तु वे उन्नति कर रहे थे। १८ वर्ष दिलीपसिंह एक अत्यन्त सुन्दर, सुदृढ़, हृष्ट-पुष्ट, पर अशिक्षित नवयुवक थे और उनका डाकुओं का साथ हो गया था। धन्नासिंह जी की शि ने उन्हें डाकू से एक सच्चा क्रांतिकारी बना दिया। उधर सरदार बन्तासिंह और बरियामसिंह आदि कई प्रसिद्ध डाकू डाकेजनी छोड़ इनमें आ मिले।

आत्मोत्सर्ग की इच्छा

इन सबमें मृत्यु का डर नहीं था। ये अपने पिछले कुकर्मों को डालना चाहते थे। इनकी संख्या उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ती जा रही थी। एक मानहाना नामक गांव में धन्नासिंह बैठे थे पुलिस बुला ली गई। में चूर धन्नासिंह बैठे ही पकड़ लिए गए। उनका भरा हुआ पिस्त छीनकर हाथों में हथकड़ी लगा दी गई और उन्हें बाहर लाया गया बारह साधारण सिपाही और दो अंग्रेज आफिसर उनको घेरकर हो गये। ठीक उसी समय धमाके की आवाज हुई। धन्नासिंह ने बम चला दिया था। इससे वे स्वयं भी मरे और साथ ही एक अं आफिसर और दस सिपाही। बाकी के लोग बुरी तरह घायल हु

इसी तरह मुण्डेर नामक गांव में बैठे हुए बन्तासिंह, ज्वालासिं आदि कई लोग घिर गये। वे सब छत पर बैठे हुए थे। गोली च कुछ देर तक अच्छी झड़प होती रही, पर पुलिस ने पम्प से मिट्टी तेल छिड़क कर घर में आग लगा दी। फिर भी बरियामसिंह बच नि परन्तु बन्तासिंह वहीं मारे गये।

अगर इससे पहले की एक-दो अन्य घटनाओं का वर्णन कर दि जाये तो अनुचित न होगा। बन्तासिंह बड़े साहसी पुरुष थे। एक शायद जालंधर छावनी में जाकर रिसाले में पहरे पर खड़े हुए सिप की घोड़ी तथा राइफल वे छीन लाये थे। इन दिनों, जबकि पुलिस दस्ते के दस्ते इनकी तलाश में मारे-मारे फिरते थे, कहीं जंगल में दस्ते से इनकी भेंट हो गई। सरदार बन्तासिंह ने फौरन चुनौती दी "अगर हिम्मत हो तो दो-दो हाथ कर लो", परन्तु उस ओर तो थे के गुलाम और इस ओर आत्मोत्सर्ग के इच्छुक। तुलना कैसे हो स है। सिपाहियों का दस्ता चुपचाप चला गया।

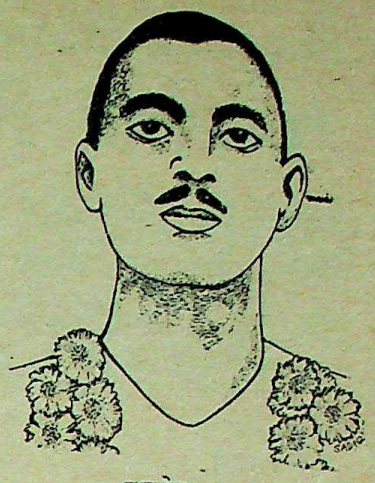
इन लोगों को पकड़ने के लिए खास तौर से पुलिस नियुक्त की थी। और उसकी थी यह दशा। खैर, गिरफ्तारियों की भरमार गांव-गांव में पुलिस की ताजीरी चौकियां बिठाई जाने लगीं।

(शेष पृष्ठ ७४पर)

CC-0. Bhagwat Prasad in National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization

"प्रिय भाई, मैं अपनी गिरफ्तारी को शुभ समझता हूं .."



सुखदेव

सुखदेव ने छिपाकर एक पत्र अपने भाई को भेजने की कोशिश की। पत्र चला भी गया। परन्तु खुफिया पुलिस तो इन कैदियों के पीछे बड़ी सख्ती से लगी हुई थी। पत्र बीच में ही खुफिया पुलिस वालों द्वारा पकड़ लिया गया,--घर तक पहुंचा नहीं। यह पत्र एक ऐसा दस्तावेज है, जिसमें सांडर्स को खत्म करने के पीछे निहित उद्देश्यों को उजागर किया गया है कि वे अपनी गिरफ्तारियों तथा फांसी आदि की सजा की बात सोचकर न तो पछतावा व्यक्त करते हैं, न इसके लिए उन्हें खेद है। वह ऐतिहासिक पत्र यहां अविकल प्रस्तुत है :-

प्रिय भाई

पहले हमारा विचार था कि एक सदस्य पिस्तौल लेकर भेजा जाय जो स्काट को मारकर आत्मसमर्पण कर दे। उसके बाद वह एक वक्तव्य दे जिसमें यह बताया जाय कि जब तक भारतीय क्रांतिकारी हैं, राष्ट्रीय अपमान का बदला इसी प्रकार लिया जाता रहेगा। फिर यह तय किया गया कि एक आदमी की शक्ति पर्याप्त न होगी। इसलिए तीन व्यक्तियों को भेजना ठीक होगा। यह योजना बनाते समय भी मारकर भाग आने की बात को प्रधानता नहीं दी गई थी। हमलोग भागना चाहते भी नहीं थे। हमारी तो योजना थी कि खून करने के बाद यदि पुलिस हमारा पीछा करे तो हम उससे मोर्चा लें। इस संघर्ष में जो जीवित पकड़ा जाय, वह वक्तव्य दे। इसलिए एक्शन करने के पश्चात् हम डी० ए० वी० कालेज होस्टल की छत पर चढ़ गए। योजना यह थी भगतसिंह, जो स्काट को पहचानता था उस पर पहली गोली चलावे। यदि उस पर कोई आक्रमण करे तो राजगुरू उस व्यक्ति से मोर्चा ले। इसके बाद राजगुरू तथा भगतसिंह को भागना था। भागते समय वे पीछा करने वाले पर गोली नहीं चला सकते थे, इसलिए पंडितजी को उनके संरक्षण के लिए पीछे खड़ा रहना था।

गुण्डे नहीं, क्रांतिकारी

हमलोग मारकर भागने से अधिक इस बात के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प थे कि उसे पूरी तरह खत्म करने के लिए डटे रहें, अपनी जान बचाने के लिए भागने की चिन्ता न करें। हम यह नहीं चाहते थे कि जिस व्यक्ति को निशाना बनाया जा रहा है, वह केवल घायल हो और बाद में अस्पताल में जाकर मरे। इसीलिए राजगुरू के गोली चलाने के बाद भी भगतसिंह तब तक बराबर गोली चलाता रहा, जब तक कि उसे यह विश्वास नहीं हो गया कि जिस पर गोली चलाई गई है वह पूरी तरह समाप्त हो गया है। हत्या करने के बाद भागने की हमारी योजना नहीं थी। हम यह बता देना चाहते थे कि यह राजनीतिक हत्या थी और उसके करने वाले क्रांतिकारी ही थे तथा उनका सम्बन्ध मलंगों (गुंडों) से नहीं था। इसीलिए बाद में हमने पर्चे चिपकाए और कुछ परचे अखबारों में छापने के लिए भी भेजे। परन्तु खेद है कि उस समय न तो राजनीतिक नेताओं और न तो अखबारों ने हमारा साथ दिया बल्कि उन्होंने सरकार को धोखा देने के प्रयत्न में जनता को ही धोखा दिया। हम चाहते थे घुमा-फिरा कर लिखें कि यह राजनीतिक हत्या थी और यह सरकार की नीति का ही यह परिणाम था और वही इसके लिए जिम्मेदार है। वह यह सब जानते थे परन्तु मेरे बार-बार कहने पर भी उन्होंने ऐसा कहने का साहस नहीं किया। यह अच्छा ही हुआ कि हम सब पकड़े गए और प्रत्येक बात स्पष्ट हो गई।

प्यारे भाई! इसी दृष्टिकोण से मैं अपनी गिरफ्तारी को शुभ समझता हूं। इस कार्य का औचित्य बताने के बाद मैं अब दल की नीति की चर्चा करूंगा। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण यह था कि हमारे एक्शन्स (कार्य) से जनता की इच्छाओं की पूर्ति हो, तथा सरकार के विरुद्ध उन्हें जो शिकायतें हैं, उनके अनुकूल हो जिससे हमें जनता की सहानुभूति तथा समर्थन प्राप्त हो सके। इस लक्ष्य को सामने रखकर इस प्रकार हम जनता में क्रांतिकारी विचार तथा रीति-नीति का प्रचार करना चाहते थे और ऐसे विचार तब और भी प्रभावशाली होते हैं जब वे ऐसे व्यक्ति के मुंह से निकले जो अपने उद्देश्य के लिए फांसी के तख्ते पर खड़ा हो। **तुम्हारा—सुखदेव।**

दिव्य माँ

यह एक सामान्य सच है कि जब कोई अपनी मां के सान्निध्य में होता है तो बुरे विचार उसके मन में नहीं उपजते। इसीलिए अगर हम सदा दिव्य जगदम्बा मां के ध्यान में रहें, तो हमारा अन्तर्बाह्य सदा निर्मल और तेजस्वी रहेगा।

• जगद्गुरू शंकराचार्य (कांची)

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja N

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'इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद' सिर्फ नारा नहीं है !

"माडर्न रिव्यू" के संपादक श्री रामानन्द चट्टोपाध्याय ने अपनी एक संपादकीय टिप्पणी में भगत सिंह के नारे "इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद" को खून-खराबे और अराजकता का प्रतीक बताया। भगतसिंह ने २३ दिसम्बर, १९२९ को अपनी और अपने साथी बटुकेश्वर दत्त की तरफ से श्री चट्टोपाध्याय को पत्र लिखा।

श्री संपादक जी,
"माडर्न रिव्यू"

आपने अपने सम्मानित पत्र के दिसम्बर, १९२९ के अंक में एक टिप्पणी "इंकलाब जिन्दाबाद" के शीर्षक से लिखी है और इस नारे को निरर्थक ठहराने की चेष्टा की है। आप सरीखे परिपक्व विचारक तथा अनुभवी और यशस्वी संपादक की रचना में दोष निकालना तथा उसका प्रतिवाद करना, जिसे प्रत्येक भारतीय सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखता है, हमारे लिए एक बड़ी धृष्टता होगी। तो भी इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देना और यह बताना हम अपना कर्त्तव्य समझते हैं कि इस नारे से हमारा क्या अभिप्राय है।

यह आवश्यक है, क्योंकि इस देश में इस समय इस नारे को सब लोगों तक पहुंचाने का कार्य हमारे हिस्से में आया है। इस नारे की रचना हमने नहीं की है। यही नारा रूस के क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन में प्रयोग किया गया है। प्रसिद्ध समाजवादी लेखक अप्टन सिंक्लेयर ने अपने उपन्यासों "वोस्टन' और "आईल" में यही नारा कुछ अराजकतावादी क्रांतिकारी पात्रों के मुख से प्रयोग कराया है। इसका अर्थ क्या है? इसका अर्थ यह कदापि नहीं है कि सशस्त्र संघर्ष सदैव जारी रहे और कोई भी व्यवस्था अल्प समय के लिए भी स्थायी न रह सके, दूसरे शब्दों में देश और समाज में अराजकता फैली रहे।

दीर्घकाल में प्रयोग में आने के कारण इस नारे को एक ऐसी विशेष भावना प्राप्त हो चुकी है, जो संभव है कि भाषा के नियमों एवं कोष के आधार पर इसके शब्दों से उचित तर्कसम्मत रूप में सिद्ध न हो पाये, परन्तु इसके साथ ही इस नारे से उन विचारों को पृथक नहीं किया जा सकता, जो उसके साथ जुड़े हुए हैं। ऐसे समस्त नारे एक ऐसे स्वीकृत अर्थ के द्योतक हैं, जो एक सीमा तक उनमें उत्पन्न हो

गये हैं तथा एक सीमा तक उनमें निहित हैं।

उदाहरण के लिए हम "यतीन्द्रनाथ जिन्दाबाद" का नारा लगाते हैं। इससे हमारा तात्पर्य यह होता है कि उनके जीवन के महान आदर्शों तथा उस अथक उत्साह को सदा-सदा के लिए बनाये रखें, जिसने इस महानतम बलिदानी को उस आदर्श के लिए अकथनीय कष्ट झेलने एवं असीम बलिदान करने की प्रेरणा दी। यह नारा लगाने से हमारी यह लालसा प्रकट होती है कि हम भी अपने आदर्शों के लिए ऐसे ही अचूक उत्साह को अपनायें। यही वह भावना है, जिसकी हम प्रशंसा करते हैं। इसी प्रकार हमें "इंकलाब" शब्द का अर्थ भी कोरे शाब्दिक रूप में नहीं लगाना चाहिए। इस शब्द का उचित एवं अनुचित प्रयोग करने वाले लोगों के हितों के आधार पर इसके साथ विभिन्न अर्थ एवं विभिन्न विशेषतायें जोड़ी जाती हैं। क्रांतिकारियों की दृष्टि में यह एक पवित्र वाक्य है। हमने इस बात को ट्रिब्यूनल के सम्मुख अपने वक्तव्य में स्पष्ट करने का प्रयास किया था।

इस वक्तव्य में हमने कहा था कि क्रांति (इंकलाब) का अर्थ अनिवार्य रूप में सशस्त्र आंदोलन नहीं होता। बम और पिस्तौल कभी-कभी क्रांति को सफल बनाने के साधन मात्र हो सकते हैं। इसमें भी संदेह नहीं है कि कुछ आंदोलनों में बम एवं पिस्तौल एक महत्वपूर्ण साधन सिद्ध होते हैं, परन्तु केवल इसी कारण से बम और पिस्तौल क्रांति के पर्यायवाची नहीं हो जाते। विद्रोह को क्रांति नहीं कहा जा सकता, यद्यपि यह हो सकता है कि विद्रोह का अंतिम परिणाम क्रांति हो।

प्रगति की आकांक्षा

इस वाक्य में क्रांति शब्द का अर्थ "प्रगति के लिए परिवर्तन की भावना एवं आकांक्षा" है। लोग साधारणतया जीवन की परम्परागत दशाओं के साथ चिपक जाते हैं और परिवर्तन के विचार मात्र से ही कांपने लगते हैं। यही एक अकर्मण्यता की भावना है, जिसके स्थान पर क्रांतिकारी भावना जागृत करने की आवश्यकता है। दूसरे शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है कि अकर्मण्यता का वातावरण निर्माण हो जाता है और रूढ़िवादी शक्तियां मानव समाज को कुमार्ग पर ले जाती हैं। ये परिस्थितियां मानव समाज की उन्नति में गतिरोध का कारण बन जाती हैं।

क्रांति की इस भावना से मनुष्य जाति की आत्मा स्थायी तौर पर ओतप्रोत रहनी चाहिए। जिससे कि रूढ़िवादी शक्तियां मानव समाज की प्रगति की दौड़ में बाधा डालने के लिए संगठित न हो सकें। यह आवश्यक है कि पुरानी व्यवस्था सदैव रहे और वह नई व्यवस्था के लिए स्थान रिक्त करती रहें, जिससे कि एक आदर्श व्यवस्था संसार को बिगड़ने से रोक सके। यह है हमारा वह अभिप्राय जिसको हृदय में रखकर हम "इंकलाब जिन्दाबाद" का नारा बुलन्द करते हैं।

भवदीय—भगतसिंह ; बटुकेश्वर दत्त

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जब ८५ सिपाहियों का कोर्ट मार्शल हुआ

मेरठ की ब्रिटिश छावनी। उस दिन सन् १८५७ की ६ मई थी। अंग्रेज सेनाधिकारी संशकित थे कि पता नहीं अब हिंदुस्तानी सिपाही नये-नये बने वे कारतूस छुएंगे भी या नहीं, जिनके कारण बैरकपुर की १९ वीं और ३४वीं रेजीमेंट भंग की जा चुकी थी—उनके सभी भारतीय सिपाही शस्त्रहीन किये जा चुके थे और क्योंकि वहां ३४ रेजीमेंट के ही एक सिपाही मंगल पांडे ने २९ मार्च को सार्जिट मेजर ह्यूसन और लेफ्टिनेंट बांध पर गोली चला दी थी जिसके कारण पाण्डे को ८ अप्रैल को फांसी दे दी गयी थी।

यह कमाल गाय और सूअर की चर्बी से चिकनाये गये नवीन कारतूसों का तो था ही, क्रांति-योजना के निमित्त फौजों में बांटे गये कमल और रोटी का भी इस में कम योगदान नहीं था। तय हुआ था कि ३१ मई को पूरे देश में एक साथ क्रांति का शंख नाद गूंजेगा, किंतु मंगल पांडे ने आवेशाधिक्य तथा अधैर्यवश २९ मई को ही उसकी शुरूआत कर दी, जिससे अंग्रेज सजग हो गये।

वर्दियाँ फाड़ दीं

उसी सजगता की यह साक्षी थी कि मेरठ छावनी में अंग्रेजी सेनाधिकारी हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों का परीक्षण कर रहे थे। वे समझ नहीं पा रहे थे किस बलबूते पर ये काले आदमी ब्रिटिश सत्ता का खुला अपमान करने पर उतारु हो सके हैं—जिस तरह बैरकपुर में बर्खास्त किये गये दोनों रेजीमेंटों के हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों ने अपने जूतों से फौजी टोपियों को रौंदा था, उसकी ये अंग्रेज बहादुर कभी कल्पना नहीं कर सके थे। बात यों हुई कि भंग की गयी रेजीमेंटों के सिपाही जब छावनी से जाने लगे तो उन्होंने अपनी वर्दियां फाड़कर फेंक दी और फौजी टोपी उनके सिर पर विराजती रही थी—उसे उतारकर उन्होंने जूतों से रौंद डाला था—हालांकि कंपनी ने उन्हें ये टोपियां इसलिए बर्खास्तगी के बाद भी दे दी थी कि वे उन सिपाहियों की ही चीज थी और वे उन्हें अपने घर ले जा सकते थे। क्योंकि उस जमाने में हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों को ये फौजी टोपियां खुद अपने ही पैसों से खरीदनी होती थीं। यह कहना भर नहीं है कि मेरठ और दमदम के कारखानों में गाय और सुअर की चर्बी से चिकनाये गये जो नये कारतूस ४०-५० हजार की संख्या में बने थे और जो अंबाला छावनी द्वारा बंगाल और संयुक्त प्रांत आदि भेजे गये, उन्हीं के कारण १८५७ की क्रांति हुई—क्रांति तो योजनानुसार होनी ही थी। ये कारतूस न बनते और उनको इस्तेमाल करने के लिए सख्ती न बरती जाती तो भी क्रांति हो कर रहती, क्योंकि इस क्रांति-योजना के लिए पूरे देश में गुप्त क्रांतिकारी संगठन सक्रिय था। नाना साहब पेशवा, रानी लक्ष्मीबाई, अजीमुल्ला, मौलवी अहमद शाह, बेगम हजरत महल, बरेली और बांदा के नवाब, बिहार के बाबू कुंअर सिंह और पीर अली, राणा बेनी माधव नरपति सिंह, गुलाबसिंह आदि क्रांतिकारी अंग्रेजों को उखाड़ फेंकने में लगे थे और अंग्रेजों को अभी उसकी हवा भी नहीं लगी थी।

मेरठ छावनी में एक रायफल बटालियन में सब गोरे ही थे। तोपखाना भी गोरों का था। इस हालत में अंग्रेज अपने को सर्वाधिक सुरक्षित समझते थे। लेकिन ८५ सिपाहियों के कोर्ट-मार्शल ने स्थिति पलट दी।

बैरकपुर में पहला विस्फोट समय से पहले ही हो गया। वहां की दोनों उक्त रेजीमेंटों ने नये कारतूस ठुकरा दिये। उन्हें दांत से काटकर ही कारतूस की टोपी खोलनी होती थी। ६ मई को मेरठ के एक अश्वारोही दस्ते को भी यही कारतूस दिये गये। दस्ते में ९० हिंदुस्तानी सिपाही थे—लेकिन उनमें से सिर्फ ५ सिपाहियों ने ही उन कारतूसों का प्रयोग किया। बाकी ८५ ने कहा, हम ये कारतूस इस्तेमाल करना तो क्या छुएंगे तक नहीं। तब दोबारा जोर डाला गया कि उन्हें ये कारतूस इस्तेमाल करने ही होंगे। यह सुनकर वे सभी ८५ सिपाही अपनी बैरकों में बिना कारतूस उठाये ही लौट गये। ब्रिटिश सत्ता की नजर में यह 'अवज्ञा' थी। अंग्रेज अफसर क्रोध और अपमान से जलभुन गये। वे उन ८५ सैनिकों को कड़ाई से दंडित करने पर तुल गये। समझ गये कि बैरकपुर की हवा यहां भी आ गयी है। मंगल पांडे की बगावत यहां भी असर दिखाने लगी है। अतः अंग्रेज जनरल ने इन बागी सिपाहियों को फौजी अदालत के सामने पेश करने का फर्मान जारी किया। गोरों की कंपनी और तोपखाने के कड़े पहरे में ये ८५ सिपाही ला खड़े किये गये। इनकी वर्दियां फाड़ दी गयीं, बन्दूकें छीन ली गयीं, हाथों में हथकड़ियां और पांवों में बेड़ियां डाल दी गयीं, विप्लव राग-लय सुर मिलाकर जीवन के सप्त स्वरों में फूट उठा करता है। मंगल पांडे इसी जीवन संगीत की लय पर निछावर हो गये थे और अब ये ८५ संताने भी उसी जयगान में आत्मलीन थीं। यह दृश्य सभी हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों के दिलों में चुभ गया, गहरे उतर गया। वे स्वयं की विवशता पर क्षुभित हो उठे और इन वीरों के आत्म-त्याग और साहस पर उन्हें स्पृहा हुई। गोरों ने जानबूझकर हिंदुस्तानी पल्टन को यह दृश्य देखने की

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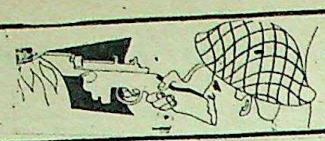


सुविधा प्रदान की थी, आतंक जमाने के लिए।

कठोर कारावास

आखिर फौजी अदालत ने सभी ८५ बागियों को १०-१० साल के कठोर कारावास की सजा सुनाई। क्रांति के दीवाने बेड़ियां बजाते कारागार की तरफ रवाना हुए लेकिन वहां समुपस्थित भारतीय पलटन के सिपाहियों ने दृढ़ निश्चय कर लिया कि 'हम इन भाइयों को आजाद करायेंगे, काट डालेंगे इनकी बेड़ियां, और अंग्रेजों का दमन—दुधारा भी तोड़ फेंकेंगे। हमने भी मां का दूध पिया है।' गत सौ वर्षों की यह दास्य श्रृंखला तार-तार कर डालने के लिए उन के स्नायु तड़तड़ा उठे। ९ मई को ये सजाएं दी गयी थी। अगले दिन १० मई को रविवार था। हिंदुस्तानी पल्टन ने तय किया, अब हम भी मंगल पाण्डे बनेंगे। ३१ मई का इंतजार न करेंगे।

संध्या आई, ५ बजे मेरठ के गिरजाघर ने घंटा बजाया। गोरे अफसर और फौजी अपने परिवारों के साथ गिरजे की ओर लपके कि उधर हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों की २० वीं पल्टन और घुड़सवार दस्ते ने क्रांति का डंका बजा दिया व रायफलें लेकर गोरों पर टूट पड़े। वे गोरों को मारते काटते सीधे जेल की तरफ बढ़ गये, अपने विप्लवी साथियों को आजाद कराने। सैकड़ों बागी सिपाही जेल के बड़े फाटक पर पहुंचे ही थे कि सरकारी पहरुवे भी क्रांतिकारी सिपाहियों के पक्ष में विप्लव का नारा बुलन्द कर उठे। उन्होंने स्वेच्छा से आगे बढ़कर जेल के फाटक खोल दिये। सिपाही ने सिपाही की हथकड़ी बेड़ी काटी। ९ मई का एक वह दृश्य था, तो आज १० मई दूसरा रोमांचकारी दृश्य प्रस्तुत कर रही थी। जेल के लोहार ही उन हथकड़ियों को तोड़ने में प्रवृत्त थे, बेड़ियां कट रही थी।

उधर गिरजाघर के मोर्चे पर पैदल भारतीय पल्टन भी आकर अपने हथियारों सहित शामिल हो गयी। अंग्रेजों के लिए यह विप्लव खासकर मेरठ छावनी में नितांत अकल्पनीय और अप्रत्याशित था क्योंकि वहां हिंदुस्तानी सिपाहियों की सिर्फ तीन रेजीमेंट थी, दो पैदल और एक घुड़सवार। पल्टने क्रांतिकारी बन गयी थीं। दूसरी मेरठ छावनी में गोरों की संख्या प्रचुर एक समग्र रायफल बटालियन में सब सैनिक ही थे, तोपखाना भी गोरों का गोरे सैनिकों की ड्रगून रेजीमेंट थी। इस में अंग्रेज अपने को मेरठ छावनी में निरापद समझते थे, तो ठीक ही था। ८५ सिपाहियों के कोर्टमार्शल ने स्थिति दी। मेरठ जिले के गांवों से हजारों क्रांति में आकर शामिल हो गये और मेरठ नगर के भी नागरिक हाथ में जो हथि आया, लेकर क्रांतिकारियों के समूह में मिल एक निस्संदेह जनक्रांति का रूप मेरठ में हो रहा था। जनता का हर वर्ग इसमें था। हर एक की जवान पर प्रतिशोध की सुनाई देती थी, "मारो फिरंगी को"—आवाज हर गली कूचे में गूंज रही थी।

गोरों के बंगले, दफ्तर, होटल धू-धू जल उठे। कोई गोरा अफसर खंदक-अस्तबल में छिपा तो कोई अपने—खानसामा से आश्रय मांगने लगा। कमिशनर ग्रीदेड की कोठी जल कर हो गयी, अनेक गोरे जंगलों में जा छिपे।

११वीं पल्टन का गोरा कर्नल फि नजर आया तो उसे एक क्रांतिकारी ने रिवाल्वर से भून दिया—यह क्रांति सिपाही मेरठ की २०वीं पल्टन का प्राण—भय से कैप्टन क्रेवी ने अपने परि जनों को देशी कर्मचारियों के कपड़े पह और रात में उन्हें कोयले से रंग दिया ता उनका गोरा रंग छिप जाये। मेरठ का मंदिर उनकी शरणस्थली बनी।

लेफ्टिनेंट टेंपलर, लेफ्टिनेंट हैंड कैप्टन टेलर, कैप्टन मैकडानल्ड, लेफ्टि पैट, डाक्टर क्रिस्टी, डा० फिनि को क्रांतिकारियों ने गोली मार दी। ही गोरे स्त्री बच्चे भी मौत के घाट उतार गये। प्रतिशोध की आग ने केवल चमड़ी देखी, और कोई भेद उनके आ आया। बदले की भावना ऐसी ही है। गोरों की लाशें सड़कों-गलियों लोटने लगी—क्रांतिकारी सिपाही पैरों से रौंदकर मंगलपाण्डे और अपने सिपाहियों के अपमान का प्रतिकार कर थे। अंग्रेजों को आगे राह न मिली। कारतूसों को ये सिपाही छूना पाप स थे—अब उन्हीं कारतूसों से गोरों का खेल रहे थे—दरअसल मेरठ के किसानों और शहर के नागरिकों के को छोड़ दें तो मेरठ में गोरे चाहे मुट्ठी भर देशी सिपाहियों को पराज नहीं, संपूर्ण सफाया कर सकते थे।

(शेष पृष्ठ ७४ पर)

शर्त्त हनुमान जी की

एक बार दल के साथी परस्पर हंसी-ठट्ठा करने में संलग्न थे। साथी भगवानदास के मन में उमंग उठी तो एक गीत गुनगुनाना शुरू कर दिया। वहीं सरदार भगतसिंह भी मौजूद थे। भगवान दास को चिढ़ाने के लिए वे अक्सर उन्हें "हनुमान टाईप" या "हनुमानजी" कहकर विनोद किया करते थे।

इस समय भगवानदास को गाना गाते सुना तो भगतसिंह कहने लगे—

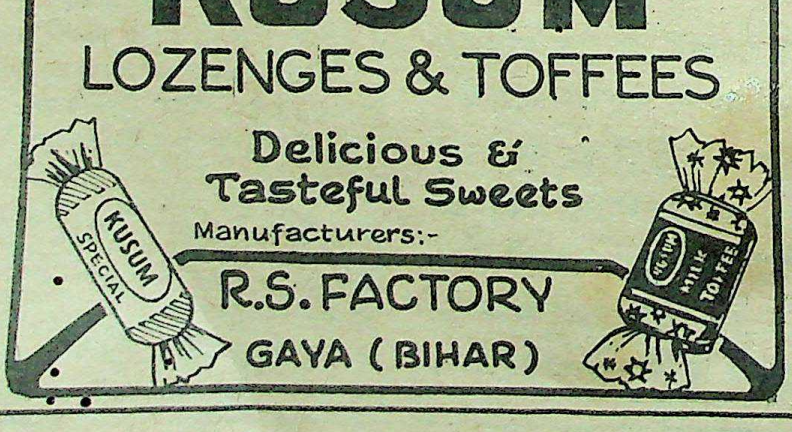
"हनुमानजी ! एक बात पूछूं?"

भगवानदास ने गाना रोककर कहा—"जरूर"।

"तो बताइये, जब जनाब को फांसी के तख्ते पर खड़ा किया जायेगा और फांसी लगने जा रही होगी, उस वक्त भी क्या आप इसी तरह गाना गाते रहेंगे?"

"क्यों नहीं, जरूर गा सकूंगा बशर्ते आपके सरीखे कोई जामवन्त जी मुझे गाना गाने का स्मरण कराना न भूलें।"

बात ऐसी थी कि सभी हंस पड़े। भगवानदास भगतसिंह को मुस्कराकर देखते रहे और गाते रहे। कैसे अल्हड़ और अलमस्त साथी थे वे, और किस तरह वे हंसते-खेलते क्रांति के जोखिम भरे रास्ते पर चलते रहे थे।



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संस्मरण

एक और बाजी प्रभु !

जैसे ही नेताजी के सकुशल निर्दिष्ट जगह पर पहुंचने का उन्हें संकेत प्राप्त हुआ, उन्होंने पूर्ण संतोष की सांस ली, और घायल देह से तमाम खून ढारते हुए वे वहीं रणक्षेत्र में गिर गये और फिर नहीं उठे। मरते समय उनके होठों पर दो ही प्यारे शब्द गूंजे--"नेताजी ! भारत !"

नेताजी सुभाष की आजाद हिन्द फौज में हजारों सपूतों ने गोरों से संग्राम करते हुए मृत्यु का आलिंगन किया है। खोज करने पर उनमें से १६५४ शहीद सैनिकों की लम्बी सूची प्राप्तव्य है, फिर भी अनेक अज्ञात ही रह गये हैं। उनकी तथा इन १६५४ वीर सपूतों की स्मृति-स्वरूप न कहीं कोई चिन्ह शेष रह गया है, न उनकी कहीं कोई समाधि ही है। इन्हीं महान शहीद वीरों में सरदार-ए-जंग कर्नल लक्ष्मण स्वरूप मिश्र, भी थे। अतः इस अवसर पर उस शहीद कर्नल का पुण्य-स्मरण युवकों के लिये प्रेरणा-स्पद सिद्ध होगा।

मिश्रजी उत्तर प्रदेश स्थित मैनपुरी के रहने वाले थे, वहीं जन्मे थे। पढ़-लिखकर अंग्रेज सरकार की सेना में भर्ती हो गए। वे कैप्टन थे। सन् १९४२ में उनकी रेजीमेंट बर्मा के मोर्चे पर युद्धार्थ भेजी गई। जापानी फौज से सम्मुख समर में लड़ते हुए इस रेजीमेंट ने आत्म-समर्पण कर दिया। यह "डोगरा रेजीमेंट" थी, फलतः रेजीमेंट के अन्य सैनिकों के साथ कैप्टन लक्ष्मण स्वरूप मिश्र भी कैद कर लिये गए। उधर सुभाष बोस ने "आजाद हिन्द फौज" का संगठन कर लिया था। उन्होंने उसमें भर्ती के लिए भारतीय सैनिकों का आह्वान किया तो कैप्टन मिश्र ने जो कि उस समय जापानियों के युद्धबन्दी थे, आजाद हिन्द फौज की तरफ से अंग्रेजों से लड़ने का संकल्प व्यक्त किया और तुरन्त सुभाष बाबू की सेना में भर्ती हो गये। जापानियों ने उन्हें ब-खुशी रिहा कर दिया। उनकी कर्मनिष्ठा और लगन से प्रभावित हो नेताजी सुभाष, जो कि उस समय आजाद हिन्द फौज के कमांडर-इन-चीफ थे, ने मिश्रजी को कर्नल बना दिया।

सरदार-ए-जंग

आगे जब आजाद हिन्द फौज ने बर्मा के अशकान इलाके में आक्रमण किया तो सुभाष बोस ने कर्नल मिश्र को खासतौर से उस मोर्चे की जिम्मेवारी सौंपी और इस बहादुर कर्नल ने उसे प्राणपण से निबाहा। इस लड़ाई में मिश्र जी ने जिस वीरता और शौर्य का परिचय दिया उससे सुभाष बोस बड़े खुश हुए और उन्होंने कर्नल मिश्र को उसके उपलक्ष्य में आजाद हिन्द फौज की "सरदार-ए-जंग" नाम की सम्मानास्पद उपाधि प्रदान की, जो उनके लिए बड़े गौरव का विषय बनी। नेताजी के इस आशीष से उस वीर का वक्ष फूल गया। वे लगातार तीन वर्ष यानी सन् १९४५ तक नेताजी के नेतृत्व में गोरों की फौजों से जूझते रहे और मारने-मरने की परम्परा में हमेशा आगे रहे।

फिर सन् १९४५ में ही वह दिन आया जब नेताजी सुभाष को बर्मा से चले जाना पड़ा। उस समय भी कर्नल मिश्र-बर्मा के मोर्चे पर नेताजी के साथ ही युद्धरत थे। तय हुआ और मिश्रजी को निर्देश मिला कि जब तक नेताजी बर्मा की सीमा से दूर आगे की मंजिल पर न बढ़ जाएं, गोरों की फौज को युद्ध करते-करते बर्मा के ही मोर्चे पर रोके रखना हैं। यह निर्देश मिलते ही कर्नल मिश्र के मन-प्राणों में मानों विद्युत प्रवाह दौड़ गया। वे अपनी बहुत छोटी-सी टुकड़ी लेकर अमानवीय साहस और शौर्य से गोरों से युद्ध में संलग्न हो गए और उन्हें तब तक बर्मा से जरा भी आगे नहीं बढ़ने दिया जब तक नेताजी सुभाष के बर्मा से काफी दूर निकल जाने की सूचना नहीं मिल गई। उस समय तक मिश्र जी बहुत घायल हो चुके थे। देह में कई गोलियां लगी थीं और जख्मों से रक्तस्राव जारी था। बहुत खून निकल जाने से वे कमजोरी भी अनुभव कर रहे थे परन्तु यह दृढ़ संकल्प उन्हें धराशायी होने से रोके हुआ था कि नेताजी के निरापद स्थान तक

(शेष अगले पृष्ठ पर)

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Digitization: eGangotri

सत्तावनी क्रान्ति

(पृष्ठ ७२ का शेष)

इतने डर गये कि सरकारी कायरता के पर्याय और प्रमाण बन गये। जान बचाने की चिंता ने उनके हौसले पस्त कर दिये—यहां तक कि रात दिन डींग हांकने वाला कर्नल स्मिथ ऐसा भागा कि स्वयं उसकी अश्वारोही भारतीय पलटन के सिपाहियों को आश्चर्य हुआ—वह भारतीय घुड़सवार दस्ते का इंचार्ज था, लेकिन खतरा सामने आने पर वह पलायन कर गया। मेरठ छावनी में एक सशक्त तोपखाना गोरों का मौजूद था लेकिन भारतीय सिपाहियों के आकस्मिक हमले ने उन्हें इतना कायर और भगौड़ा साबित कर दिया कि वे एक भी तोप का इस्तेमाल क्रांतिकारियों के खिलाफ नहीं कर पाये। तारे निकले, रात का अंधेरा बढ़ा तो विप्लव—दल ने आगे का कार्यक्रम बनाया। क्रांतिकारी सिपाहियों ने इस विजय के बाद मेरठ की जुझारू जनता से कहा, "अब हम दिल्ली फतेह करने जाते हैं, आप लोग मेरठ में छिपे-भागे फिरंगियों को संभालिये, यहां का भार आप पर रहेगा, हम इसी रात आगे दिल्ली को कूच करते हैं।"

जनता जोश में थी—उसने आगे बढ़कर उन बहादुर सिपाहियों को गर्वित-हर्षित हृदय से न केवल विदाई दी वरन रास्ते के लिए भोजन, कपड़े, तथा अन्य जरूरी सामग्री से भी उनकी सहायता की। जनता और उन सिपाहियों को आशा थी कि अब जल्दी ही देश फिरंगियों के चंगुल से आजाद हो जायेगा। वे कूच के रास्ते पर भी चिल्ला कर यही कहते जा रहे थे, "मारो फिरंगी को!"

मेरठ की जनता ने शहर की पूरी मोर्चे बन्दी की, उसने बाहर जाने वाले सभी रास्तों पर आम नागरिकों के पहरे नियुक्त कर दिये। छावनी से भगोड़े गोरे दिल्ली खबर न कर सकें—इसके लिए टेलीफोन के तार काट डाले गये। इस मुहिम में मेरठ बाजार के दूकानदारों तक ने हाथ बंटाया। जिन्होंने कभी हथियारों को हाथ भी न लगाया था, वे तलवार भाला लेकर अंग्रेजों की खोज में संलग्न थे। अंग्रेजों के जो बंगले या दफ्तर जलने से भी भूमिसात न हुए—उन्हें जनता ने फावड़े चलाकर खण्डहरों में बदल दिया। उधर घनाधंकार में क्रांतिकारी सिपाही रायफलें कंधों पर रखे मेरठ से दूर दिल्ली की दिशा में अविराम बढ़े जा रहे थे, पर और पैदल भी।●

एक और बाजी प्रभु

(पिछले पृष्ठ का शेष)

पहुंचे बिना गिरना नहीं है—लड़ते ज
हैं, और अन्तिम सांस तक इसी संकल्प
पूर्ति में वे प्राणपन से सचेष्ट रहे। जैसे
नेताजी के सकुशल निर्दिष्ट जगह पर पहु
का उन्हें संकेत प्राप्त हुआ उन्होंने पूर्ण संत
की सांस ली, सुख से उनकी आंखें बन्द
लगीं और घायल देह से तमाम खून ढारते
वहीं रणक्षेत्र में गिर गए और फिर
उठे। उन्होंने अपना कर्त्तव्य पूर्ण कर दि
था। मरते समय उनके होठों पर दो अक्ष
वाले दो ही प्यारे शब्द गूंजे—"नेताजी!
भारत····!" वे सदा के लिए वर्मा की
मिट्टी में भारत की आजादी के लि
बिखर गए हैं। वे छोड़ गए अपने
बलिदान से एक संदेश कि अपने प्राणों
जीवन-सर्वस्व से देश की स्वतंत्रता
कीमती है, महिमामय है, बड़ी है
उसके लिए अपना जीवन निछावर कर
अपने आप में एक महान उपलब्धि
शिवाजी के अमर सेनानी बाजीप्रभु देश
की जीवन कथा बहुत लोग पढ़ते हैं
सरदार-ए-जँग कर्नल मिश्र ने उसे
जीवन में अति सहजता से चरितार्थ
दिखाया, क्या यह स्मरणीय नहीं?●

क्रान्ति गीत

वन्देमातरम्

छीन सकती है नहीं, सरकार वन्देमातरम्।
हम गरीबों केगले का, हार वन्देमातरम्॥
सर-चढ़ों के सर में चक्कर, उस समय आता जरूर।
कान में पहुंची जहां, झनकार वन्देमातरम्॥
जेल में चक्की घसीटे, भूख से वह मर रहा।
उस समय भी कह रहा, बेजार वन्देमातरम्॥
मौत के मुंह में खड़ा है, कह रहा जल्लाद से।
भोंक दे सीने में वह, तलवार वन्देमातरम्॥
डाक्टरों ने नब्ज देखी, सिर हिला कर कह दिया।
हो गया इसको तो, आजार वन्देमातरम्॥
ईद-होली और शुबरात से भी सौ गुना।
है हमारा लाड़ला, त्यौहार वन्देमातरम्॥
जालिमों का जुल्म तो, काफूर सा उड़ जाएगा।
फैसला होगा सरे दरबार, वन्देमातरम्॥

बबर अकाली

(पृष्ठ ६८ का शेष)

बबर अकालियों का जोर कम होने लगा। अब तक तो मानो इन्हीं
राज्य था। जहां जाते, कुछ लोग हर्ष और चाव से, कुछ भय और
से, इनकी खूब आवभगत करते। सरकार के सहायक एकदम पस्त
बैठे थे। सूर्योदय के पहले और सूर्यदय के बाद घर से निकलने का
ही उन्हें न होता था। ये उन दिनों के "हीरो" समझे जाते थे। वे
थे और उनकी पूजा वीर पूजा समझी जाती थी। परन्तु धीरे
उनका जोर खत्म हो गया। सैकड़ों पकड़े गये, मुकदमे शुरू हुए।

वरियामसिंह अकेले बचे थे। जालंधर, होशियारपुर में पु
का अधिक जोर देखकर वे दूर लायलपुर में जा रहे थे। वहां पर
दिन बिल्कुल घिर गये, मगर खूब शान के साथ लड़ते हुए बच नि
लेकिन बहुत थक गये थे। कोई साथी भी न था। दशा बड़ी विचित्र
एक दिन ढेसियां नामक गांव में अपने मामा के पास गये। शस्त्र
रखे थे। शाम को भोजन करने के बाद अपने शस्त्रों के पास जा
कि पुलिस आ पहुंची। फिर घिर गये। अंग्रेज नायक ने उन्हें
जा पकड़ा। उन्होंने कृपाण से ही उसे बुरी तरह घायल कर दि
फिर वे नीचे गिर गये। हथकड़ी पहनाने की सारी चेष्टाएं विफल
दो वर्ष के पूर्ण दमन के पश्चात् अकाली जत्थे का अन्त हुआ।
मुकदमा चलने लगा, जिसका परिणाम ऊपर लिखा जा चुका है।
उस दिन इन लोगों ने शीघ्र फांसी पर चढ़ाये जाने की इच्छा प्र
थी। उनकी इच्छा पूरी हो गई। वे शांत हो गये।●

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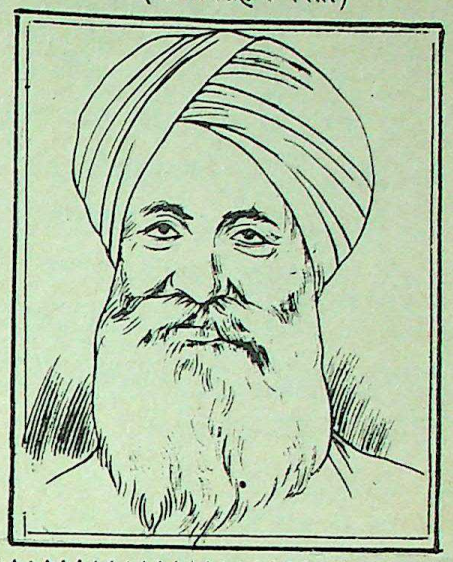
Funding: Tattva Heritage

"मैं अपना बचाव नहीं चाहता"

– भगत सिंह

सरदार किशन सिंह
(भगत सिंह के पिता)



भगतसिंह के पिता सरदार किशनसिंह ने अदालत में एक प्रार्थनापत्र दिया कि भगतसिंह को सांडर्स वध के मामले में निर्दोष सिद्धकरने के लिए कई अकाट्य प्रमाण है, इसलिए भगतसिंह को सफाई पेश करने का अवसर दिया जाये। इस पर भगतसिंह ने अपने पिता को यह पत्र लिखा––

पूज्य पिता जी,

मुझे यह जानकर आश्चर्य हुआ कि आपने स्पेशल ट्रिब्यूनल को मेरे बचाव के लिए एक प्रार्थनापत्र भेजा है। यह समाचार मेरे लिए इतना दुखदायी था कि मैं इसे शांत रहकर सहन नहीं कर सकता। इस समाचार ने मेरे हृदय की सारी शांति समाप्त कर दी। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वर्तमान स्थिति में आप इस विषय पर किस प्रकार ऐसा प्रार्थनापत्र दे सकते हैं ?

आपका बेटा होने के नाते मैं आपकी पैतृक भावनाओं एवं इच्छाओं का पूरा सम्मान करता हूं, परन्तु इसके साथ ही मैं समझता हूं कि आपको मेरे साथ परामर्श किये बिना मेरे विषय में कोई प्रार्थनापत्र देने का अधिकार न था।

आप जानते हैं कि राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में मेरे विचार आपसे सर्वथा भिन्न हैं। मैं आपकी सहमति या असहमति का विचार किये बिना सदैव स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक कार्य करता रहा हूं। मुझे विश्वास है कि आपको यह बात स्मरण होगी कि आप आरंभ से ही मुझे यह बात मना लेने के लिए प्रयत्न करते रहे हैं कि मैं अपना मुकदमा समझदारी से लड़ूं एवं अपना बचाव ठीक रूप से उपस्थित करूं। यह बात भी आपकी जानकारी में है कि मैं सदैव इसका विरोध करता रहा हूं। मैंने कभी अपने बचाव के लिए स्पष्टीकरण देने की इच्छा प्रकट नहीं की और न मैंने कभी इस बात पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार ही किया है। यह बात गलत दृष्टिकोण का परिणाम थी या मेरे पास इन कार्यों के प्रमाण में उपस्थित करने के लिए कोई तर्क न थे, यह एक ऐसी बात है जिस पर इस समय विचार नहीं किया जा सकता।

हमारी नीति और सिद्धांत

आप जानते हैं कि इस मुकदमे में हम एक निश्चित नीति पर चल रहे हैं। मेरा प्रत्येक कार्य, उस नीति से, मेरे सिद्धांतों से एवं हमारे कार्यक्रम से सामंजस्य रखते हुए होना चाहिए। आज परिस्थिति सर्वथा भिन्न है, परन्तु यदि परिस्थिति इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ और होती तो भी मैं अन्तिम व्यक्ति होता जो अपना बचाव उपस्थित करता। इस सारे मुकदमे में मेरे सामने एक ही विचार था और वह यह कि यह जानते हुए भी कि हमारे विरुद्ध भयानक अपराध लगाये गये हैं, हम उस ओर से पूर्णतया अवहेलना की वृत्ति बनाये रखें। मेरा यह दृष्टिकोण रहा है कि समस्त राजनैतिक कार्यकर्त्ताओं को ऐसी दशा में अदालत की अवहेलना और उपेक्षा दिखानी चाहिए और उनको जो कठोर से कठोर दण्ड दिया जाय, वह उन्हें हंसते-हंसते सहन करना चाहिए। इस पूरे मुकदमे के बीच हमारी नीति इसी सिद्धांत पर आधारित रही है। हम ऐसा करने में सफल हुए हैं या नहीं, यह निर्णय करना मेरा कार्य नहीं है। हां, हम स्वार्थपरता को छोड़कर अपना काम करते रहे हैं।

वायसराय ने लाहौर षड्यंत्र केस आर्डीनेंस जारी करते हुए उसके साथ जो बयान जारी किया था, उसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि इस षड्यंत्र के अपराधी शान्ति, सुव्यवस्था एवं कानून को समाप्त करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। इससे जो वातावरण उत्पन्न हुआ, उसने हमें यह अवसर दिया कि हम जनता के समक्ष यह बात उपस्थित करें कि वह यह देखे कि शांति, सुव्यवस्था और कानून समाप्त करने का प्रयास हम कर रहे हैं या हमारे विरोधी। इस बात पर विभिन्न दृष्टिकोण हो सकते हैं।

संभवतया आप भी उन लोगों में से एक हैं, जो इस बात में हमसे विरुद्ध मत रखते हैं, परन्तु इसका यह आशय नहीं है कि आप मेरी ओर से ऐसे प्रयत्न, बिना मेरे साथ परामर्श किये करते रहें। मेरा जीवन इतना मूल्यवान नहीं है जितना आप समझते हैं। कम से कम मेरे लिए इस जीवन का इतना महत्व नहीं है कि इसे सिद्धांतों की अमूल्य निधि बलिदान करके बचाया जाये। मेरे और साथी भी हैं जिनके अभियोग इतने ही भारी हैं जितना कि यह मेरा अभियोग। हमने

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute

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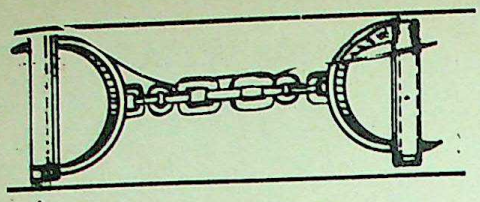

"बस, इतना ही कहूंगा कि वह एक कमजोरी थी, निम्न कोटि की मानसिक दुर्बलता। यह एक ऐसा समय था, जब हम सबकी परीक्षा हो रही थी। पिताजी, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आप इस परीक्षा में असफल रहे हैं।"

एक सम्मिलित नीति अपनाई है और हम एक दूसरे के साथ कंधा मिलाकर अन्तिम क्षण तक खड़े रहेंगे। हमें इस बात की चिंता नहीं है कि हमें व्यक्तिगत रूप में इस निश्चय का कितना मूल्य चुकाना पड़ता है।

देशद्रोह जैसा कार्य

पिताजी ! मैं बड़ी चिन्ता अनुभव कर कर रहा हूं। मुझे डर है कि आप पर दोष लगाते हुये या इससे भी अधिक आपके इस कार्य की निन्दा करते हुए मैं कहीं सभ्यता की परिधि को न लांघ जाऊं तथा मेरे शब्द अधिक कठोर न हो जायें। फिर भी मैं स्पष्ट शब्दों में इतनी बातें अवश्य कहूंगा कि यदि कोई दूसरा व्यक्ति मेरे प्रति इस प्रकार का बर्ताव करता, तो मैं उसे देशद्रोही से कुछ कम न समझता, परन्तु आपके लिए मैं यह बात नहीं कह सकता।

बस, इतना ही कहूंगा कि यह एक कमजोरी थी, निम्न कोटि की मानसिक दुर्बलता। यह एक ऐसा समय था, जब हम सबकी परीक्षा हो रही थी। पिताजी, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आप इस परीक्षा में असफल रहे हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि आपने अपना समस्त जीवन भारत की स्वतंत्रता के लिये न्यौछावर कर दिया है, परन्तु इस महत्वपूर्ण घड़ी में आपने ऐसी दुर्बलता क्यों दिखाई, मैं यह बात समझ नहीं पाया।

अन्त में मैं आपको और अपने दूसरे मित्रों एवं मेरे मुकदमे से सहानुभूति रखने वाले सभी व्यक्तियों को यह बता देना चाहता हूं कि मैं आपके इस कार्य को अच्छी दृष्टि से नहीं देखता। मैं आज भी किसी मूल्य पर अपना बचाव उपस्थित करने के पक्ष में नहीं हूं। यदि न्यायालय हमारे कुछ साथियों की ओर से स्पष्टीकरण इत्यादि के बारे में उपस्थित की गई प्रार्थना स्वीकार कर लेता, तो भी मैं कोई स्पष्टीकरण उपस्थित न करता। (भूख हड़ताल के दिनों में मैंने अदालत को जो प्रार्थनापत्र दिया था और उन दिनों में मैंने जो भेंट दी थी, उसका अर्थ गलत समझा गया और समाचारपत्रों में यह प्रकाशित कर दिया गया कि मैं स्पष्टीकरण देना चाहता हूं। इसके लि मैं तो किसी भी अवसर पर बचाव करने के लिये सहमत नहीं था।) मेरे विचार वही हैं, जो पहले थे। जेल में बन्दी मेरे साथी इस बात को ओर से पार्टी के साथ विद्रोह एवं वि घात समझते होंगे। मुझे उनके अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट करने का अवस नहीं मिल सकेगा।

मैं चाहता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में कठिनाइयां उत्पन्न हो गई हैं, उनके में लोगों को वास्तविकता का ज्ञान हो अतः मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूं कि शीघ्र ही यह पत्र प्रकाशित करा दें।

आपका

भग

जब नाना फडनवीस ने अंग्रेजों का गोला-बारू जब्त किया

पेशवाई के जमाने में नगर, पूना, सितारा, ये तीनों स्वतंत्र थे—पेशवा के अधिकार में ही थे। प्रबन्ध व्यवस्था बड़ी अच्छी थी। प्रान्त की शासन व्यवस्था उत्तम रीति से कैसे चलाई जाती है, यह ज्ञान उस समय भारतीयों को था। पेशवाई खत्म होते ही जो अंग्रेज कमिश्नर पूना आया उसका नाम था एल्फिन्स्टन।

उसने स्वयं लिखा है कि "पूना इतना बड़ा शहर है, लेकिन यहाँ रात में न कभी चोरी होती है, न कहीं डाका पड़ता है। शराब कहीं नहीं बिकती वरन शहर में उसका आना जुर्म है।"

आमदनी का जमा-खर्च जमा बंदी आदि की जो पद्धति पेशवा से जमाने में चलती रही—अंग्रेजों ने भी उसी की हू-ब-हू नकली जारी रखी।

नाना फड़नवीस की गुप्तचर व्यवस्था कितनी सतर्क तथा सफल थी, इसका एक ही उदाहरण काफी होगा। घटना इस प्रकार है कि एक दिन बम्बई के अंग्रेजों ने घाट से एक ऐसी पालकी रवाना की गोला-बारूद भरा था और यह रेजीडे पास भेजी गई थी। नाना फड़नवी गुप्तचरों ने फौरन इसका भेद पा लि पालकी में क्या छिपा है। उन्होंने पेश खबर की। उन दिनों गुप्तचर चिट्ठ लिखकर जासूसी की खबरें भेजते थे।

अतः नाना फड़नवीस ने यह पालकी जाने का आदेश अपनी पूना स्थित कच जारी किया। पालकी पेशवा के आ ने रोक दी। तब अंग्रेज रेजीडेन्ट ने को लिखित प्रार्थना-पत्र भेजकर क "श्रीमान्! हमारी पालकी को ज अनुमति प्रदान करें क्योंकि उसे सिपाहियों ने घाट पर रोक रखा है।"

पेशवा ने उस का जवाब भिजवाया— पालकी हमने जब्त कर ली है और व वापस नहीं की जा सकती। इसका वि आपको पहले ही कर लेना था कि भी कुछ हो रहा हो, उसकी जानका समय राजा को रहनी चाहिए। हमें लगी, तो जो उचित था वह हमने कि

रेजिडेन्ट निरुत्तर हो गया। पालकी गोला-बारूद पेशवा के शस्त्रागार में हो गया।

कहते हैं, पेशवा की गुप्तचर व्यवस्था इतनी सक्रिय थी कि सेना के किस मुकाम पर भांजने करते समय कब किससे क्या इसका पता भी गुप्तचरों द्वारा पेशवा को जाता था।

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फांसी की कोठरी में

जेल में भगतसिंह जिस गीत को प्राय: गुनगुनाते रहते थे। वह यह था—

"मेरा रंग दे बसंती चोला।
इसी रंग में वीर शिवा ने मां का बंधन खोला।।

यही रंग हल्दीघाटी में खुलकर के था खेला।
बन-बन वह मारा फिरता था दिल में लिए फफोला।।

नव बसंत में भारत के हित वीरों का यह मेला।
इसी रंग में रंग वीरों ने जननी जयजय बोला।।

जेल से पत्र लिख कर अपने पिता से उन्होंने तिलक रचित गीता रहस्य और नैपोलियन बोनापार्ट की जीवनी मंगवाई। आगे सन् १९३० के अक्टूबर को भगतसिंह, सुखदेव और राजगुरू को फांसी का दंड सुना दिया गया। सात साथियों को आजन्म कालापानी। पांच लोग मुक्त हो गये। कुंदन लाल को ५ साल की कैद दी गयी, प्रेमदत्त को तीन वर्ष।

फांसी की सजा सुनाई जाने के बाद भारत के सभी प्रांतों और नगरों में हड़तालों और जुलूसों का समां बंध गया। उनमें स्त्रियां तक गिरफ्तार हुईं। छात्र गिरफ्तार हुए और लाठी चार्ज हुई। युवा हृदय आंदोलित हो उठे। भगतसिंह के आत्मबलिदान देने के पीछे यही तो लक्ष्य था। वह पूरा हो रहा था। देश की तरुणाई जगकर अंगड़ाई लेने लगी, अंग्रेज चौकन्ने होने लगे।

यशपाल जी से एक बार चर्चा चली तो वह कहने लगे—"सरदार किशनसिंह ने स्पेशल ट्रिब्यूनल में एक अर्जी भेज दी थी, जिस से भगतसिंह बड़े क्षुब्ध हुए थे। कहा था उन्होंने, फांसी की कोठरी में—"माई फादर हैज स्टैब्ड मी इन दी बैक' (मेरे पिता ने ही मेरी पीठ में छुरा भोंक दिया)। क्योंकि फांसी न हो, इसके लिए उन्होंने प्रार्थना पत्र दिया। यद्यपि यह खारिज भी हो गया था और फांसी बहाल रखी गई थी।

इतिहास में यह एक विलक्षण और अप्रतिम उदाहरण है कि जब लाहौर के कई वकीलों ने भगतसिंह से आग्रह किया कि "हम गवर्नर को आपकी रिहाई के लिए प्रार्थना पत्र देना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि आप राष्ट्र की अमूल्य धरोहर हैं" तो भगतसिंह ने कहा 'आप निश्चिंत' रहिए। अर्जी हम ही लिखकर भेज देंगे पर वकील न माने, कहा—'आप हस्ताक्षर कर दें।' भगतसिंह ने कहा—'कल देखेंगे।' लेकिन जब दूसरे दिन वकील पहुंचे तो भगतसिंह सचमुच एक पत्र गवर्नर को भेज चुके थे जो यहां प्रस्तुत है :—

सेवा में,

गर्वनर पंजाब
३ मार्च, १९३१

महोदय,

यथोचित सम्मान के साथ हम निम्नांकित तथ्य आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं :—

"भारत में ब्रिटिश सरकार के प्रधान वाइसराय महोदय द्वारा लागू किए गए स्पेशल एस०सी०सी० के अन्तर्गत निर्मित विशेष अदालत द्वारा ७ अक्टूबर १९३० को हमें मौत की सजा दी गई है। हम पर दोष

"तुम्हारे न्यायालय के कथनानुसार हमने एक युद्ध का संचालन किया और इसीलिए हम युद्ध के बन्दी हैं। अतः हम चाहते हैं कि हमें फांसी चढ़ाने के स्थान पर गोली मार दी जाय....."

लगाया गया था कि हमने इंग्लैण्ड के शासक महाराज जार्ज के विरुद्ध युद्ध का संचालन किया है।

न्यायालय की उक्त तजबीजों में दो चीजें पहले ही मान ली गई हैं :

प्रथम तो यह है कि भारत तथा इंग्लैंड के बीच युद्ध की स्थिति है और दूसरे यह कि हमने वस्तुत: युद्ध में भाग लिया है और इसलिए हम युद्ध बंदी के रूप में हैं।

दूसरी पूर्व मान्यता से थोड़ी सी मिथ्या प्रशंसा सी ज्ञात होती है किन्तु फिर भी उससे सहमत होने की आकांक्षा का प्रतिरोध करने को जी नहीं चाहता।

जहां तक युद्ध का प्रश्न है हमें उसके कुछ विस्तार में जाने की आवश्यकता है। प्रत्यक्ष रूप से तो यहां किसी प्रकार का युद्ध नहीं है किंतु फिर भी यदि हम मान लें कि युद्ध की स्थिति है तो ठीक तरह समझे जाने के लिए हमें इसे और स्पष्ट करना चाहिए। हम घोषित करें कि यहां युद्ध की स्थिति विद्यमान है और तब तक विद्यमान रहेगी जब तक भारत के पसीना बहाने वाले जनसमूह तथा उनके प्राकृतिक वैभव का मुट्ठी भर शोषकों द्वारा शोषण होता रहेगा। हो सकता है कि वे शोषक विशुद्ध अंग्रेज पूंजीपति हों, अथवा भारतीय तथा अंग्रेज दोनों मिले जुले हों अथवा विशुद्ध भारतीय ही हों। हो सकता है कि वे अपने कपटपूर्ण शोषण का संचालन मिल जुल कर करें, अथवा उसका संचालन विशुद्ध भारतीय नौकरशाही के माध्यम से किया जाय। इससे मूल लक्ष्य में कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता। इसकी हमें कोई चिंता नहीं है कि आपकी सरकार प्रयत्न करे और उसे छोटी-मोटी सुविधाओं तथा समझौतों द्वारा भारतीय समाज के उच्चवर्ग के नेताओं को मिला लेने में सफलता भी मिल जाय और इस प्रकार सेना के मुख्य गठन में अस्थाई मनोबल की कमी भी आ जाय।

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हमें इसकी भी कोई चिन्ता नहीं कि एक बार पुनः भारतीय आन्दोलन का अगुआ क्रांतिकारी दल अपने को घने युद्ध के बीच छुटा हुआ पाये। हमें इसकी भी परवाह नहीं कि वे नेता जिनकी सहानुभूति तथा भावना के लिए हम व्यक्तिगत रूप से ऋणी हैं जो उन्होंने हमारे लिए व्यक्त की, अब वही अन्यथा बातें करने लगे हैं। किंतु फिर भी हम उस तथ्य की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते कि वे नेतागण इतने कठोर हृदय हो जायें कि शांति वार्ता में गृहहीन, मित्रविहीन तथा निर्धन महिला कार्यकर्त्रियों की, जिन पर सेना के अगुवा लोगों से संबंधित होने के आरोप लगाये गये हैं, तथा जिन्हें नेतागण अतीत की गर्त्त में ढक चुके अहिंसात्मक आंदोलन का शत्रु समझते हैं, अवहेलना की जाय। हम उन वीरांगनाओं की उपेक्षा होते हुए भी नहीं देख सकते जिन्होंने प्रसन्नता के साथ अपने पतियों, भाइयों, तथा अपने साथ अपने सर्वस्व का, जो प्रियतम था, बलिदान कर दिया है तथा जिन्हें तुम्हारी सरकार ने 'बागी' घोषित कर दिया है। हम इसकी भी परवाह नहीं करते कि तुम्हारे दलाल इतने नीचे स्तर पर उतर आते हैं कि वे उनके निर्मल चरित्र पर, उनकी तथा उनके दल की प्रतिष्ठा को ठेस पहुंचाने के लिए मनगढ़न्त आधारहीन कलंक लगाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में भी हमारा संघर्ष जारी रहेगा। चुनाव आपके हाथ में है—विभिन्न अफसरों पर संघर्ष का स्वरूप भी विभिन्न हो सकता है, कभी यह प्रकट और कभी गुप्त हो सकता है। कभी यह विशुद्ध आंदोलन का तो कभी जीवन मृत्यु के भीषण संघर्ष का रूप ले सकता है। इस बात का चुनाव कि यह संघर्ष रक्त-रंजित हो अथवा तुलनात्मक ढंग से शांतिमय हो, आपके हाथ में है। जिस मार्ग को आप चाहे चुन लें। किंतु यह युद्ध निरन्तर नई शक्ति, निर्दिष्ट उत्साह तथा अदम्य दृढ़ता से चलता रहेगा, जब तक कि समाजवादी गणतंत्र की स्थापना नहीं हो जाती तथा वर्तमान सामाजिक व्यवस्था का स्थान सार्वजनिक वैभव पर आधारित नई सामाजिक व्यवस्था नहीं ले लेती और इस प्रकार प्रत्येक प्रकार के शोषण का अन्त होने के उपरांत आवश्यक तथा अस्थाई शांति के युग में मानवता का अभ्युदय नहीं हो जाता। निकट भविष्य में ही अन्तिम निर्णय का युद्ध लड़ा जायगा और अंतिम निष्कर्ष प्राप्त होंगे।

साथियों की याद

पूंजीवादी तथा साम्राज्यवादी शोषण के दिन अब गिने चुने हैं। युद्ध तो हमारे साथ आरम्भ हुआ है पर उसका अन्त हमारे जीवन के साथ नहीं होने जा रहा है। यह ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं तथा वर्तमान वातावरण का अवश्यम्भावी परिणाम है। हमारे [illegible] बलिदान उस शृंखला की कड़ी मात्र [illegible] जिसका सौन्दर्य अतुलनीय बलिदानी [illegible] भगवतीचरण के अत्यन्त दारूण किंतु [illegible] ही शानदार आत्म-त्याग और हमारे [illegible] योद्धा 'आजाद' की शानदार मृत्यु से [illegible] उठा है।

जहां तक हमारे भाग्य का सवाल [illegible] मैं यह कहने की आज्ञा चाहता हूं कि [illegible] तुमने हमें मौत के घाट उतारने का निश्चय कर लिया है, तुम निश्चय ही ऐसा करो। तुम्हारे हाथ में शक्ति है और संसार में शक्ति ही सब से बड़ा औचित्य है। हम जानते कि 'जिसकी लाठी उसकी भैंस' वाली कहावत ही तुम्हारा मार्ग निर्देशन करती है। हमारा पूरा अभियोग उसका प्रमाण है। यहां हम कहना चाहते हैं कि तुम्हारे न्यायालय के कथनानुसार हमने एक युद्ध का संचालन किया और इसीलिए हम युद्ध के बन्दी हैं। अतः हम कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ वैसा व्यवहार हो अर्थात् हमें फांसी [illegible] के स्थान पर हमें गोली मार दी जाय। सिद्ध करना तुम्हारा काम है कि वास्तव तुम्हारा अर्थ वही है जो हमने न्यायालय में कहा है। हम प्रार्थना करते हैं और आशा है कि आप कृपया अपने सैनिक विभाग को हमारी वध प्रक्रिया को पूर्ण करने लिए अपनी टुकड़ी भेजने की आज्ञा देंगे।

आपका
भगतसिंह

मोटी कार्पिंग पेन्सिल में बादामी रंग दो स्लिपों पर लिखा गया यह पत्र क्या है? ऐसा पत्र फांसी के किसी और भी ने कभी संसार के किसी देश में लिखा यह अकेला पत्र ही भगतसिंह के मनोबलिदानी भावना तथा अभयवृत्ति का रूप से परिचय देने के लिए क्या पर्याप्त इसकी प्रतिलिपि जब उस दिन भगत ने अपने हमदर्द वकीलों (प्राणनाथ को दिखाई तो वे अवाक् उस अर्जी को खड़े रह गये। चकित स्तंभित।

काल कोठरी में भी भगतसिंह वकील वर्मा जी लियानाइड एण्ड्रीव (सेविन वेपर हौड, विक्टर, ह्यूगो आस्कर 'हालकेन, डिकेंस, गोर्की, स्टेपनियेक पढ़ने में मग्न थे। जयदेव कपूर की मुझे बताया कि 'कई बार मैं जब उन मिलने लाहौर गई तो भगतसिंह मुझे खुश-हंसते खेलते ही दिखाई देते। भगत का ध्यान मेरी तरफ जाता तो कहते 'देखो बेबे (विद्यावती जी) को क्या हो

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इसीलिए मैं बेबे (मां) को फांसी के दिन यहां आने से रोकूंगा।" एक दिन मेरे सामने हीं भगतसिंह की मां रोने लगी तो भगतसिंह बोले, 'बेबे रोती हो, जब कि तुम्हारे पांच बेटे हैं। मैं नहीं रहूंगा फिर भी चार तुम्हारी सेवा करेंगे, लेकिन देखती हो जयदेव तो इनका अकेला ही लड़का है।' इस तरह वे मां को ढांढ़स बंधाते।" उन्हीं दिनों जयदेव भाई की मां, जिन्हें मैं 'चाची' कहता रहा हूं, के सिर में जो भयंकर पीड़ा शुरू हुई। वह अभी भी उभरती रहती है। उस दर्द के कारण उनकी आंखे कमजोर हो गयी हैं। कितना कुछ झेला है इन परिवारों ने।

भगतसिंह ने जेल से अपने छोटे भाई कुलतारसिंह को जो पत्र लिखा उसमें ये पंक्तियां भी उद्धृत कीं :—

उसे फिक्र है हरदम नया तर्जे जफा क्या है,
हमें यह शौक देखें, सितम का इन्तहा क्या है।
दहर से क्यों खफा रहें, चर्ख का क्यों गिला करें
सारा जहां अदू सही, आओ मुकाबिला करें
कोई दम का मेहमां हूं ऐ अहले महफिल,
चिरागे सहर हूं, बुझा चाहता हूं।
मेरी हवा में रहेगी ख्याल की बिजली
यह मुश्के खाक है, फानी रहे न रहे।
अच्छा, रुख्सत, खुश रहो अहले वतन!
हम तो सफर करते हैं।

तुम्हारा भाई
भगतसिंह

कई दिनों तक जब परिवार का कोई मुलाकात के लिए जेल नहीं पहुंचा तो गदर-पार्टी के कैदी सोहनसिंह भकना पूछते हैं—"भगतसिंह इधर तुम्हारा कोई रिश्तेदार नहीं आया?"

वे बोले, "आये तो बाबाजी, तीन ही तो मेरे रिश्तेदार हैं?"—

बाबा पूछते हैं, "तीन कौन से?"

भगतसिंह ने गिनाये, 'खून का एक रिश्ता तो है खुदीराम बोस और करतार सिंह सराबा सरीखे शहीदों से। ख्यालों में उनके दर्शन करता हूं।

दूसरा रिश्ता आप लोगों से है, जिनसे मैंने यह रास्ता पाया और तीसरे संबंधी होंगे नई पीढ़ी के वे लोग जो बलिदान की खाद वाली भूमि से जन्मेंगे और इस क्रांतिरथ को आगे खींचेंगे।" बाबा उनके जवाब से खुश नजर आये। विप्लवी का भला इस संसार में और कौन सगा हो सकता है?

एक पत्र के उत्तर में भगतसिंह ने १४ नं० बैरक वाले साथियों को लिखा,—"मुझ से ज्यादा खुशकिस्मत कौन होगा? जब कोई ख्वाहिश बाकी नहीं। बड़ी बेताबी से आखिरी इम्तहां का इंतजार।"

अब सरदार से कभी भेंट न होगी, सोचकर शिव वर्मा रो उठे तो भगतसिंह ने उनसे कहा, "प्रभात (दल का नाम) भावुक मत बनो। तुम्हें अभी लम्बी यात्रा पार करनी है। जयदेव कपूर भी साथ थे। जिस समय वे फांसी के लिए चले, उन्होंने अंग्रेजी में लाहौर के अंग्रेज डिप्टी कप्तान से मुस्कुराते हुए कहा था—

"वेल मि० मैजिस्ट्रेट, यू आर फार्चुनेट टू बी ऐबल टुडे टु सी हाऊ इंडियन रेवोल्युशनरीज कैन एम्ब्रेस डेथ विद प्लेजर फार दि सेक आफ देअर सुप्रीम आइडियल"—(मि० मजिस्ट्रेट यह आपका सौभाग्य है कि आपको यह प्रत्यक्ष देखने का सुअवसर प्राप्त हो रहा है कि अपने उच्चादर्शों के लिए भारतीय क्रांतिकारी कैसी खुशी से मौत को गले लगाते हैं)

बिना स्वाध्याय के काल कोठरी में भी उन्हें चैन नहीं था। भगतसिंह के भाई सरदार कुलतार सिंह द्वारा मुझे ज्ञात हुआ कि सेन्ट्रल जेल लाहौर से २४ जुलाई सन् १९२४ को पत्र लिखकर १० पुस्तकें किसी भी तरह जरूर भेज देनेपर जोर दिया था। वे पुस्तकें थी :—

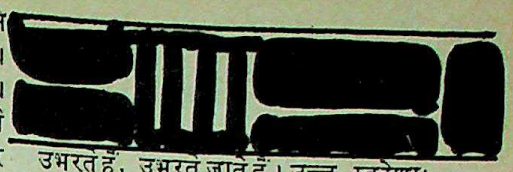
१. रसेल की "व्हाई मैन फाइट"
२. कार्ल लिव केन्ट की "मिलिटेरिज्म"
३. प्रिंस क्रोपाटकिन की 'म्यूचअल एड'
४. अप्टन सिकलेयर की 'स्पाई'
५. मार्क्स की 'सिविल वार इन फ्रांस'
६. 'सोविएट ऐट वर्क'
७. फील्ड फेक्ट्रीज एण्ड वर्कशाप
८. बुखारिन की 'हिस्टारिकल मैटीरियलिज्म'
९. लैण्ड रिवोल्यूशन इन एशिया
१०. कोलेप्स आफ सेकेण्ड इंटरनेशनल

फांसी के समय

जेल में खुद के पढ़ने के लिए बाहर से अच्छी पुस्तकें भेज देने का आग्रह उनके ध्यान में रहता था। यही नहीं, फांसी के ठीक चन्द मिनट पहले भी भगत सिंह एक अंग्रेजी जीवनी दत्तचित्त होकर पढ़ने में मग्न थे। जेल अफसरों ने जब उन्हें पढ़ने में मशगूल पाया तो बोले 'फांसी देने का आदेश आ गया आपके लिए, जल्दी तैयार होकर चलें।" भगत सिंह बोले, 'रूक जाओ अभी मैं एक क्रांतिकारी से मुलाकात कर रहा हूं।'

वह क्रांतिकारी था लेनिन। भगतसिंह उसी की जीवनी पढ़ रहे थे। यही आखिरी किताब थी। पढ़ने की यह प्यास आज कितने लोगों में है?

और फिर वसंत में नये पात खिलते हैं, पंजाब के गांवों में सुनहली फसलों के बीच 'भगतसिंह दी घोड़ी' 'लोक गीत के बोल



उभरते हैं, उभरते जाते हैं। उच्च स्वरेणा:—

"—ओह केहड़ी करमा वालिए,
जिस तैनूं लिया भरमा?
ओहने मेरा दरद न जाणिया,
दिता आपणा दरद बंढा।"

—अरे, वह कौन भागवान है जिसने तेरा दिल ही मेरी ताक से हटाकर अपनी तरफ खींच लिया, उसने मेरा दर्द नहीं समझा अलबत्ता अपना दर्द तो बांट लिया।

जबाव में आवाज उभरती है,

"मेरी लाडी सोहणी जहान तो,
ओहदी कोई कोई रखदा चाह।
ओहने खिंच लिये कई जवान ते
बड़े-बड़े शहनशाह.....

—ओये करमां वालिए, जिसने मुझे मोह लिया है वह संसार की सर्वश्रेष्ठ सुन्दरी है, उसकी चाह भी कोई विरला आदमी ही करता है। उसने कई तरूण तो खींच ही लिए, कई बड़े बड़े सम्राटों को भी अपने आकर्षण पाश में निबद्ध कर लिया है और ये वही हैं जिसके लिए लाला लाजपत राय ने अपनी जान ही कुर्बान कर दी और जिस के लिए वीर सुभाष बोस ने जेल में अपनी उम्र खपा दी। मैंने उसी देश की आजादी नाम की सुन्दरी से अपना ब्याह रचाया है।

"—अज जाणां ते फिर नहीं आवनां
जदो वीर भगतसिंह साहब नूं,
दिता फांसी दा हुक्म सुणा।"

—आज जाकर फिर लौटना नहीं होगा। यह तब की बात है—जब भगतसिंह को फांसी की सजा दी गयी। ●

कुशल राजनेता

एक बार किसी नेता ने चर्चिल से पूछा—"कुशल राजनीतिज्ञ में सब से बड़ा गुण क्या होना चाहिए?"

चर्चिल ने बड़े तपाक से कहा—"इस बात का कि अगले दिन, अगले महीने और अगले वर्ष क्या होने वाला है यह बता सके और फिर समय गुजर जाने के बाद, बिना किसी संकोच के यह भी घोषित कर सके कि किन खास कारणों से उसकी भविष्यवाणी सच नहीं हुई।"

प्रे० मुनोज़ आंचलिया

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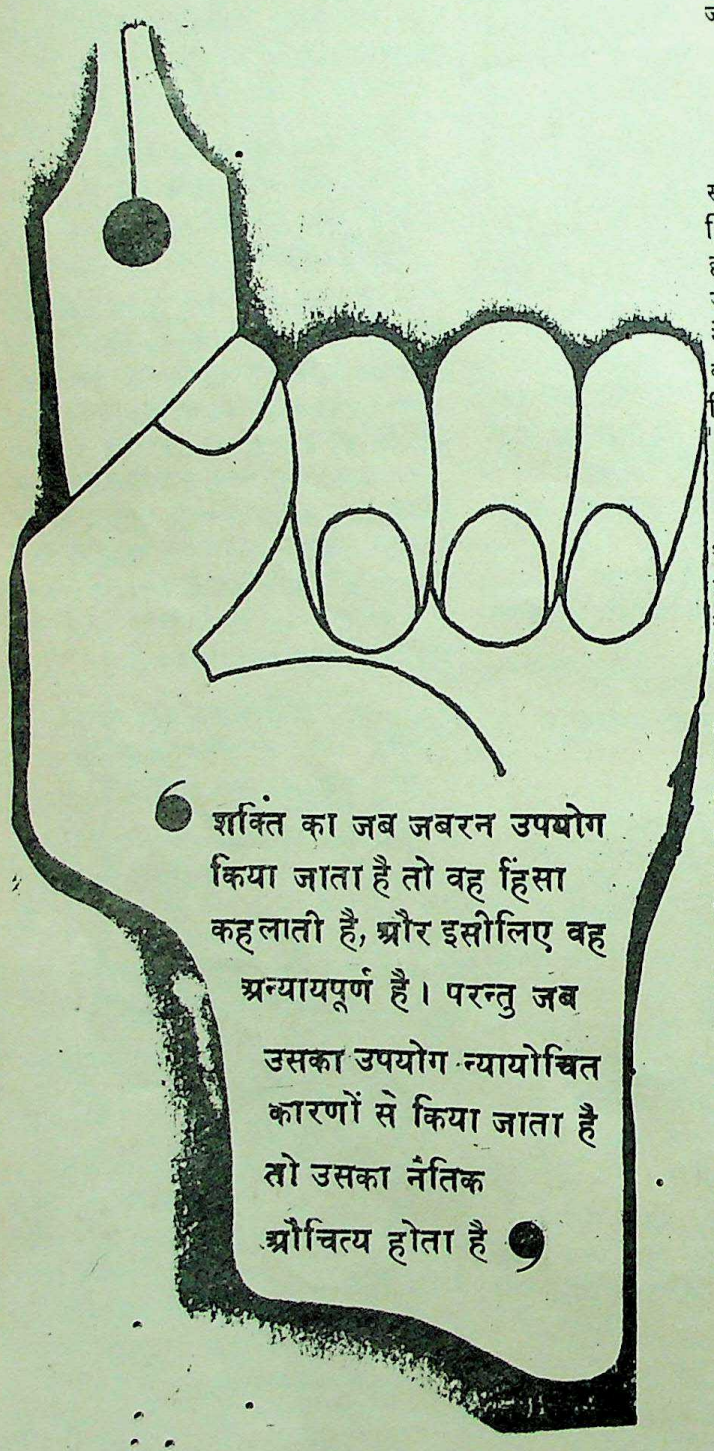
अदालत में बयान

असेम्बली बम-काण्ड के मुकदमे में भगतसिंह और बटुकेश्वर दत्त ने जो ऐतिहासिक बयान दिया, वह अंग्रेजी में था। उसका अविकल हिन्दी रूपान्तर यहां पाठकों की जानकारी के लिए प्रस्तुत है, क्योंकि यह न केवल बयान है वरन् इसमें उन्होंने अपने मूल उद्देश्यों को उद्घाटित करते हुए क्रांति की व्याख्या भी की है —सं०



६ जून १९२९, दिल्ली सैशन्स कोर्ट

(बअदालत, मि० लियानार्ड मिडिल्टन)

हमारे विरूद्ध भयंकर आरोप लगाये गये हैं। इस विषय में हम जो किया उसका स्पष्टीकरण देना चाहते हैं।

इस विषय के संबंध में निम्नलिखित प्रश्न सामने आते हैं :—

(१) क्या असेम्बली में बम फेंके गये, यदि यह सच है तो क्यों

(२) निचली अदालत ने जो आरोप लगाये हैं वे सच हैं या नहीं

प्रथम प्रश्न के पहले आधे हिस्से का उत्तर है—"हां"। पर स्वयं आंखों देखा बताते हैं उन्होंने सच न कहकर अदालत का अपमा किया है, परन्तु जब हम स्वयं इस बात से इंकार नहीं कर रहे हैं इसीलि हमारे वक्तव्य के उसके औचित्य को देखते हुए न्याय किया जाव उदाहरणार्थ सार्जेंट टेरी का वक्तव्य जो उसने दिया है कि उसने हम से एक के हाथ से पिस्तौल छीना—यह जान बूझकर झूठ कहा गया है क्योंकि जब हमने आत्मसमर्पण किया तो हममें से किसी के पास पिस्तौल नहीं था।

विधान के विरुद्ध

जिन अन्य गवाहों ने यह कहा कि उन्होंने हमें बम फेंकते देखा था, उनका यह झूठ उनकी सूरत पर साफ दिखाई दे रहा था। यह उन्हीं लोगों के लिए नसीहत है जो न्याय की पवित्रता और योग्य करने का दम भरते हैं। हम सरकारी वकील के न्यायपूर्ण व्यवह तथा अदालत के न्यायिक दृष्टिकोण की सराहना करते हैं।

रहा पहले प्रश्न का उत्तरार्द्ध, तो हम तनिक विस्तृत रूप में उस स्पष्ट और खुले शब्दों में उत्तर देना चाहेंगे। साथ ही हम यह भी देना चाहते हैं कि ऐसा करने में हमारा क्या उद्देश्य था और किन प स्थितियों ने हमें ऐसा करने के लिए बाध्य किया, जो आज इतिह की घटना हो गई है। कुछ पुलिस अधिकारी जो हमसे जेल में मिल आये थे, उन्होंने हमें बताया कि लार्ड इरविन ने दोनों भवनों के सम्मि लित अधिवेशन के अपने भाषण में इस घटना का उल्लेख करते कहा था कि "यह हमला किसी एक व्यक्ति के विरूद्ध नहीं बल्कि स विधान के विरूद्ध था।" इससे हमें तुरन्त ही विश्वास हो गया कि घट के उद्देश्य का उचित मूल्यांकन किया गया है।

हम मानव प्रेम में किसी से कम नहीं हैं। और व्यक्ति वि से तो हमारा तनिक भी द्वेष नहीं है। हम तो मानव जीवन को इ पवित्र मानते हैं कि उसका शब्दों में वर्णन करना असंभव है। न तो व्यावसायिक घृणात्मक-आतंक के प्रणेता हैं और न इस कारण दे लिए कलंक हैं, जैसा कि थोथे समाजवादी दीवान चमनलाल ने आ लगाया है; और न तो जैसा लाहौर के "ट्रिब्यून" तथा अन्य पत्रों ने "पागल" कहा है, हम पागल ही हैं।

न्याय का धोखा

हम अपने आपको इतिहास के, अपने देश की परिस्थिति के मानव-आशा-आकांक्षाओं के एक नम्र विद्यार्थी के सिवा और कुछ समझते। साथ ही हम दया से घृणा करते हैं। हमारा सक्रिय वि

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

हम क्रान्ति की प्रतीक्षा करेंगे

ती उस संस्था से है, जो जन्म से ही अपने आपको न केवल निकम्मा साबित करती रही है, बल्कि अपनी बर्बर शक्ति से उत्पात मचाती रही। हम जितना अधिक इस प्रश्न पर सोचते हैं, उतना ही अधिक यह विश्वास होता जाता है कि यह संस्था संसार के सामने यह प्रदर्शन कर रही है कि भारत कितना गिरा और असहाय देश है। इस तरह यह सत्ता एक आततायी, गैर-जिम्मेदार तथा एकतंत्रवादी शासन की प्रतीक है।

जनता के प्रतिनिधियों ने राष्ट्रीय मांगों को बारबार शासन के सामने दुहराया परन्तु उन मांगों का अंत रद्दी की टोकरी में ही फेंके जाने में हुआ। भवन में जो उचित प्रस्ताव पारित किये गये उनका अनादर कर, पार्लियामेंट में ही उन्हें पैरों तले रौंदा गया। दमनकारी कानूनों के विरूद्ध भवन में पारित प्रस्तावों तथा मध्यस्थता झगड़े सुलझाने के प्रस्तावों के प्रति अनादर दिखाया गया और सरकारी सुझावों तथा प्रस्तावों का चुने हुए सदस्यों द्वारा विरोध करने पर भी इस सबकी उपेक्षा कर कलम के एक झटके से उन्हें कानूनों में परिवर्तित कर दिया गया।

संक्षेप में, हमारे हजार प्रयत्न करने पर भी हम ऐसी संस्था के रहने का न्यायसंगत कारण न पा सके। यह संस्था जो बड़े तामझाम से करोड़ों भारतीयों के खून-पसीने की कमाई से बनीहै, वह एकदम खोखली है और एक धोखा मात्र है।

इसी तरह हम उन जननेताओं की विचारधारा को भी समझने असमर्थ हैं जो जनता के समय और पैसे को, इस प्रकार के भारतीय गुलामी के इस नाटकीय प्रदर्शन पर बर्बाद कर रहे हैं।

शोषक नीति

हम इन सब पर विचार करते रहे। अंत में मजदूर आंदोलन में भाग लेने वाले नेताओं की सामूहिक गिरफ्तारी पर ट्रेड-डिस्प्यूट बिल ने हमें असेम्बली भवन में आने पर बाध्य किया कि हम उस पर होने वाली बहस को सुनें उसे सुनने के पश्चात् हमें शोषकों की दमन-नीति तथा मजदूरों को गुलाम बनाने वाली शक्ति के इस प्रतीकात्मक शासन से कुछ भी आशा नहीं करनी चाहिए।

अंत में समस्त देश की जनता के प्रतिनिधियों का जो अपमान किया गया तथा देश की लाखों भूखी तथा संघर्षरत जनता को उसके आर्थिक सुख-समृद्धि के प्राथमिक अधिकारों से वंचित किया गया, तो हमने उसे अमानुषिक तथा बर्बर व्यवहार समझा।

हमारी ही तरह जिन्होंने विचार किया होगा वे शांत नहीं बैठ सकते। उनकी आत्मा ऐसे पीड़ितों के लिए दुखी है, जिन्होंने मूक रह अपने रक्त से इस शोषक वर्ग का आर्थिक ढांचा तैयार किया। ऐसे शोषकों में सरकार सबसे बड़ी शोषक है, जो हमारी दुखी और पीड़ित आत्मा की पुकार को इस प्रकार रौंद सकती है।

इस संबंध में हमने गवर्नर-जनरल की कार्यकारिणी के भूतपूर्व वित्त सदस्य श्री एस०आर० दास के वे शब्द याद रखे जो उन्होंने उस प्रसिद्ध पत्र में अपने पुत्र को लिखे थे, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था—"इंग्लैण्ड को उसके स्वप्नों की निद्रा से जगाने के लिए बम के धमाके की आवश्यकता है।" इसीलिए हमने पार्लियामेंट में बमों का धमाका सबकी ओर से किया जिन्हें अपने हृदय की वेदना को व्यक्त करने के लिए सिवा और कोई चारा न रह गया था। ऐसा करने में हमारा केवल यही उद्देश्य था कि बहरों को हम अपनी आवाज सुनायें और जो वास्तविकता की ओर ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं उन्हें समय से चेता दें।

दूसरों ने भी ऐसा ही अनुभव किया है जैसा कि हमने किया है कि इस भारतीय जनभावना के महासागर में इन बुराइयों से एक भयंकर तूफान आने वाला है। हमने उन लोगों के लिए यह खतरे का झंडा फहरा दिया है जो भावी संकटों की परवाह न कर आगे बढ़े चले जा रहे हैं। हमने उस काल्पनिक अहिंसा के युग की समाप्ति की सूचना दी है जिसकी निर्थकता, उदीयमान पीढ़ी पूर्व रूप से समझ चुकी है। ८ जून, १९२९ को हमने यह मार्ग इसीलिए अपनाया है कि हम और हमारे जैसे लाखों भविष्य में आनेवाली यातनाओं का स्पष्ट चित्र सामने देख रहे हैं।

अहिंसा

ऊपर हमने काल्पनिक अहिंसा का उल्लेख किया है, उसके विषय में कुछ कहना आवश्यक है। शक्ति का जब जबरन उपयोग किया जाता है। तो वह हिंसा कहलाती है, और इसीलिए वह अन्यायपूर्ण कहलाती है, परन्तु जब उसका उपयोग न्यायोचित कारणों के लिए किया जाता है तो उसका नैतिक औचित्य होता है। शक्ति का किसी भी रूप में उपयोग न करने की बात केवल कल्पना मात्र है। जो नया आंदोलन देश में प्रारंभ हुआ है। और जिस संबंध में हमने चेतावनी दी है, उसकी प्रेरणा का स्रोत गुरू गोविंद सिंह, शिवाजी, कमालपाशा, रिजाखा, वाशिंगटन गैरीवाल्डी, हफफायत और लेनिन हैं। हमने जब देखा कि भारतीय जननायक तथा सरकार ने इस उद्देश्य की ओर से आंख और कान बंद कर लिए हैं तो हमने यह चेतावनी ऐसे स्थान पर देने का निश्चय किया जहां वह अनसुनी न की जा सके।

अभी तक हमने जो कुछ कहा वह इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण था कि हमने यह क्यों किया। अब हम अपने उद्देश्य पर प्रकाश डालना चाहते हैं।

हम इस बात को फिर दुहराना नहीं चाहते कि जिन व्यक्तियों को इस दुर्घटना में थोड़ी बहुत चोटें आई हैं, उनमें से या असेम्बली के किसी अन्य सदस्य के विरूद्ध न तो हमें कोई शिकायत है, न व्यक्तिगत द्वेष। बल्कि हम तो मानव जीवन को अत्यंत पवित्र मानते हैं, जिसका शब्दों में वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता। हम मानव समाज को किसी प्रकार दुखी न कर उसके हित में अपने प्राण निछावर कर देना चाहेंगे। हम साम्राज्यवादियों की सेना की तरह पैसे के लिए व्यक्ति की हत्या नहीं करना चाहते। इसे हम पाप समझते हैं। हमें मानव जीवन के प्रति श्रद्धा है, और यथाशक्ति उसकी रक्षा करना चाहते हैं, फिर भी हम यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि हमने जानबूझकर असेम्बली में बम फेंके। तथ्य स्वयं ही प्रमाण हैं और इसीलिए किन्हीं काल्पनिक परिस्थितियों के आधार पर कुछ भी धारणा नहीं बनाई जानी चाहिए। सरकारी विशेषज्ञ के बयान के बावजूद भी जो बम असेम्बली में फेंके गये थे, उनसे बेंचों को भी नुकसान न पहुंचा तथा केवल आधे दर्जन लोगों को मामूली-सी खरोंचें आई। सरकारी विशेषज्ञ उसे एक अद्भुत चमत्कार बताता है। परन्तु यह अद्भुत चमत्कार नहीं केवल विज्ञान की करामात है। एक तो ये दोनों बम लकड़ी के खाली घेरे में बेंच तथा डेस्कों के बीच फटे। दूसरे मि० राउ, मि० शंकर राव तथा सरजार्ज शुस्टर जो विस्फोट के स्थान से केवल दो फुट के फासले पर थे, उन्हें तनिक भी चोट न आई और यदि कुछ हुआ भी तो मामूली-सी खरोंचे आईं। यदि इन बमों में घातक पुटेशियम क्लोरेट और विधायक पिकरेट भरा होता तो उसने न केवल घेरे को तहस-नहस कर डाला होता बल्कि आसपास कुछ गज तक भयंकर विनाश किया होता। इसके सिवा यदि

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इन बमों में ऐसा घातक मसाला भरा होता तो असेम्बली में बैठे आधे से अधिक सदस्य समाप्त हो जाते। हम चाहते तो यह कर सकते थे। हम उन्हें सरकारी अधिकारियों के बैठने के स्थान पर फेंक सकते थे। उस समय वह भाग सरकारी अधिकारियों से खचाखच भरा था। अंत में हम सर एन साइमन को भी घेर सकते थे जिनके नेतृत्व में बने अभागे कमीशन को राष्ट्र के समस्त बुद्धिजीवी घृणा की दृष्टि से देखते थे और जो उस समय अध्यक्ष की गैलरी में बैठे थे, परन्तु यह सब करने का हमारा इरादा नहीं था। बमों ने उतना ही काम किया जिस उद्देश्य से वे बनाये गये थे। इसके अलावा विस्फोट में और कोई चमत्कार जो था वह इतना ही कि उन्हें रक्षित स्थानों में गिराया गया, जो सफल भी रहा।

जानबूझकर गिरफ्तार

हमने जानबूझकर ही आत्मसमर्पण किया। जिससे कि हमने जो कुछ किया उसका परिणाम भोग सकें, और साम्राज्यवादी शोषकों को यह मालूम हो जाय कि व्यक्तियों को कुचलने से वे विचारों को नष्ट नहीं कर सकते। केवल दो साधारण व्यक्तियों को कुचल देने से राष्ट्र नहीं कुचला जा सकता। हम इस बात को जोरदार शब्दों में बता देना चाहते हैं कि लोग उस ऐतिहासिक सबक को जान लें कि फ्रांस में फ्रांसीसी सम्राट के हस्ताक्षर से जारी किये गिरफ्तारी के वारन्ट या बेसिल्स (जेल) की धमकियों से क्रांतिकारियों का आंदोलन समाप्त न किया जा सका। रूस के जार द्वारा लोगों को साइबेरिया की खदानों में भेजे जाने तथा उन्हें फांसी पर चढ़ा देने के बाद भी रूसी क्रांति की आग न बुझाई जा सकी। तो क्या आर्डिनेंस तथा सुरक्षा बिल की फूंकों से भारतीय स्वतंत्रता की लपटें बुझाई जा सकती हैं? चाहें जितने षड्यंत्रों के मुकदमे चलाये जायं या कितने ही नवयुवकों को फांसी दी जाय, पर जिन नवयुवकों के दिलों में महान उद्देश्य हैं उन्हें न तो समाप्त किया जा सकता है और न क्रांति की गति ही रोकी जा सकती है। यदि समय पर दी गई चेतावनी को अनसुना न किया गया तो उससे बहुत से आदमियों की जाने बच सकती हैं तथा अन्य यातनाओं से भी बचा जा सकता है। हमने यह चेतावनी देने की जिम्मेदारी ली थी जिसे हमने पूरा कर दिया।

क्रांति की परिभाषा

हमसे (भगतसिंह से) निचली अदालत में पूछा गया था कि क्रांति से आपका क्या अर्थ है? उस प्रश्न का उत्तर यह है कि क्रांति का न तो केवल रक्तपात है और न व्यक्तिगत द्वेष और न वह केवल बम या पिस्तौल का दर्शन है। क्रांति से हमारा मतलब है, आज की समाज व्यवस्था, जिसकी आधारशिला अन्याय है, उसे बदलना। उत्पादक या मजदूर जो समाज का आवश्यक अंग है, शोषक उसका शोषण कर रहे हैं तथा उसके प्राथमिक अधिकारों का हनन कर रहे हैं। दूसरी ओर किसान जो अनाज पैदा करता है, वह भी अपने परिवार सहित भूखा मर रहा है। बुनकर जो दुनिया की मंडियों को कपड़ा देता है, अपना तथा अपने बाल-बच्चों का तन ढकने को कपड़ा नसीब नहीं होता। बढ़ई, राज तथा अन्य कारीगर जो बड़े-बड़े महलों का निर्माण करते हैं, स्वयं गन्दी बस्तियों में रहते हैं। दूसरी ओर यह स्थिति है कि पूंजीपति, शोषक तथा समाज के जोंक केवल अपनी सनक पर लाखों बरबाद कर देते हैं। यह भीषण असमानता, जबरदस्ती निर्माण किया गया असंतुलन, समाज में अराजकता का कारण होगा; परन्तु यह अवस्था अधिक समय नहीं रहेगी। आज का समाज ज्वालामुखी के मुंह पर आनन्द कर रहा है और शोषकों के मासूम बच्चे भी की संख्या में बड़े खतरनाक कगार पर चल रहे हैं। सभ्यता की इमारत को यदि समय पर न बचाया गया तो वह नष्ट-भ्रष्ट हो जायेगी। इसीलिए क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन आवश्यक है, और जो इसकी आवश्यकता समझते हैं उन्हें चाहिए कि वे समाजवादी व्यवस्था के आधार पर समाज का निर्माण करें। जब तक यह नहीं होगा, मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य का शोषण, राष्ट्र द्वारा राष्ट्र का शोषण, जिसका कि दूसरा नाम पूंजीवाद है, समाप्त नहीं किया जाता, तब तक मानवता के कष्ट और विनाशों को रोका नहीं जा सकता और तब तक युद्ध की लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करना भी बेकार तथा दम्भ मात्र है। क्रांति से हमारा मतलब है कि ऐसे समाज का निर्माण हो, जिसमें इन सब संकटों का संकट न हो, जिसमें किसान-मजदूरों का वर्चस्व स्थापित किया जाय, जिससे मानवता को पूंजीवाद के शोषण से बचाया जा सके तथा जो युद्धों के संकट से उसे छुटकारा दिलाये।

बम-विस्फोट : एक चेतावनी

यही हमारा उद्देश्य है। इसी सिद्धांत के आधार पर हमने और काफी जोरदार चेतावनी दी है। यदि इस पर ध्यान नहीं जाता तो सरकार की आज की नीति, जो उठती हुई स्वाभाविक शक्ति के मार्ग का रोड़ा बन रही है, के विरुद्ध भीषण संघर्ष प्रारंभ जायगा, जिसमें सभी रोड़े नष्ट किये जायेंगे व जिससे मजदूर और किसान कार्राज्य स्थापित होकर क्रांति का मार्ग प्रशस्त होगा। क्रांति मानव ऐसा अधिकार है जिसमें कोई समझौता नहीं। स्वतंत्रता हर का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है। मजदूर समाज का वास्तविक स्तम्भ जनता की सार्वभौमसत्ता ही मजदूरों का चरम लक्ष्य है। इस तथा सिद्धांत के लिए हम हर प्रकार के कष्टों को झेलने के लिए हैं। इसी वेदी पर हम अपनी तरुणाई का धूप-दीप प्रज्वलित को कटिबद्ध हैं, क्योंकि इस महान उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिए कोई बड़ा नहीं है।

हम धैर्य से क्रांति की प्रतीक्षा करेंगे।

क्रांति चिरंजीवी हो।

क्रान्ति-गीत

वन्देमातरम्

आहा ! क्या ही-ओजमय है शब्द वन्देमातरम्।
बोल दो सब हिन्दियों, अब मन्त्र वन्देमातरम् ।।
मुख में वन्देमातरम है, मन में वन्देमातरम्।
नाड़ियों के रक्त में, बहता है वन्देमातरम् ।।
खंजरे-कातिल भले ही, कत्ल कर देना हमें।
चीख भी निकलेगी तो, निकलेगी वन्देमातरम् ।
बल जरा मकतूल के चेहरे पे हो, मुमकिन नहीं।
हर लहू के कतरे से, टपकेगा वन्देमातरम् ।।
खून मकतल में बेहाल यूँ ही क्या, हरगिज नहीं ।
भूमि पर लिखता चलेगा, शब्द वन्देमातरम् ।।
बावजूद, इसके कि बोले सबके पहिले और कुछ ।
दुधमुंहे बच्चे भी बोलें, शब्द वन्देमातरम् ।।
संगम-तप यही, सिजदा यही, मंदिर यही ।
है यहीं मसजिद, यही मजहब है वन्देमातरम् ।।

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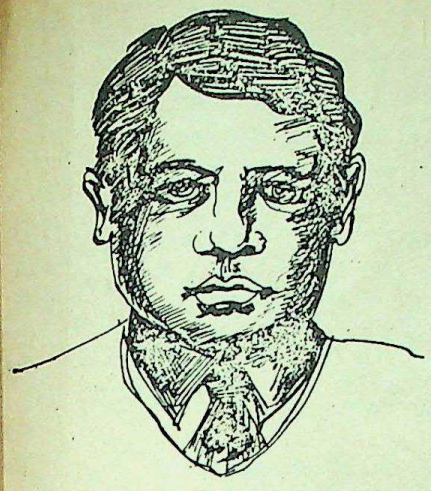
विदेश में प्रथम शहीद



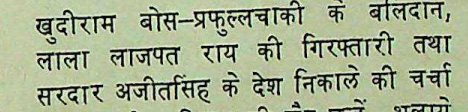
मुजफ्फरपुर बम कांड के तीसरे दिन अरविंद घोष, बारीन्द्र घोष, कन्हाई लाल दत्त, उल्लासकर दत्त, हेमचन्द्रदास, सत्येन्द्र बोस, उपेन्द्रनाथ वन्द्योपाध्याय, नलिनीकान्त गुप्त आदि ४० क्रांतिकारियों की गिरफ्तारी से वीर सावरकर के प्रमुख शिष्य मदन लाल धींगरा को बड़ा क्षोभ हुआ। और भी अनेक लोग पकड़े गए। उन पर "अलीपुर षड़यंत्र केस" के नाम से मुकदमा चला और अनेक को लम्बी लम्बी सजाएं हुईं —काला पानी हुआ। यद्यपि अरविंद कुल डेढ़ वर्ष ही जेल में रहे परन्तु हेमदा, बारीन्द्रदा, उल्लासकर, उपेन्द्र आदि विप्लवी जवानी में काला पानी गये तो फिर पूरी सजा (जन्म कैद) काट कर बुढ़ापे में ही रिहा हुए— तब उन सबके बाल सफेद हो चले थे। इन्हीं में कन्हाईलाल ने मुखबिर नरेंद्र गोसाई को जेल में ही गोली मार दी थी—फलतः उसे फांसी दी गयी। बंगाल के विप्लवी इतिहास में यह दूसरी फांसी थी। उधर महाराष्ट्र में चाफेकर बन्धुओं और अनन्त कान्हेरे को तो फांसी दी ही गयी, वीरसावरकर के अग्रज गणेश दामोदर सावरकर को "शिवाजी श्लोक" नाम्नी कविता रचने के आरोप में आजन्म कालापानी दे दिया गया। इस दमन का जवाब देने के लिए मदनलाल बेचैन हो उठा। उसने दृढ़ निश्चय किया कि वह इस खूनी दमन का बदला इसी इंग्लैंड में अंग्रेजों के लहू से चुकायेगा; और वह चुका कर रहा।

दमन का बदला

खत्री परिवार का मदनलाल (पंजाब) अमृतसर से इंजीनियरिंग पढ़ने लन्दन आया था। डा० दित्तामल धींगरा, उसके पिता, अवकाश प्राप्त एक धनी सर्जन थे। मदनलाल पहले अमृतसर, फिर लाहौर में पढ़ता रहा था। बी०ए० कर के सन् १९०६ में लंदन आया। इन्हीं दिनों वीर सावरकर भी लंदन में बैरिस्टरी पढ़ने पहुंचे।

लंदन का "इंडिया हाउस" उन दिनों श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा, लाला हरदयाल, वीरेंद्र चट्टोपाध्याय, सरदारसिंह राणा, रविशंकर शुक्ल, ज्ञानचन्द वर्मा, वी०वी०एस० अय्यर सरीखे देश भक्तों का अड्डा था। मदनलाल वीर सावरकर के संपर्क में आये तो वे उनके खास आदमी बन गये। मदनलाल अधिकांश समय इंडिया हाउस में ही रहते। मस्त मौला थे। खाने पहनने के शौकीन और सैर सपाटे के भी। सावरकर से किसी ने कह दिया कि धींगरा फैशन करता है, शायद मनचला भी हो यह क्या करेगा? यह इसलिए कहा गया क्योंकि वह 'अभिनवभारत संघ" जैसी क्रांतिकारी संस्था का सदस्य था। "इंडिया हाउस" में प्रायः अलीपुर षड़यंत्र केस'

मदन लाल ने हाथ रखा ही था कि सावरकर ने एक सूजा उसकी हथेली के ऊपर रखकर हथौड़ी से ठोंक दिया। सूजा हथेली के पार निकल गया, रक्तधार बह निकली.....



खुदीराम बोस–प्रफुल्लचाकी के बलिदान, लाला लाजपत राय की गिरफ्तारी तथा सरदार अजीतसिंह के देश निकाले की चर्चा गरम रहती। तिलक की कैद उन्हें भुलाये नहीं भूलती। इसी समय एक बार जब 'इंडिया हाउस' में बैठक जमी थी, देखा गया— 'मदनलाल ऊबा सा अलग बैठा, जम्हाई

वचनेश त्रिपाठी

ले रहा है।" वस्तुत. उसे लम्बी वार्ता, गहन विवेचन, तर्क वितर्क पसन्द नहीं थे। वक्तृता से वह दूर भागता था।

कुछ सोचकर एकाएक उस दिन वीर सावरकर ने उस से पूछा "मदनलाल। तुमने सुना, अंग्रेजों ने हाल ही में हमारी भारतमाता के लिए क्या कहा है?"

"क्या कहा है?"

"कहा है इंग्लैण्ड की भारत में दो पत्नियां हैं-एक हिंदू और एक मुसलमान।"

"यह तो घोर अपमान है हमारे देश का। मैंने पहले ही तय कर रखा है कि ब्रिटिश दमन का मैं बदला चुकाऊंगा।"

"परन्तु यह आसान नहीं, पकड़े जाने पर यातनाएं देंगे—तब तुमसे भेद लेना चाहेंगे। इस के लिए बड़ा कड़ा मन चाहिए। यातना सहने की तैयारी चाहिए।

"मेरी वह तैयारी है।"

"अच्छा देखूं तो। तुम अपना हाथ मेज पर रखो।"

मदन लाल ने हाथ रखा ही था कि सावरकर ने एक सूजा उस की हथेली के ऊपर रख कर हथौड़ी से ठोंक दिया। सूजा हथेली के पार निकल गया रक्त धार वह निकली, मेज खून से रंग गई। मदनलाल मंदस्मित करता रहा। सावरकर ने उसे छाती से भींच लिया। वह परीक्षा में खरा उतरा था। सावरकर ने गौरीशंकर से दो पिस्तौलें मंगवाई और मदन लाल को निशाने बाजी का अभ्यास करने को कहा। एक कोल्ट पिस्तौल थी, एक बेल्जियम की बनी रिवाल्वर।

१० मई को 'इंडिया हाउस' में सत्तावनी क्रांति का अर्द्धशती-समारोह मनाया गया। १९५७ की क्रांति के ५० वर्ष पूरे हुए थे। उसमें 'अभिनव भारत संघ के सब सदस्यों को बैज दिये गए। मदन लाल वह बैज कोट में लगा कर विश्वविद्यालय गया तो अंग्रेज छात्र बिगड़े, विरोध किया कि "बैज फौरन उतार दो।" बड़ा झगड़ा हुआ। मदन लाल कब बैज उतारने लगा। उसकी भावना और उग्र हुई। इन्हीं दिनों विलियम कर्जन वायली जो सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट' का पोलिटिकल ए०डी०सी० था—क्रांतिकारियों के पीछे पड़ गया। उनकी जासूसी करने लगा। मदनलाल ने इसी को अपना लक्ष्य बनाना तय किया। अंग्रेजों ने मदनलाल के पिता को पत्र भेजा कि 'मदनलाल दामोदर सावरकर के फेर में पड़ गया है, उसको संभालो।' पिता और भाई उस पर नाराज हुए। मदनलाल के विचारों पर उस नाराजगी का कोई असर

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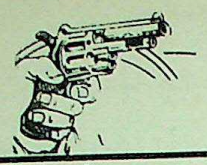


न पड़ा । सावरकर ने ज्ञानचन्द वर्मा और कोरेगांवकर नाम के दो विप्लवी उसके साथ सहयोग करने के लिए दे दिए ।

और गोली चल गई

वी०वी०एस० अय्यर को एक आह्वान लिखना था जो नेपाल के मुख्यमंत्री राणा को भेंट किया जा सके । राणा लंदन की यात्रा पर आये थे । उनको दिया जाने वाला आह्वान मदनलाल धींगरा के खून से लिखा गया था ।

आखिर पहली जुलाई की शाम आ गयी । कर्जन वाइली को इस दिन 'जहांगीर हाल' में भाषण देना था । इसी हाल में नेशनल इंडियन ऐसोसिएशन का वार्षिक सम्मेलन आयोजित किया गया था । यहां ब्रिटिश--इंडियन पशनभोगी अधिकारी जमा थे । कर्जन वाइली पहले कभी भारत के उदयपुर राज्य में रेजीडेंट रह चुका था--तब श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा उदयपुर के मंत्री थे । कर्जन वाइली वहां उनसे टकरा चुका था । मन में अभी जलन और दुश्मनी रखता था ।

जहांगीर हाल की सभा में मदनलाल दो भरी पिस्तौलें लिए बैठा रहा । सभा खत्म हुई तो वाइली उठा खड़ा हुआ, परिचितों से बातचीत करनी शुरू की कि मदनलाल उसके सामने आ गया । वाइली उसे पहचानता था । दोनों की आंखें मिली । मदनलाल इस तरह आगे बढ़ा जैसे उसकी अभ्यर्थना करना चाहता हो । तभी मदन लाल का हाथ जेब से बाहर आया और ताबड़ तोड़ ६ गोलियां उसने वाइली के चेहरे पर झोंक दी । वाइली की एक आंख फूट गयी और ५ गोली खाकर वहीं धराशायी हो गया । अपनी अंग्रेज परस्ती जताने के लिये लाल काका नाम का एक पारसी, जो लन्दन में रहता था, मदनलाल पर झपटा ताकि वह निशाना चूक जाये । परन्तु विप्लवी की छठी गोली उसे हमेशा के लिए सुला गयी । इस वक्त कर्जन वाइली का गोरा चेहर ५ जगहों से छलनी होकर बड़ा विकृत हो गया था और भयानक लग रहा था । यहीं उस गौरांग का असली रूप था । मदन लाल ने रिवाल्वर फेंक दी । तब वहां मौजूद अनेक अंग्रेज उस पर अपनी बहादुरी दिखाने दौड़ पड़े । मदन लाल की दूसरी जेब में अभी भी एक भरा पिस्तौल मौजूद था और वह उससे स्वयं को गोली मारने ही वाला था, परन्तु पकड़ लिए जाने से ऐसा न कर सका । तलाशी लेने पर उसके पास एक छुरी और एक चाकू भी बरामद हुआ । धक्के से उसका चश्मा उतरगया था, तब उसके हाथ बांधे जाने लगे तो बोला, "अब आतुरता क्यों? भागना तो है नहीं । जरा चश्मा तो लगा लूं फिर बांधों ।" चेहरे पर जरा भी शिकन नहीं, गम नहीं । शैदाई शान्त चला जा रहा था, चारो तरफ अंग्रेजों से घिरा हुआ । वह संतुष्ट था कि फनलैंड के टीले पर उसकी ढाई महीने की चांदमारी कारगर रही । बाद में गोरी पुलिस को उसके कमरे से कर्जन वाईली का एक फोटो मिला जिस पर मदन लाल ने पेंसिल से लिख रखा था-'पामर कुत्ता' । एक और भी फोटो दीवार पर टंगी मिली थी जिस पर सन् १८५७ के क्रांतिकारी सिपाहियों को तोपो से बांध कर उड़ाने का चित्रण किया गया था । मदन लाल के दोनों भाईयों कुन्दनलाल और भजनलाल ने बयान छपाये थे कि वह अब उनका भाई नहीं है, पिता डा० दित्ता मल ने भी कह दिया था, वे अब उसे अपना पुत्र नहीं मानते । क्रांतिकारी कौन होता है । उसके सभी रिश्ते बदल जाते झूठे पड़ जाएं तो आश्चर्य क्या । फिर भी उस दूर विदेश में लन्दन की ब्रिक्सटन जेल में धींगरा मस्त था आत्मलीन । कई कैदी उससे प्यार करने लगे ।

मनचाहा 'माष' खिलाओ

ब्रिटिश दासता काल में ढाका सेंट्रल जेल क्रांतिकारियों को यातना देने के लिए कुख्यात थी । कैदी कहते थे--यह जेल "हेल" यानी नरक है । वहां तीन बातें लागू होती थीं--"फाइल", "गाइल" और "डाइल" । "फाइल" का अर्थ था दिन भर में अनेक बार "जोड़े-जोड़े" में चलना, बैठना, अपनी बारबार मिनती कराना । "गाइल" माने गाली खाना और "डाइल" यानी कंकड़-पत्थर मिली दाल । एक बार जेलर ने लगातार उड़द (माष) की ही दाल देनी जारी रखी जबकि इसके पूर्व बारीबारी से चना-मसूर आदि की दाल भी देते थे । अंग्रेज आई०जी० (जेल) निरीक्षण करने आया तो कैदियों ने कहा, "साहब ! हमें खाने के लिए माछ (मछली) नहीं नसीब होता यहां"

अंग्रेज आई०जी० क्या जाने, यह "माछ" क्या बला है? उसने जेलर से पूछा तो उसने कह दिया--"हुजूर ! ये लोग माष यानी उड़द की दाल बहुत पसंद करते हैं ।" जेलर ने स्पष्ट धूर्तता बरती थी ।

तब आई०जी० ने प्रश्न किया, "दो न, क्या यह ऊंची दर से मिलती है?"

"जेलर कहता गया, हुजूर ! कुछ ऐसी मंहगी भी नहीं ।"

और बस, आई०जी० लिख गया--"कैदियों को मनचाहा माष खिलाओ ।" फिर क्या था, चने-मसूर की दाल छू-मंतर । रोज महीनों उड़द (माष) की ही पनिहा (पतली) दाल क्रांतिकारी तथा अन्य कैदी गले उतारने को विवश हो गये । ऐसे थे उन दिनों के जेलर और जेलें ।

सुनन्दा

अदालत में धींगरा

गिरफ्तारी के वक्त पुलिस को उसके पास दो लिखित बयान मिले थे, परन्तु वे भारतीयों को आजादी के लिए उत्तेजित, प्रेरित करने वाले थे इसलिए पुलिस ने उन्हें दबा लिया । यद्यपि जज ने जब उससे बयान देने के लिए कहा तो उसने यही कहा कि जो बयान पुलिस को मेरी जेब से मिले हैं - वही अदालत में पढ़ दिये जायें । पर यह कहां होना था?

फिर भी उसने अदालत में कहा "मैंने वाइली को गोली मारी है और मैं चाहता हूं - मुझे फांसी दी जाय । लेकिन हत्यारे शब्द पर मुझे आपत्ति है । यदि जर्मनी ने इंग्लैंड को गुलाम बनाया होता तो अंग्रेज भी जर्मनों से यही सलूक करना चाहते । मैं देश से प्यार करता हूं और मेरा बलिदान उसका गौरव बढ़ायेगा । मै इस से इन्कार करता हूं कि तुम हमारे शासक हो ।

उन दिनो भी श्याम जी कृष्ण वर्मा ने लन्दन टाइम्स में अपना यह पत्र छपाया जिसमें लिखा था--"मैं इसे ठीक मानता हूं जिस किसी ने यह काम किया हो हिन्दुस्तानी भावना की सराहना करता हूं और उसे प्रत्यक्ष आत्मदानी, बलिदानी ही मानता हूं ।" लन्दन टाइम्स ने ऐसा पत्र छापा - यह जानकर शायद भारत के ही लोगों को आश्चर्य हो । सावरकर का भी ऐसा ही एक पत्र लन्दन टाइम्स में छपा कि "जब कि आज मदन लाल पर अदालत में मुकदमा चल रहा है, किसी को भी यह हक नहीं कि वह खुद मदन लाल के कार्य को अनुचित ठहराने का निर्णय दे सके ।" एक दिन अपनी जीवनी लिखते वक्त जवाहर लाल जी नेहरु को भी मदन लाल धींगरा याद आये ।

मदन लाल से जज ने अपना वकील करने के लिए कहा लेकिन उसने यह कहकर वकील करने से इन्कार कर दिया "मुझे अपने बचाव के लिए कुछ कहना नहीं है ।"

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-Mo

निदान सन् १९०९ की २३ जुलाई को उसे फांसी की सजा सुना दी गयी। फांसी की कोठरी में जाकर सावरकर और अय्यर ने उससे भेंट की। सावरकर ने जब कहा—"मदन लाल ! हम तुम्हारे दर्शन करने आये हैं" तो सीखचों के भीतर से उसने अपने गुरू के पांव छूने चाहे, लेकिन सावरकर ने पांव छूने से रोका। कहा—'नहीं, आज तुम हम सब से बड़े हो—हम छोटे ही रह गये हैं, क्योंकि शहीद सब से बड़ा होता है।" बड़ी कठिनाई से अपने आपको संयत कर के ही सावरकर आज अपने शिष्य से इतना कुछ कह पाये थे।

सावरकर ने ज्ञानचन्द वर्मा को पेरिस भेज कर मदनलाल के बयान की वह प्रति खोजवायी जो गोली मारने के पहले तैयार कर ली गयी थी। उस बयान के बीच में शहीद का फोटो भी छपा था।

सावरकर ने पूछा, "कुछ चाहिए ?"

धींगरा ने कहा—"एक शीशा भेज दीजिएगा।"

"क्यों ? उसका क्या करोगे ?"

"उसे पास रखूंगा—जब फांसी लगेगी, उस समय भी मैं खूब सज संवर-कर अंग्रेज मजिस्ट्रेट और जल्लादों के सामने जाऊंगा जिस से यह साबित हो सके कि मेरे लिए लन्दन की सैर और फांसी के तख्ते में कोई फर्क नहीं।"

सावरकर चुप रहे। चलते समय धींगरा ने फिर कहा था—

"भाई जी, देखिएगा वतन के लिये मरने वालों की अपने देश में कमी न रहे—बस यही प्रार्थना है और एक विनती और है कि मेरी लाश का दाह कर्म हिन्दू के ही हाथों हो, कोई अंग्रेज न छू पाये। मेरी किताबें, कपड़े, घड़ी, आदि सामान बेच कर दल के कोष में जमा कर लें और वह राशि दल के कार्य में ही खर्च हो।"

१९०९ का १७ अगस्त आया। सुबह के ९ बजे थे। मदन लाल सज संवरकर शीशे में मुंह देखकर, बाल, कपड़े, कालर सब ठीक कर के बैठा था कि पादरी उसे अंतिम प्रार्थना कराने आया। धींगरा ने मना कर दिया। कहा—"आप जायें, आपकी यहां जरूरत न होगी। मैं तो हिंदू ही जन्मा और हिंदू रहते ही मरूंगा।"

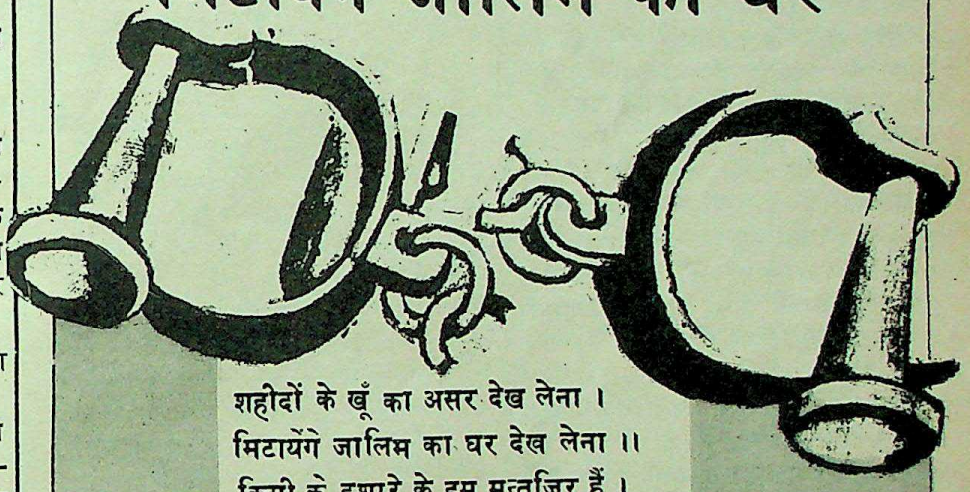
और फिर वह उन्नत ग्रीवा, दीप्तमान नेत्रों और आलोकित मुद्रा से फांसी के तख्ते की तरफ बढ़ गया। सिर काले कपड़े से ढक दिया गया। डोरी से गांठ लगा दी गयी। तत्काल नीचे का तख्ता हटा और शहीद का शरीर ऊपर में टंगा रहा फिर लाश नीचे आ गिरी। अंग्रेजों ने लाश नहीं दी। वहीं जेल के श्मशान में दफना दी गयी। अंत्येष्टि ज्ञानचन्द वर्मा ने की।

मदन लाल का जो छपा हुआ बयान पेरिस से प्राप्त हुआ वह लम्बा है— उसमें एक जगह लिखा है, **"एक हिन्दू के नाते मैं विश्वास करता हूं कि मेरे देश का जो अनादर अपमान अंग्रेज कर रहे हैं वह प्रत्येक परमात्मा का अपमान है। मेरी मान्यता है कि देश कार्य प्रभु राम और कृष्ण का ही कार्य है तथा देश सेवा एक प्रकार से श्री कृष्ण की ही उपासना है। मेरे पास न धन है न कोई योग्यता। अतः सिवाए अपने रक्त के यह अयोग्य पुत्र माता के पवित्र चरणों में और क्या अर्पित कर सकता है। इसी भावना से मैं सहर्ष बलिदान दे रहा हूं।"**

यह बयान अनेक वर्षों तक जब्त रहा। जहां कहीं यह छपा—उससे लाखों लोगों ने आजादी के संघर्ष की प्रेरणा प्राप्त की। भारत से इंजीनियरी पढ़ने गया वह छात्र आत्म दान देकर अमर हो गया। युगों युगों के लिए अपने चरित्र से वह देशवासियों को एक महान शिक्षा दे गया कि आर्य को दास नहीं बनाया जा सकता। ●

क्रान्ति-गीत

मिटायेंगे जालिम का घर



शहीदों के खूँ का असर देख लेना।
मिटायेंगे जालिम का घर देख लेना।।
किसी के इशारे के हम मुन्तज़िर हैं।
बहा देंगे खूँ की नहर देख लेना।।
झुका देंगे गर्दन को हम जेरे खंजर।
खुशी से कटाएंगे सर देख लेना।।
जो खुदगर्ज गोली चलाएंगे हम पर।
तो कदमों में उनका ही सर देख लेना।।
जो नखल हमने सींचा है खूने जिगर से।
वो होगा कभी बारबर देख लेना।।
किनारे पे आए भंवर से ये किश्ती।
वो आएगी इक दिन लहर देख लेना।।
बलाएं ले जाएंगी खुद सर नगीं हो।
नहीं होगी इनकी गुजर देख लेना।।
खुजन्दी हुआ हिन्द आजाद अपना।
छपेगी यह इक दिन खबर देख लेना।।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

संस्मरण

धोबी हौं हजूर, कपड़ा धोवत

सन् १९३० की ३०-३१ मई की रात। आजाद जेल से भगतसिंह और बटुकेश्वर दत्त को बलात् छुड़ाने की तैयारी में अभी भी लगे थे। यशपाल के बताये तीन बम लाहौर में बहावलपुर रोड वाली कोठी नं० ९ की एक अलमारी में रखे थे। कोठी में चन्द्रशेखर आजाद, धन्वन्तरी, मदनगोपाल मास्टर छैल बिहारी, विश्वनाथ वैशंपायन, यशपाल, दुर्गा भाभी, सुशीला दीदी मौजूद थे और सभी सो रहे थे : कुछ क्रांतिकारी कोठी के बाहर सोए थे, कुछ अन्दर। दुर्गा भाभी बाहर सोई थीं।

तभी कोई चार बजे उनकी नींद टूटी और अपने पति भगवती चरण बोहरा, जो अभी दो दिन पूर्व रावी नदी के तट पर बम परीक्षण करते शहीद हो चुके थे, की याद में शोकाकुल हो रुदन कर उठीं। उनकी रुलाई रूक नहीं पा रही थी, यद्यपि सुशीला दीदी ने बहुत कुछ उन्हें सांत्वना दी। जब देखा कि भाभी रोए ही जा रही हैं तो सुशीला दीदी ने अन्दर के कमरे में सोये धन्वन्तरी को जाकर जगा दिया और कहा, 'तुम जरा भाभी को चुप कराओ।" धन्वन्तरी के कमरे में पंखा चल रहा था, उसे बन्द किया और भाभी के पास पहुंचे ही थे कि चंद मिनट बीतते न बीतते अल्मारी में रखे बमों में से एक बम दग गया। भीषण विस्फोट का धमाका कोठी को हिला गया। क्रांतिकारी जगे ही थे कि तत्काल एक और बम उसी अल्मारी में दगा। धड़ाके से मुहल्ले में लोग जगकर ताक-झांक और चर्चा में मशगूल हो गए। पुलिस आने का खतरा समझकर आज़ाद ने तुरन्त अपना भरा पिस्तौल संभाला और कोठी के बाहर उस जगह आ खड़े हुए जहां से कोठी का दूसरा हिस्सा शुरू होता था--एक रेलिंग उसे विभाजित करती थी। आजाद का अनुमान सही था। उस दूसरे हिस्से में रह रहे एक दम्पति उत्सुक और घबराए से वहीं खड़े झांक रहे थे। आजाद ने उनके आगे पिस्तौल करते हुए कहा--"आप लोग तमाशा न देखें और फौरन अपने कमरे में जाकर रहें--खबरदार! अगर किसी से इस धमाके के बारे में कुछ भी कहा।"

दम्पति डर गये। बोले, "हां-हां! आप निश्चिन्त रहिए।"

आजाद ने बमों के धड़ाकों के बाद यशपाल, धन्वन्तरी, वैशंपायन आदि साथियों को आदेश दिया—"अपने हथियार और जरूरी चीजें लेकर तैयार रहो।"

दुर्गेश त्रिपाठी

धन्वन्तरी ने दुर्गा भाभी और वैशंपायन को साथ लिया और निकट ही रह रहे अपने एक दोस्त के घर उन्हें पहुंचा आए। आजाद ने दो क्रांतिकारियों—छैलबिहारी और मदनगोपाल को ताकीद की कि "यहां से चल दो और विश्वविद्यालय के क्रीड़ा-स्थल पर जाकर ठहरो। वहीं मेरी बाट देखना।"

भयभीत पुलिस

आध घंटे बाद पड़ोसी इंजीनियर ने पुलिस को धमाके की खबर फोन से दी। रायफ़ल बन्द गोरों का पुलिस दल आनन-फानन लारी में सवार होकर आ धमका। मुहल्ला भर चौंक गया, ताक-झांक जारी थी लेकिन कोठी में घुसने का साहस किसी में नहीं था।

जल्दी में एक त्रुटि हो गई। सुखदेव राज पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय के पुस्तकालय से दो पुस्तकें अपना नाम चढ़वाकर लाये थे, वे वहीं छूट गई। जिन्हें पुलिस ने बरामद किया। साथ ही यशपाल के कुछ पत्र व पुस्तक भी रह गई थी यह भी पुलिस के हाथ लगे जिससे पुलिस और सरकार को यह पता तो चल ही गया कि ये लोग जो यहां रह रहे किस तरह के असामी थे। कोई चिट्ठी पत्री या चीज यहाँ छूटे नहीं, यह हिदायत आजाद ने दी थी फिर भी जल्दी में यह हो ही गई।

इस कोठी में रहने वाले क्रांतिकारियों के बारे में पुलिस तथा मुहल्ले वालों को शक हो इसलिए मास्टर छैलबिहारी (दिल्ली) तथा मदनगोपाल (अजमेर) नौकर या खानसामा-बैरा का स्वांग बनाकर रहते तथा बाहरी दिखावे के तौर पर वैसा आचरण करते थे। साथी टहलसिंह स्वयं "मोटर ड्राइवर" के वेष में रखे हुए बिना खाये ही अकसर मेज से झूठमूठ की छुरी को खटखटाकर "बैरों" को आवाजें कोठी में सुना जाता था। जबकि वस्तुतः कोठी में बम के मसाले खोल में भरकर तक तीन बम तो तैयार ही किये जा चुके थे उसी दिन आजाद ने मास्टर छैल बिहारी शिमला रवाना कर दिया तथा मदनगोपाल को भी लाहौर से दूर अन्यत्र पठा दिया दोनों क्रांतिकारियों के साथ एक-एक परिचित कुटुम्ब यात्रा में भेजा गया ताकि पुलिस सन्देह न कर सके। स्वयं आजाद उस दिन सुशीला दीदी के साथ लाला अचिन्त्य राम के घर जाकर रहे। फिर एक-दो दिन में दिल्ली पहुंच गए।

बम विस्फोटों से कोठी के उस कमरे की छत, दीवार और दरवाजे, टूक-टूक होकर उड़ गये थे। आजाद की तत्परता तथा फुर्ती उस वक्त देखने लायक थी। उन्होंने फौरन कमर कसी। सामान यानी पिस्तौलें, कारतूस, रुपये सूटकेसों में ठूंसे और यशपाल, दुर्गा भाभी सुशीला दीदी सभी को आदेश दिया- "जितना भी सामान ले जा सको उठाकर चल पड़ो।" खुद डेढ़ मन वजनी दो-दो सूटकेस उठाकर पैदल चले। एक सूटकेस भाभी के हाथ में था, दूसरा सुशीला दीदी लिए थीं चलते वक्त एक सफ़ाई जमादार ने रास्ता छेंका तो आजाद ने पिस्तौल आगे कर उसे पीछे धकेल दिया। बस रास्ता साफ।

"धोबी हौं हजूर"

इस सन्दर्भ में एक बात और उल्लेखनीय

(शेष पृष्ठ ९० पर)

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

नौजवान साथियो! क्या तुम तैयार हो?

कांग्रेस और अंग्रेजी सरकार में समझौते की बात चल रही थी और भगतसिंह को फांसी का हुक्म हो चुका था। भगतसिंह ने अपनी काल-कोठरी से देश के युवाओं के नाम २ फरवरी, १९३१ को यह संदेश भेजा और इस प्रकार तत्कालीन और भावी परिस्थितियों का विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया।

प्यारे साथियो!

इस समय हमारा आन्दोलन अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण परिस्थिति में से गुजर रहा है। एक साल के कठोर संग्राम के बाद गोलमेज कांफ्रेंस ने हमारे सामने शासन-विधान में परिवर्तन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ निश्चित बातें पेश की हैं और कांग्रेस के नेताओं को निमन्त्रण दिया है कि वे आकर शासन विधान तैयार करने के कामों में मदद दें। कांग्रेस के नेता इस हालत में आंदोलन को स्थगित कर देने के लिए उद्यत दिखाई देते हैं। वे लोग आन्दोलन स्थगित करने के हक में फैसला करेंगे या खिलाफ, यह बात हमारे लिए बहुत महत्व नहीं रखती। यह बात निश्चित है कि वर्तमान आन्दोलन का अन्त किसी न किसी प्रकार के समझौते के रूप में होना लाजमी है। यह दूसरी बात है कि समझौता जल्दी हो जाये या देरी में हो।

वस्तुतः समझौता कोई ऐसी हेय और निन्दायोग्य वस्तु नहीं, जैसा कि साधारणतः हमलोग समझते हैं, बल्कि समझौता राजनैतिक संग्रामों का एक अत्यावश्यक अंग है। कोई भी कौम, जो किसी अत्याचारी शासन के विरुद्ध खड़ी होती है, यह जरूरी है कि वह प्रारम्भ में असफल हो और अपनी लम्बी जद्दोजहद के मध्यकाल में इस प्रकार के समझौतों के जरिये कुछ राजनैतिक सुधार हासिल करती जाय। परन्तु वह अपनी लड़ाई की आखिरी मंजिल तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते अपनी ताकतों को इतना संगठित और दृढ़ कर लेती है और उसका दुश्मन पर आखिरी हमला ऐसा जोरदार होता है कि शासक लोगों की ताकतें उस वक्त तक भी यह चाहती हैं कि उसे दुश्मन के साथ कोई समझौता कर लेना पड़े। यह बात रूस के उदाहरण से भली-भांति स्पष्ट की जा सकती है।

समझौता एक हथियार

१९०५ में रूस में क्रांति की लहर उठी। क्रांतिकारी नेताओं को बड़ी भारी आशाएं थीं। लेनिन उसी समय विदेश से लौटकर आया था, जहां वह पहले भागकर चला गया था। वह सारे आन्दोलन को चला रहा था। लोगों ने कोई दर्जन भर भूमिपतियों को मार डाला और कुछ मकानों को जला डाला, परन्तु वह क्रांति सफल न हुई। उसका इतना परिणाम अवश्य हुआ कि सरकार कुछ सुधार करने के लिए बाधित हुई और "दूमा" (एक प्रकार की पार्लियामेंट) की स्थापना की गई। उस समय

समझौता भी एक ऐसा हथियार है, जिसे राजनीतिक लड़ाई में कई बार इस्तेमाल करना आवश्यक हो जाता है.....

लेनिन ने "दूमा" में जाने का समर्थन किया, परन्तु १९०६ में उसी का विरोध शुरू कर दिया और १९०७ में उसने दूसरी "दूमा" में जाने का समर्थन किया, जिसके अधिकार बहुत कम कर दिये गये थे। इसका कारण यह था कि वह "दूमा" को अपने आंदोलन का एक मंच (प्लेटफ़ार्म) बनाना चाहता था।

इसी प्रकार १९१७ के बाद जब जर्मनी के साथ रूस की सन्धि का प्रश्न चला, तो लेनिन के सिवा बाकी सभी लोग उस सन्धि के खिलाफ थे, परन्तु लेनिन ने कहा, "शांति-शांति और फिर शांति; किसी भी कीमत पर हो शांति। यहाँ तक कि यदि हमें रूस के कुछ प्रान्त भी जर्मनी के "वार लार्ड" को सौंप देने पड़ें, तो भी शान्ति प्राप्त कर लेनी चाहिए।" जब कुछ बोल्शेविक नेताओं ने भी उसकी इस नीति का विरोध किया, तो उसने साफ कहा कि "इस समय बोल्शेविक सरकार को मजबूत करना है।"

जिस बात को मैं बताना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि समझौता भी एक ऐसा हथियार है, जिसे राजनैतिक जद्दोजहद के बीच में पद-पद पर इस्तेमाल करना आवश्यक हो जाता हैं, जिससे एक कठिन लड़ाई से थकी हुई कौम को थोड़ी देर के लिये आराम मिल सके और वह आगे के युद्ध के लिए अधिक ताकत के साथ तैयार हो सके। परन्तु इन सारे समझौतों के बावजूद जिस चीज को हमें भूलना न चाहिए, वह हमारा आदर्श है, जो हमेशा हमारे सामने रहना चाहिए। जिस लक्ष्य के लिए हम लड़ रहे हैं, उसके सम्बन्ध में हमारे विचार बिलकुल स्पष्ट और दृढ़ होने चाहिए। यदि आप सोलह आने के लिए लड़ रहे हैं और एक आना मिल जाता है, तो वह एक आना जेब में डालकर बाकी पन्द्रह आने के लिये फ़िर जंग छेड़ दीजिए। हिन्दुस्तान के मॉडरेटों की जिस बात से हमें नफरत है, वह यही है कि उनका आदर्श कुछ नहीं है। वे एक आने के लिए ही लड़ते हैं और उन्हें मिलता कुछ भी नहीं।

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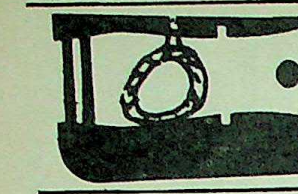
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.



संपूर्ण क्रांति के लिए

भारत की वर्तमान लड़ाई ज्यादातर मध्य श्रेणी के लोगों के बलबूते पर लड़ी जा रही है, जिनका लक्ष्य बहुत सीमित है। कांग्रेस दुकानदारों और पूंजीपतियों के जरिये इंग्लैंड पर आर्थिक दबाव डालकर कुछ अधिकार ले लेना चाहती है, परन्तु जहां तक देश की करोड़ों मजदूर और किसान जनता का ताल्लुक है, उनका उद्धार इतने से नहीं हो सकता। यदि देश की लड़ाई लड़नी हो, तो मजदूरों, किसानों और सामान्य जनता को आगे लाना होगा, उन्हें लड़ाई के लिए संगठित करना होगा। नेता उन्हें अभी तक आगे लाने के लिए कुछ नहीं करते, न कर ही सकते हैं। इन किसानों को विदेशी हुकूमत के जुए के साथ-साथ भूमिपतियों और पूंजीपतियों के जुए से भी उद्धार पाना है, परन्तु कांग्रेस का उद्देश्य यह नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि कांग्रेस के लोग संपूर्ण क्रांति नहीं चाहते। सरकार पर आर्थिक दबाव डालकर वे कुछ सुधार और लेना चाहते हैं। भारत की धनी श्रेणी के लिए कुछ रियायतें और चाहते हैं और इसलिये मैं यह भी कहता हूं कि कांग्रेस का आंदोलन किसी न किसी समझौते या असफलता में खत्म हो जायेगा।

इस हालत में नौजवानों को समझ लेना चाहिए कि उनके लिए वक्त और भी सख्त आ रहा है। उन्हें सावधान हो जाना चाहिए कि कहीं उनकी बुद्धि चकरा न जाये या वे हताश न हो बैठें। महात्मा गांधी की दो लड़ाइयों का अनुभव प्राप्त कर लेने के बाद वर्तमान परिस्थितियों और अपने भविष्य के प्रोग्राम के संबंध में साफ़-साफ नीति निर्धारित करना हमारे लिये अब ज्यादा जरूरी हो गया है।

इतना विचार कर चुकने के बाद मैं अपनी बात अत्यन्त सादे शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूं। आप लोग "क्रांति चिरंजीवी हो" की पुकार करते हैं। यह नारा हमारे लिए बहुत पवित्र है और इसका इस्तेमाल हमें बहुत ही सोच-समझकर करना चाहिए।

जब आप नारे लगाते हैं, तो मैं समझता हूं कि आप लोग वस्तुतः जो पुकारते हैं वही करना भी चाहते हैं। असेम्बली बम केस के समय हमने क्रांति शब्द की यह व्याख्या की थी—"क्रांति से हमारा अभिप्राय समाज की वर्तमान प्रणाली और वर्तमान संगठन को पूरी तरह उखाड़ फेंकना है।" इस उद्देश्य के लिए हम पहले सरकार की ताकत को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहते हैं। इस समय शासन की मशीन धनियों के हाथ में है। सामान्य जनता के हितों की रक्षा के लिए तथा अपने आदर्शों को क्रियात्मक रूप देने के लिए—अर्थात् समाज का नये सिरे से संगठन कार्ल मार्क्स के सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार करने के लिए—हम सरकार की मशीन को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहते हैं। हम इसी उद्देश्य के लिए लड़ रहे हैं, परन्तु इसके लिये हमें साधारण जनता को शिक्षित करना चाहिए।

तीन कसौटियाँ

जिन लोगों के सामने इस महान क्रांति का लक्ष्य है, उनके लिए नये शासनसुधारों की कसौटी क्या होनी चाहिये? हमारे लिये निम्नलिखित तीन बातों पर ध्यान रखना किसी भी शासन-विधान की परख के लिये जरूरी है—

१. शासन की जिम्मेदारी कहां तक भारतवासियों को सौंपी जाती है।

२. शासन-विधान को चलाने के लिये किस प्रकार की सरकार बनाई जाती है और उसमें हिस्सा लेने का आम जनता को कहां तक मौका मिलता है।

३. भविष्य में उससे क्या आशाएं की जा सकती हैं? उस पर कहां तक प्रतिबन्ध लगाये जाते हैं? सर्वसाधारण को वोट देने का हक दिया जाता है या नहीं।

भारत की पार्लियामेंट का क्या स्वरूप हो, यह प्रश्न भी महत्वपूर्ण है। भारत सरकार की कौंसिल आफ स्टेट सिर्फ़ धनियों का जमघट है और लोगों को फांसने का एक पिंजरा है, इसलिये उसे हटाकर एक ही जिसमें जनता के प्रतिनिधि हों, चाहिए।

प्रान्तीय स्वराज्य का जो निश्चय कांफ्रेंस में हुआ है, उसके सम्बन्ध में राय है कि जिस प्रकार से लोगों को सारी ताकतें दी जा रही हैं, उससे "प्रान्तीय स्वराज्य" न होकर "जुल्म" हो जायेगा।

इन सब अवस्थाओं पर विचार करके इस परिणाम पर पहुंचते हैं कि सबसे हमें सारी अवस्थाओं का चित्र साफ तौर अपने सामने अंकित कर लेना चाहि यद्यपि हम यह मानते हैं कि समझौते अर्थ कभी भी आत्मसमर्पण या पराजय कार करना नहीं, किन्तु एक कदम आगे फिर कुछ आराम है, परन्तु साथ हमें यह भी समझ लेना चाहिये कि समझ इससे अधिक भी और कुछ नहीं। वह लक्ष्य और हमारे लिये अन्तिम विश्राम स्थान नहीं।

ज्वालामुखी

सिर से कफन बांधकर तुमने
आजादी की लड़ी लड़ाई,
ज्वालामुखी बने भड़के तुम
जन-जन में ज्वाला भड़काई,
बलिपथ पर बढ़ना सीखा था
कभी न तुमने मुंह की खाई,
मृत्यु-प्रिया से गांठ जोड़कर तुम कैसे
उस पार चल दिए ?
तट पर रोती भीड़ छोड़कर तुम कैसे
उस पार चल दिए ?

नर्मदा प्रसाद खरे

("मरण त्यौहार के गायक" पुस्तक से)

मजदूर-किसानों का संगठन

हमारे दल का लक्ष्य क्या है और साधन क्या हैं, यह भी विचारणीय है। का नाम "सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिकन पार्टी और इसलिए इसका लक्ष्य एक सोशलिस्ट सामाजिक संगठन की स्थापना है। और इस दल के लक्ष्य में यही भेद है कि नैतिक क्रांति से शासन-शक्ति अंग्रेजों के से निकलकर हिन्दुस्तानियों के हाथों में जायेगी। जिनका लक्ष्य शासन-शक्ति को हाथों के सुपुर्द करना है जिनका समाजवाद हो। इसके लिये मजदूरों किसानों को संगठित करना आवश्यक है क्योंकि उन लोगों के लिए लार्ड रीडिंग इर्विन की जगह तेजबहादुर या पुरुषोत्तम ठाकुर दास के आ जाने से कोई भारी न पड़ सकेगा।

पूर्ण स्वाधीनता से भी इस दल का अभिप्राय है। जब लाहौर कांग्रेस ने स्वाधीनता का प्रस्ताव पास किया, तो लोग पूरे दिल से इसे चाहते थे, परन्तु के उसी अधिवेशन में महात्माजी ने कहा "समझौते का दरवाजा अभी भी खुला इसका अर्थ यह था कि वह पहले ही थे कि उनकी लड़ाई का अंत इसी प्रकार किसी समझौते में होगा और वे पूरे दिल स्वाधीनता की घोषणा न कर रहे थे। लोग इसी बेदिली से घृणा करते हैं।

इस उद्देश्य के लिए नौजवानों को कर्ता बनकर मैदान में निकलना

(शेष पृष्ठ ९० पर)

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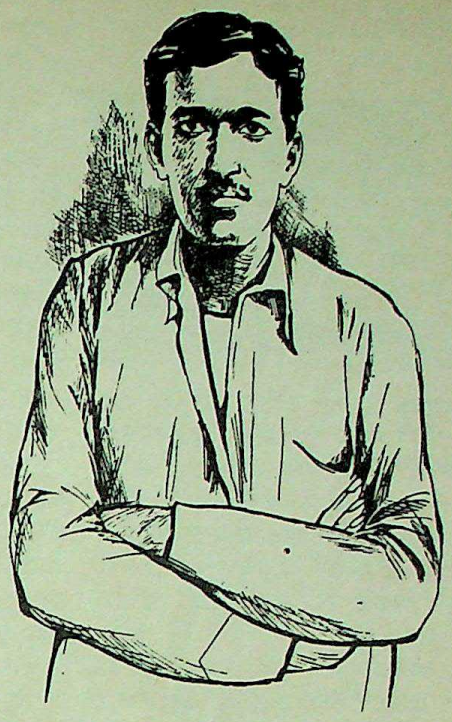
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

संस्मरण

...और अश्फाक ने जवाब दिया था



पं० रामप्रसाद "बिस्मिल" के क्रांतिकारी साथी तथा घनिष्ठ मित्र अश्फाक उल्ला खां वारसी "हसरत" भी शाहजहांपुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) के निवासी थे। "काकोरी केस" में जिन दस क्रांतिकारियों ने सन् १९२५ के ९ अगस्त की शाम को ८ नम्बर डाउन पैसेंजर ट्रेन काकोरी के निकट रोक कर सरकारी खजाना लूट लिया था, उनमें अश्फाक भी थे। अतः भेद खुल जाने पर २६ सितम्बर सन् १९२५ को उनपर भी वारंट जारी हुआ लेकिन वे फरार रहे। फरारी के दिनों में वे कुछ समय तक राजस्थान के प्रसिद्ध क्रांतिकारी पं० अर्जुन लाल सेठी के घर रहे। सेठी जी का रा०स्व० संघ के संस्थापक डा० हेडगेवार से भी काफी गहरा संबंध रहा था लेकिन उस समय तक संघ की स्थापना नहीं हुई थी। सेठीजी के यहां से अश्फाक जब दिल्ली आये तो वहां एक मुस्लिम इंजीनियर की मुखबिरी से पकड़े गये—ऐसा योगेश चटर्जी कहते थे। गो कि पं० रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल का बयान प्राप्त है कि 'दिल्ली के "एक महान हिंदी साहित्यकार और प्रतिभा धनी" की "विशेष दया से" अश्फाक पकड़े गये।' जो हो, उन पर तथा भागलपुर में गिरफ्तार श्री शचीन्द्रनाथ बख्शी पर अलग से मुकदमा चलाया गया।

मुकदमे के एक सबसे बड़े उत्तरदायी अधिकारी थे डी० एस०पी० (खुफिया) इम्पीरियल ब्रांच के तसद्दुक हुसेन साहब। इन्होंने अश्फाक को इस्लाम की ओट में उभाड़कर जोश दिलाना चाहा। फरमाया आपने कि "देखो, अश्फाक ! हमारे-तुम्हारे पुराने खानदानी रिश्ते हैं, रसूक हैं। हम भी मुस्लिम हैं और तुम भी। काफिर रामप्रसाद तो आर्यसमाजी ठहरा और वह इस्लाम का जानी दुश्मन है। वह हिंदोस्तान में चाहता है कि हिंदू राज ही कायम हो सके—ऐसी हालत में लाजिम होगा कि तुम इस्लाम को चोट पहुंचाने से बचो और उसके लिए जरूरी है कि तुम उस काफिर का साथ कतई छोड़ दो। उसकी दोस्ती के लिए खुद को बरबाद मत करो। जो भी काकोरी की निस्बत तुम जानते हो, वह सब बता दो। तुम बा-इल्म और समझदार हो—तुमने देख ही लिया होगा कि सरकार को सब राज मालूम हो चुका है।"

डिप्टी साहब की नसीहत सुनकर अश्फाक क्रोध से भर उठे। उनका गोरा चेहरा आवेश से तमतमा गया। आंखें लाल हो गईं। सांस की गति तेज हो गई। अश्फाक ने फुफकारते हुए कहा, "बस कीजिए जनाब ! बहुत सब्र कर लिया। मैं आपके मुंह से ये बातें सुनना गवारा नहीं कर सकता। आगे फिर कभी आपने ये हिमाकत की तो नतीजा बुरा होगा। मैं ऐसे अल्फाज सुन भी नहीं सकता। मैं जानता हूं पंडित जी सच्चे हिन्दोस्तानी हैं। वे सबके लिए समान हकूक वाली पंचायती सरकार कायम करना चाहते हैं। मुल्क से गुलामी दूर करना चाहते हैं। वे किसी फिरकेवाराना सल्तनत के हामी नहीं।...और जैसा आप कहते हैं, अगर यही बात सही होती तब भी मैं पंडितजी का जरूर साथ देता। मेरी नजर में गैर-मुल्की गुलामी से अपने मुल्क के भाइयों की मातहती कहीं ज्यादा बेहतर है।"

अश्फाक की यह तकरीर सुनकर तसद्दुक हुसैन के होश फाख्ता हो गए। वे खिसियाकर चलते बने।

अश्फाक का व्यक्तित्व बड़ा प्रभावी था। काफी लम्बे और हृष्ट-पुष्ट थे। वजन था पूरे १९५ पौंड। सुदर्शन और सुशील। शायरी करते थे। मस्तमौला थे, बड़े निर्भीक। "काकोरी केस" चलते समय आप राजपूती वेश में आकर अदालत में आ बैठते थे तथा पूरी कार्यवाही देखते-सुनते रहते थे, कोई पहचान न पाया। सिर पर राजपूती साफा, बंद गले का कोट और नीचे बिरजिसनुमा पायजामा। अश्फाक को जब फैसले के दिन "काकोरी केस" में तीन फांसी और दो कालेपानी की सजा सुनाई गई तो इस महान क्रांतिकारी का मुख तेजोदीप्त हो उठा था। ●

क्रान्ति गीत

॥ वन्देमातरम् ॥

कौम के खादिम की है जागीर वन्देमातरम्।
विश्वविजयी, शत्रुविजयी मंत्र वन्देमातरम् ॥
जालिमों को है उधर, बन्दूक अपनी पर गरूर।
है इधर हम बेकसों का तीर वन्देमातरम् ॥
कत्ल कर हमको न कातिल तू, हमारे खून से।
तेग पर हो जाएगा तहरीर वन्देमातरम् ॥
फिक्र क्या जल्लाद ने गर कत्ल पर बांधी कमर।
काट देगा दूर से शमशीर वन्देमातरम् ॥
जुल्म से गर कर दिया खामोश, मुझ को देखना।
बोल उट्ठेगी मेरी तस्वीर वन्देमातरम् ॥
सर जमीं इंग्लैंड की हिल जाएगी दो रोज में।
गर दिखाएगी कभी तासीर वन्देमातरम् ॥
संतरी मुजतरिब शर्मा की भी, हर झंकार में।
बोलती थी जेल में हर संगीन वन्देमातरम् ॥

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

संस्मरण

हां, आजाद हैं !

झांसी जब पुलिस की नजरों में बहुत चढ़ने लगा तो मास्टर साहब रूद्र-नारायण ने सोचा, आजाद का अब झांसी रहना खतरे से खाली नहीं। तब जगह तलाश की गई और योजना बनी कि आगे से आजाद हरिशंकर ब्रह्मचारी के रूप में ढिमरपुरा गांव में रहें। यह गांव सातार नदी के किनारे बसा है। नदी के तट पर ही हनुमान जी का एक मन्दिर था। उसी के पास एक कुटियानुमा कोठरी भी बनी थी। आजाद ने लंगोटी लगाई, कमर में मूंज की मेखला कसी और ऊपर से कम्बल ओढ़ा। बस, बाल ब्रह्मचारी का रूप बनाकर (दर-असल ब्रह्मचारी तो वे थे ही) मन्दिर की उस कुटी में डेरा लगा लिया। कम्बल और रामायण की एक छोटी पोथी—यही उनका कुल सामान था। पहली बार मास्टर साहब ही आजाद को उस मन्दिर तक पहुंचाने गये थे। भोजन का कोई प्रबन्ध था नहीं। सबके दाता राम की कहावत ही उन दिनों आजाद पर चरितार्थ होती थी।

बीच-बीच में वे ओरछा भी चले जाया करते। एक बार "ब्रह्मचारी महाराज" यानी आजाद ओरछा से वापस आ रहे थे—साथ में एक और भी फक्कड़ बाबा था कि एक जगह रास्ते में एकाएक कहीं से दो पुलिस वाले आ गये। सिपाहियों ने टोका-टाकी शुरू कर दी कि "कौन हो ? कहां से आते हो ? जाओगे कहां ? क्या नाम है ?" आजाद सुनते रहे, टालते रहे। बातों में बहलाने की कोशिश की।

पर पुलिस तो पुलिस ही ठहरी, सिपाही एक ही काइयां थे। "क्यों, क्या" से बाज न आये। कहने लगे, "तुम आगे नहीं जा सकते—ठहरो।"

आजाद ने पूछा, "क्यों नहीं जा सकते ? बच्चा ! क्यों साधु-सन्तों का रास्ता रोकते हो ?"

एक सिपाही ने तुक्का भिड़ाते हुए कहा—"तू तो आजाद है, है न ?"

हरिशंकर ब्रह्मचारी हंस पड़े। बोले—"वाह बच्चा ! क्या बात कही है ! अरे, हम आजाद तो हैं ही, भला हमें दुनियाँ से क्या बन्धन ! हनुमान बाबा का नाम जपते हैं, जो मिल गया—उसी में मग्न रहते हैं।"

"सब पता चल जायेगा, पहले थाने चलो।" सिपाही अड़ गये।

आजाद ने कहा, "बच्चा ! क्यों साधु को सताते हो ? हमें आज बजरंग बली का चोला बदलना है, नया चोला चढ़ायेंगे। विलम्ब होने से हनुमान जी कोप करेंगे बच्चा !"

सिपाहियों ने कहा, "थाने तो जाना ही पड़ेगा तुझे, चोला बाद में चढ़ाना।"

आजाद बिगड़ उठे—"लो, हम चले, तुम्हारा दरोगा हमारे सच्चे दरबार हनुमान बली के आगे क्या है भला, जो हम उसे सलाम करने जायें। दरोगा से हनुमान जी कहीं ऊंचे हैं—पहले हैं। हम तो उन्हीं की आज्ञा सिर-माथे धरें, अपने दरोगा-फरोगा का फरमान तुम बजाओ।" और क्रोध से लाल-पीले होते ब्रह्मचारी जी ये गये वो गये।

और तब एक सिपाही ने दूसरे से यह कहकर सन्तोष कर लिया कि "जापर तो महाबीर जू को सत्त आ गया दीखे मुझे।" और वे अपनी राह लगे। ●

क्या तुम तैयार हो . . .. .?

(पृष्ठ ८८ का शेष)

नेता बनने वाले तो पहले ही बहुत हैं। हमारे दल को नेताओं की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अगर आप दुनियादार हैं, बाल-बच्चों और गृहस्थी में फंसे हैं, तो हमारे मार्ग पर मत आइये। आप हमारे उद्देश्य से सहानुभूति रखते हैं, तो और तरीकों से हमें सहायता दीजिये। सख्त नियंत्रण में रह सकने वाले कार्यकर्ता ही इस आंदोलन को आगे ले जा सकते हैं। जरूरी नहीं कि दल इस उद्देश्य के लिये छिप-कर ही काम करे। हमें युवकों के लिए स्वाध्याय-मंडल (स्टडी सर्किल) खोलने चाहिए। पैम्फ्लेटों और लीफलेटों, छोटी पुस्तकों, छोटे-छोटे पुस्तकालयों और लेक्चरों, बातचीत आदि से हमें अपने विचारों का सर्वत्र प्रचार करना चाहिए।

यह बात प्रसिद्ध ही है कि मैं आतंककारी (टेररिस्ट) रहा हूं, परन्तु मैं आतंककारी नहीं हूं। मैं एक क्रांतिकारी हूं, जिसके कुछ निश्चित आदर्श हैं और जिसके सामने एक लम्बा प्रोग्राम है। मुझे यह दोष दिया जायेगा, जैसा कि लोग रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल को देते थे कि फांसी की काल कोठरी में पड़े रहने से मेरे विचारों में भी कोई परिवर्तन आ गया है, परन्तु ऐसी बात नहीं। मेरे विचार अब भी वही हैं। मेरे हृदय में अब भी उतना ही और वैसा उत्साह है और वही लक्ष्य हैं, जो जेल से बाहर था। पर मेरा दृढ़ विश्वास है कि हम बम से हीं कोई प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते। यह बात हिन्दु सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के इतिहास आसानी से मालूम हो जाती है। केवल फेंकना न सिर्फ व्यर्थ है, परन्तु बहुत हानिकारक भी है।

यदि हमारे नौजवान इसी प्रकार प्रय करते जायेंगे, तब जाकर एक साल में राज्य तो नही, किन्तु भारी कुर्बानी त्याग की कठिन परीक्षा में से गुजरने के वे अवश्य विजयी होंगे।

क्रांति चिरंजीवी हो। ●

धोबी हौं हजूर . . . .

(पृष्ठ ८६ का शेष)

है, आजाद जब भाभी और दीदी को ले लाला अचिन्त्यराम के यहां पहुंच गए उन्हें याद आया कि इन दोनों के जो कप सुखाने के लिए कोठी नं० ९ में फैले थे छूट गये है। बस, आजाद ने बिना कुछ कहे फ़ौरन एक साइकिल उठाई, भारी रिवाल्व जेब में रखा और बहावलपुर रोड की कोठी की तरफ तेज रफ्तार से भागे। कोठी के आगे पहुंचकर देखा, अभी पुलि आई नहीं हैं। आजाद कोठी में घुसे, अन्दर अलगनी से भाभी-दीदी के पेटी कोट, साड़ियां और जम्फर आदि उठाये सबको एक गठरी में बाँधा। बाहर आक आगे साइकिल के हैंडिल पर रखा बंगले के पिछवाड़े से निकले ही थे कि टनटनाते कि सामने गोरों का एक सश दस्ता आ भिड़ा। आजाद रूक गये। गोरों पूछा—

"मैन कहां जाटा हाय ? तुमारा नाम ?"

आजाद ने ठेठ धोबियों के अन्दाज कपड़े धोने की प्रक्रिया प्रदर्शित करके आजिजी से समझाया", "धोबी हौं हजू कपड़ा धोबत हौं।"

गोरों ने फिर पूछा—"किडर से क लाया ?"

आजाद ने बेझिझक कहा—"हजूर, बंगले के साहब का धोबी हौं।" बताते बजाय कोठी नं० ९ के आजाद ने दूसरे बंगले की तरफ इशारा कर दिया था गोरे उसे देहाती धोबी मानकर आगे गये थे। बाद में आजाद ने बताया था "गोरे न मानते तो जेब में रिवाल्वर था ही गोली चलती। लड़ते-लड़ते खेत रहते फिर निकल भी जा सकता था पर जि उनके हाथ यह शरीर आता नहीं।" ●

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

वह बीहड़ क्रान्तिकारी !

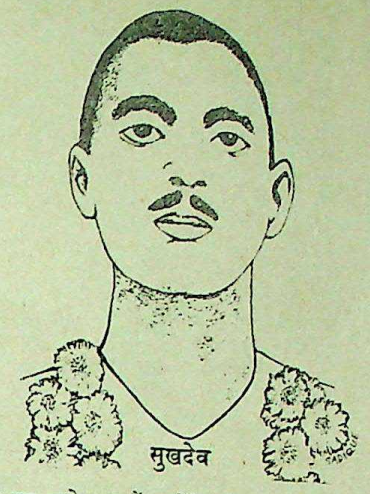
सुखदेव को दल में नाम मिला था "विलेजर"। यह स्वयं में सार्थक भी था क्योंकि कपड़ों-लत्तों में जो उदासीनता सुखदेव बरतते थे, वे बेमिसाल थी। कई बार साथियों को उनका फक्कड़पना और बेसलीके के कपड़े खल जाते, वे मना भी करते पर सुखदेव तो थे ही जिद्दी। कहते, "कौन मुझे किसी से शादी करनी है। जिसे बुरा लगे, आंखें मींच ले अपनी। उनका यही ढंग रहता—अलमस्त, लापरवाह। पाजामा कहीं जा रहा है, कुर्ता कहीं और टोपी लुढ़ककर सिर के पीछे जा लटकी है परंतु भाई को उसकी खबर नहीं। बकौल शिव-वर्माजी "राह-राह चले जा रहे हैं। भुट्टे बगल में दबे हैं, एक भुट्टे पर मुंह चल रहा है। जो मिला, "ले भई! तू भी खा..।" फूलों के बड़े शौकीन। साथियों की खातिर-दारी—उनकी खोज-खबर की भी उन्हें बेहद फिक्र रहती। इसी से कहा गया सुखदेव में संगठन-कौशल खूब था। नये-नये लोगों को दल में भर्ती करना, उन्हें उनकी योग्यता-पटुता के माफिक जिम्मेवारी सौंपना वे अच्छी तरह जानते थे। दल की वे केंद्रीय समिति में थे। दल के संगठनकर्ता भी थी। भगवती-चरण बोहरा दल के दिमाग थे।"

पहले कभी जब सुखदेव क्रांतिकारी नहीं थे, हाथ पर "ओम्" का गोदना गुदा था। विप्लवी बने तो एक दिन बम बनाने का नाइ-ट्रिक एसिड आपने उस हाथ पर थोप लिया। उससे हाथ जल गया। जख्म हो गये। ज्वर भी आ गया। लेकिन वह गोदना मिटाकर रहा—सबसे छिपाई यह बात। नहाते समय आजाद ने देखा तो टोका, "यह क्या किया ?"

आप कहते हैं, "एसिड से जलने पर कैसा लगता है, इसका जायजा लिया है और फिर यह गोदना भी मिटाना था।" हुई न निराली धज।

बीहड़ प्रवृत्ति

दुर्गा भाभी बताती हैं, "उस गोदने का कुछ अंश फिर भी नहीं मिटा तो फिर सुख-देव ने दूसरी तरकीब की। एक दिन घर आये, मैं अंदर रोटियां सेंक रही थी। कहीं से कोई आवाज न आती सुनी तो मैं वहां आई जहां सुखदेव बैठा था। क्या देखती हूं, एक मोमबत्ती जल रही है और सुखदेव वही गोदने वाला हाथ उस पर रखे हुए हैं। गोदना जल रहा है, खाल जलकर चिरायंध फैला कर रही है, लेकिन आप फिर भी हाथ



सुखदेव

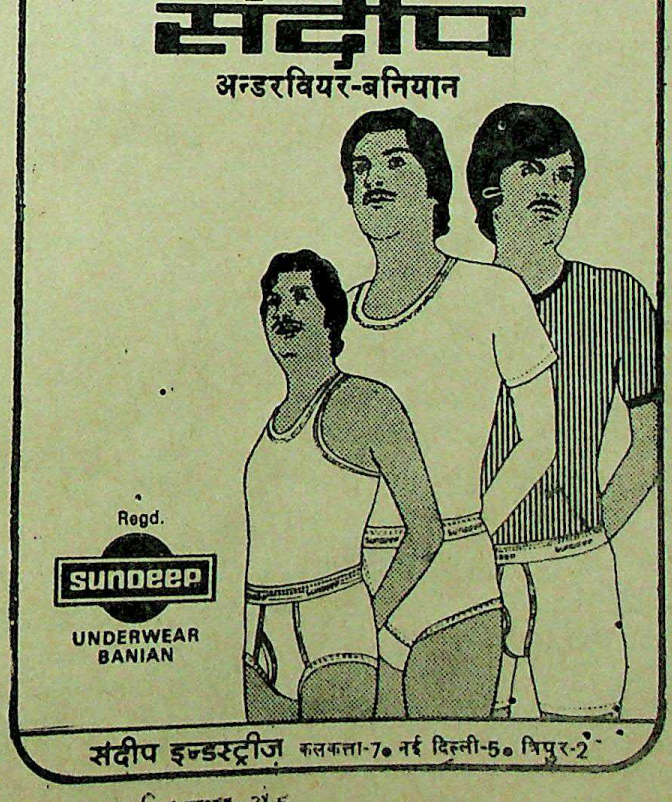
उस पर ताने हुए हैं। मैंने फौरन आगे झपट-कर यह मोमबत्ती बुझा दी, नाराजी भी जताई। लेकिन आप मजे से मुस्कुराते रहे। मौन! ऐसे थे सुखदेव। बड़े बीहड़, विलक्षण।

एक दिन एक और भी करिश्मा किया। राह चलते आपने एक खूब बलिष्ठ आदमी की नाक पर घूंसा जड़ दिया, अकारण उसके रक्त बहने लगा और चोट से तिल-मिला कर बीच रास्ते में ही बैठ गया। सुखदेव समीप खड़े देखते रहे चुप। फिर वह संभला और लगा इनकी धुनाई करने। पूछा "मैंने क्या तुम्हारा बिगाड़ा था जो मुझे घूंसा मार दिया ?" आपने कहा, "चलो। तुमने भी तो बदला चुका लिया।" वस्तुतः सुखदेव ने घूंसेबाजी की एक किताब में पढ़ा था कि "नाक पर घूंसा मारने से प्रतिद्वंद्वी काबू में आ जाता है" और बस, आप उसी का परीक्षण करने निकल पड़े। परिणाम की चिंता नहीं। यह बीहड़पना ही तो है।

सुखदेव ने फांसी की कोठरी से गांधी जी को लिखे अपने पत्र में कहा:—

"आप सोचते होंगे, क्रांतिकारी तार्किक नहीं होते या कि महज विध्वंसकामी होते हैं मगर यह सच नहीं। उनका हर कदम सुविचारित होता है, दायित्व-बोध से प्रेरित होकर ही वे ध्वंस की ओर बढ़ते हैं। जबकि मूलतः उनके विचारों में सृजनात्मक महत्व कभी गौण नहीं रहा।....हम तीन कैदियों को फांसी देना तय हुआ है, लेकिन उससे पार्टी का कुछ बिगड़ता नहीं। क्योंकि पार्टी केवल इन तीन व्यक्तियों तक सीमित नहीं है। अगर उनकी फांसी की सजाएं बदल भी दी जाएं तो भारत को उतना लाभ न पहुंचेगा जितना इनके फांसी पाने से।" इन उद्गारों में सुखदेव की दृढ़ता द्युतिमान है।

वे संवत् १९६२ की फाल्गुन शुक्ल सप्तमी को लायलपुर में जन्मे। पिता रामलाल तीन साल बाद ही दिवंगत हो गये थे। चाचा ने पाला-पोसा। लाहौर केस मे सन् १९३१ की २३ मार्च को फांसी पाई। भगतसिंह के साथ ही वे भी देश के नवयुवकों को हमेशा प्रेरणा देते रहेंगे।



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राम-संकल्प

हमारे समक्ष स्वामी रामतीर्थ का प्रेरणादायी उदाहरण है। वे अत्यन्त दरिद्र कुल में उत्पन्न हुए थे। उन दिनों की प्रथा के अनुसार उनका अल्पायु में ही विवाह हो गया था। उनके मैट्रिक पास कर लेने पर उनके पिताजी चाहते थे कि वे कहीं नौकरी आदि करके कुटुम्ब का पालन करें। किन्तु उन्होंने अपना अध्ययन जारी रखने का दृढ़ निश्चय कर लिया था। इस पर विवाद बढ़ा और पिता ने उन्हें घर से निकल जाने को कहा। उन्होंने पिता को नमस्कार किया और पत्नी को साथ लेकर घर छोड़कर चले गये। उस समय उनकी आयु लगभग १५ वर्ष की थी और उनकी पत्नी की लगभग आठ वर्ष। बचपन में भक्तिपूर्वक सीता और द्रौपदी के अपने पतियों के साथ वनानुगमन की कहानियां सुनी होने के कारण उनकी पत्नी ने भी इस विपत्ति का अत्यन्त धैर्य और साहस से सामना किया। रामतीर्थ को एक छोटा सा कमरा मिल गया जहां उन्होंने पत्नी के रहने की व्यवस्था कर दी। उन्हें एक स्कूल में अंशकालीन अध्यापक का काम मिल गया और वे कालेज में भर्ती हो गये। इसके अतिरिक्त विद्यार्थी जीवन और ब्रह्मचर्य के सभी नियमों के बंधनों से बद्ध होने के कारण वे अपनी माता के अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य स्त्री के हाथ का बना भोजन कैसे कर सकते थे? अतः वे अपने और पत्नी के लिए भी स्वयं बनाते थे। उन्होंने पत्नी को पढ़ाना भी शुरू कर दिया। अभाव एवं दरिद्रता की इन विपरीत परिस्थितियों के बावजूद वे सभी परीक्षाओं में बड़े अच्छे नम्बरों से सफल होते रहे। एम.ए. में उन्होंने संस्कृत विषय चुना। इसके पूर्व उनको संस्कृत का तनिक भी ज्ञान नहीं था। किन्तु उन्होंने सफल होने का वज्र संकल्प किया और प्रथम श्रेणी में उत्तीर्ण हुए। महापुरुष इसी प्रकार अपनी संकल्प शक्ति और दृढ़ निश्चय के बल पर सभी बाधाओं और विपरीत परिस्थितियों को पार कर सफलता के उच्चतम शिखर पर पहुंच जाते हैं।

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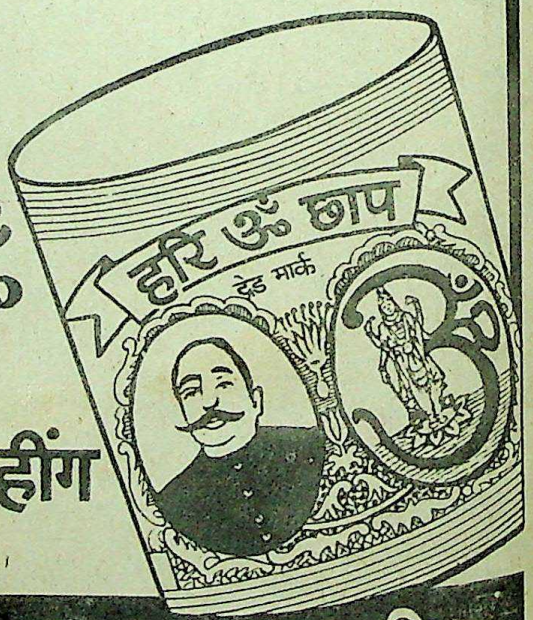

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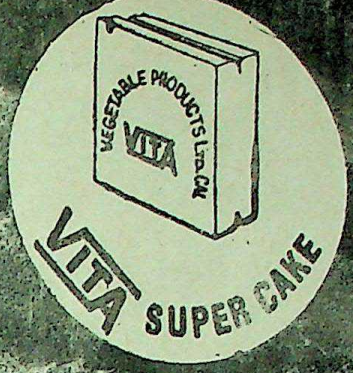

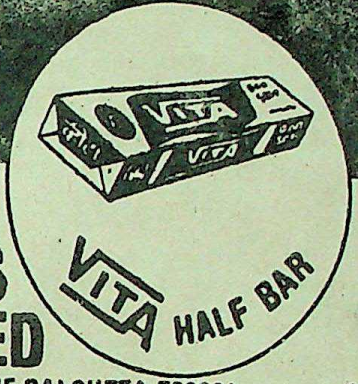

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जिससे आपके जीवन में खुशियां ही खुशियां भर जायेंगी और आप विवाहित जीवन का वास्तविक आनन्द प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

साहित्य मुफ्त मगायें।

सन्तान के इच्छुक स्त्री-पुरुष स्वयं मिलें।

थालिया क्लिनिक

ईस्ट पार्क रोड, फिल्मिस्तान सिनेमा के पास, मोडल बस्ती, नई दिल्ली-११०००५
समय : दोपहर १ बजे से सायं ७ बजे तक, रविवार : दोपहर १ बजे से ४ बजे तक

ब्रांच: थालिया चिकित्सालय
लोनी रोड. शाहदरा दिल्ली-११००३२, समय : प्रात: ९ बजे से १२ बजे तक

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गाइ आल्ड्रेड

अंग्रेज पत्रकार, जिसने भारत समर्थन के आरोप में सजा पाई

उत्तम पठनीय साहित्य

- **हिन्दू संस्कृति और सत्तावादी राजनीति**--डा० लक्ष्मीनारायण लाल २०.००
  वर्तमान राजनीति का सत्तावादी स्वरूप हिन्दू संस्कृति के कितना अनुरूप है और कितना विपरीत--हिन्दी के सुप्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार द्वारा विश्लेषण।
  (सस्ता संस्करण मात्र ८.०० रुपया)
- **दहकता पूर्वांचल**—भानुप्रताप शुक्ल २५.००
  पूर्वोत्तर भारत के सात राज्यों में विदेशी घुसपैठ और धर्मान्तरण के माध्यम से भारत को पुनः विभाजित करने के षड्यन्त्रों का पर्दाफ़ाश
  (सस्ता संस्करण मात्र ८.०० रुपया)
- **जीवन मूल्य भाग १ व २**—प्र. ग. सहस्रबुद्धे प्रति भाग २०.००
  आत्म विकास एवं चरित्र निर्माण के लिये उत्तम (सस्ता सं. प्रति भाग १०.००)
- **कथा सप्तपर्णी**— २५.००
  राम कथा पर आधारित सात एकांकी नाटक
- **स्वातन्त्र्य शिल्पीश्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा**—डा० गणेशीलाल वर्मा ४.००
  क्रांतिकारियों के गुरू का एकमात्र प्रामाणिक जीवन परिचय
- **शक्तिपुत्र छत्रसाल**--सोमदत्त त्रिपाठी २५.००
  महाराज छत्रसाल का तथ्यपूर्ण प्रामाणिक जीवन
- **मृत्युंजय भारत**—बाबा साहब आपटे २५.००
  पौराणिक, राजनीतिक व राष्ट्रीय विषयों पर बाबा साहब के लेखों व भाषणों का संकलन (सस्ता संस्करण समाप्त)
- **केशव: संघ निर्माता**—चं० प० भिशीकर २५.००
  रा. स्व. संघ की कार्यपद्धति के विकास का जानकारी पूर्ण विवरण
  (सस्ता संस्करण १२.५०)
- **राष्ट्रीय खेल कबड्डी**—अजय भल्ला १६.००
  कबड्डी के नियम, दांव-पेच, निपुणता, परिदोष की अधिकृत जानकारी (सचित्र) भारत सरकार द्वारा पुरस्कृत।
- **मां ! अब तो खोलो द्वार**—गो. नी. दांडेकर ३२.००
  छत्रपति शिवाजी के जन्म से पूर्व महाराष्ट्र की परिस्थिति पर ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास। (सस्ता संस्करण १५.००)
- **हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य**--सैयाह सुनामी
  'विक्रमादित्य' की उपाधि प्राप्त करने वाले हेमू वक्काल पर ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास।
- **एक अकेला**—रामकुमार भ्रमर १६.००
  पेशेवर राजनीतिज्ञों के घिनौने हथकंडों से जूझने वाले एक अध्यापक पर सामाजिक उपन्यास। (सस्ता सं. ८.००)
- **ज्ञान पहेली (चार भागों में)**—जगदीश तोमर प्रति भाग ३.५०
  भारत के महापुरुष, तीर्थ, पर्वत, नदियां, नगर, प्रान्त, पुरातत्त्व स्थलों आदि की जानकारी देने वाली पहेलियां।

वृहद् सूचीपत्र मुफ्त मंगाइये

सुरुचि साहित्य

केशव कुंज, झण्डेवाला, नई दिल्ली-११००५५

सन् १९१०। लंदन का इंडिया हाउ वीर सावरकर, श्यामजी कृष्ण आदि अनेक क्रांतिकारी देशभक्तों की विधियां सक्रिय होने लगी थीं। यह था कि अंग्रेज सरकार भा आजादी के आन्दोलन को कुचलने कमर कस चुकी थी किन्तु दूसरी उसी के घर में भारतीय क्रांतिका धूम थी।

इंग्लैंड में रह कर ही वीर सा ने भारतीय स्वाधीनता का इ लिखा था। पर उसको प्रकाशित एक समस्या बना हुआ था। सरकार ने टाइम्स पत्र में एक छाप कर सभी प्रकाशकों तथा मुद्र को सूचित कर दिया था कि इ को प्रकाशित करना कानूनी जुर्म

भारत-भक्त अंग्रेज

श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा उन साप्ताहिक 'इंडियन सोशियाल निकालते थे। ब्रिटिश सरकार पर भी रोक लगा दी। पूरे इंग्लैंड हिम्मत नहीं कर सका जो सोशियालाजिस्ट' छाप दे। एक ऐसा भारत-भक्त अंग्रेज गया जिसने उस पत्र को अपनी छापा। यही नहीं, उसने एक ऐसा शाली लेख भी लिखा जिससे पू में तहलका मच गया। भारत के ने उस लेख को बड़े ध्यान से देशभक्त भारतीयों को उससे प्रेरणा मिली।

वह साहसी लेखक था—इंग्ल पत्रकार-गाई आल्ड्रेड जो अपनी लेखनी से देश के क्रांतिकारियों दायिनी शक्ति उडेल रहा था। सरकार भला इसे कैसे सहन क थी। सरकार अपने ही भाई की हरकतें देखकर भन्ना गई, उ आल्ड्रेड को जेल में ठूंस दि पर आरोप लगाया कि इंग्लैंड होकर भी वह भारतीय स्वाधीन लन का समर्थक है।

१३ मार्च १९१० को वीर को भी गिरफ्तार कर लिया ग क्रांतिकारी ब्रिस्टन की जेल में

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लिम के चीफ रौलेट का यह आदेश था कि दोनों ही खतरनाक कैदी हैं; अतः उन्हें अलग-अलग रखा जाय। गाई आल्ड्रेड री तरह से भारतीयों के साथ हैं, अतः उसे कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दी जाए।

सच्चा नेता

अपने आपको भूल जाना सच्चा नेता बनने की एक आवश्यक शर्त .....अपना कोई स्वार्थपूर्ण हित न रखना, अपने लिए कुछ न चाहना बल्कि अपने पर निर्भर हित को, समग्र के हित को, ध्यान में रखना. इसी ध्येय को सामने रखकर कार्य करना और अपने कार्य से किसी प्रकार का वैयक्तिक लाभ न चाहना सच्चे नेता की पहचान है।

—श्री मां

राजद्रोह के आरोप में ब्रिटिश पत्रकार पर मुकदमा चलाया गया। पर न्यायालय में उसने अपना बयान देते हुए सिद्ध कर दिया कि भारत का स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन न्यायोचित है और भारत को स्वतंत्रता मिलनी ही चाहिए। सन् १८५७ में भारत में जो ब्रिटिश सरकार के प्रति विद्रोह भड़का था वह बलवा या बगावत न होकर स्वाधीनता के लिये संघर्ष था। ब्रिटिश सरकार यह सब एक अंग्रेज से कैसे सुन सकती थी? उन्हें कड़ी कैद की सजा दी गई।

इंग्लैंड के 'सोशल डेमोक्रेटस' तथा अनार्किस्ट समाचार पत्रों ने गाई आल्ड्रेड को देशद्रोही बताया पर अन्य कितने ही समाचार पत्र थे जो एक पत्रकार के साहस की सराहना कर रहे थे। वह दो वर्ष तक ब्रिटिश जेल में बन्द रह कर भारत की आजादी के लिये यातनायें सहते रहे। पर जेल से मुक्त होते ही उन्होंने फिर अपना काम शुरू कर दिया।

जब ब्रिटिश सरकार ने वीर सावरकर को आजीवन कारावास की सजा सुनाई तो गाई आल्ड्रेड ने 'हेराल्ड आफ रिवोल्ट' में सावरकर पर 'मुक्ति विशेषांक' निकाला और सम्पादकीय लेख में अपनी सरकार की कटु आलोचना की तथा निर्णय देने वाले न्यायालय को अन्यायालय ठहराया। गाई आल्ड्रेड ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद को भारत के लिए कलंक समझते थे। जब तक वीर सावरकर का नाम अमर रहेगा तब तक 'गाई आल्ड्रेड' को याद किया जाता रहेगा। यह अत्यन्त खेद का विषय है कि भारत सरकार गाई आल्ड्रेड' को अब तक उचित सम्मान नहीं दे सकी। यदिउनके चित्र का डाक टिकट भी जारी कर दिया जाता तो उस साहसी पत्रकार के प्रति हमारी मातृभूमि की ओर से श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित हो जाती। ●

—नरेश भदौरिया

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क्रांतिवीर

हेमू कालाणी

भारत छोड़ो आंदोलन देश भर में तूफान मचा रहा था। सिन्ध में भी इस आन्दोलन का ज्वार पूरी ऊंचाई पर था। पिकेटिंग, गुप्त रूप से क्रांतिकारी साहित्य का वितरण और ब्रिटिश व्यवस्था छिन्न-भिन्न करने के प्रयासों में जोशीले युवक जुटे हुए थे। हेमू कालाणी भी उनमें से एक बहुत उत्साही युवा क्रांतिकारी था। सिन्ध के सक्खर जिले में उसने अपने साथियों सहित क्रांतिकारी गतिविधियों का जाल बिछाया हुआ था। अपने इस दल का नाम उसने 'स्वराज्य सेना' रखा था।

उन्हीं दिनों खबर मिली कि ब्रिटिश फौज की एक विशेष रेलगाड़ी सक्खर से होकर गुजरने वाली है जिसमें भारी मात्रा में शस्त्रास्त्र भी होंगे! बस, फिर क्या था! हेमू के दल ने निश्चय किया कि आजादी के योद्धाओं को कुचलने के लिए ले जाए जा रहे इन शस्त्रास्त्रों को कभी गंतव्य तक पहुंचने नहीं दिया जाएगा। २३ अक्तूबर, १९४२ का दिन! हेमू और उसके दो साथी चुपचाप रात के समय रेल की पटरियों के पास पहुंचे और औजारों से फिश प्लेट निकालने लगे। तभी निकट ही गश्त लगा रहे कुछ सिपाहियों की नजर उन पर पड़ी और वे उनकी संदिग्ध हलचल देखकर उन पर तुरन्त झपटे। हेमू ने अपने दोनों साथियों को भागने का आदेश दिया किन्तु स्वयं वहीं खड़ा रहा ताकि पुलिस का ध्यान उसपर ही केन्द्रित रहे। दोनों साथी भागने में सफल रहे और हेमू पकड़ा गया।

जेल में हेमू को भीषण यातनाएं दी गईं। लेकिन उसके मुंह से एक भी शब्द ऐसा नहीं निकला जो दल का भेद खोलता। चुपचाप वह सब कुछ सहता गया। उस पर देश-द्रोह का मुकदमा चला। सक्खर की फौजी अदालत ने हेमू को आजन्म कारावास का दण्ड दिया। लेकिन इस फैसले को फौजी अदालत के मुख्यालय हैदराबाद (सिन्ध) के प्रमुख कर्नल रिचर्डसन ने मृत्युदण्ड में बदल दिया—

२१ जनवरी १९४३ की सुबह हेमू को फांसी दे दी गई। उसने फांसी का फंदा, विशेष अनुरोध कर स्वयं पहना और इंकलाब जिन्दाबाद, भारत माता की जय कहते हुए विदा ले गया। उस समय हेमू की उम्र १९ वर्ष की थी।

टेलीग्राम : 'संकरान' AMAR JYOTI TRADE MARK दूरभाष : २८७१६

शुद्ध केसर शिलाजीत

तथा हींग व स्वदेशी दवाइयों के लिए विश्वास से लिखें

सुधीर कुमार अल्ला एण्ड ब्रदर्स

२५, ग्रीन पार्क, लुधियाना-१४१००१

कार्यालय दि शुजालपुर सहकारी विपणन एवं प्रक्रि[illegible] मर्या०, शुजालपुर

दीपावली के शुभ अवसर पर कृषकों एवं उपभोक्ताओं का हम हार्दिक अभिनन्दन करते

व्यवसाय

कृषको की कृषि उपज उचित मूल्य पर खरीदना।
रासायनिक खाद का वितरण करना।
विद्युत पम्प एवं डीजल इंजिन प्रदान करना।
उत्तम किस्म के दालो के निर्माता।

एस० एन० दीक्षित
प्रबन्धक

लक्ष्मणराव [illegible]
अध्यक्ष

दीपमाला के पर्व पर

उभरती राष्ट्र द्रोही शक्तियों क[illegible]
समाप्त करने का संकल्प ले

१. अपने नगर में हिन्दू रक्षा समिति स्थापित कर-यवन-ईसाई दुरभिसंधिविफल क[illegible]
२. अधिक से अधिक प्रचार साहित्य मंगा कर बांटें
३. जन-ज्ञान (मासिक) का नमूना मुफ्त मंगाएं

और

परमात्मा की अमर वाणी

चारों वेदों का हिन्दी भाष[illegible]

४४४) के स्थान पर केवल २२५) में
७ नवम्बर, १९८१ तक मंगाएं

विवरण—प्रचार—साहित्य व सहयोग के लिए पत्र लिखें—

अध्यक्ष—अ० भा० हिन्दू रक्षा समिति,
१५९७, हरध्यान सिंह मार्ग, नई दिल्ली-५

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and

॥बम का दर्शन॥

क्रांतिकारियों ने जब अंग्रेज वायसराय की ट्रेन को बम से उड़ाने की चेष्टा की तो गांधी जी ने अपने अखबार 'यंग इण्डिया' में एक लेख 'कल्ट आफ दी बम' शीर्षक से लिखा जिसमें उन्होंने क्रांतिकारियों पर कायरता आदि के आरोप लगाये तथा उन्हें 'बुजदिल' बताकर काफी भला-बुरा कहा। चन्द्रशेखर आजाद को इससे गहरी ठेस पहुंची क्योंकि वे अहिंसा में विश्वास न करके भी यह मानते थे कि कांग्रेस और क्रांतिकारी दोनों ही आजादी के लिए लड़ रहे हैं और क्रांतिकारी कांग्रेस पार्टी के कार्यपूरक ही हैं, विरोधी नहीं।

आजाद ने भगवती चरण वोहरा से गाँधी जी के लेख के जवाब में एक परचा लिखवाया, 'फिलासफी आफ बम (बम का दर्शन)। आजाद ने खुद ही इस परचे को कानपुर में मुद्रित करवाया और सन् १९३० की २६ जनवरी को पूरे देश की अदालतों, विद्यालयों, स्टेशनों, धरों बाजारों में बंटवाया। उसी की एक प्रति गांधीजी को भी पठाई। गांधी जी ने क्रांतिकारियों का जब यह जवाब पढ़ा तो नाराज नहीं हुए वरन् 'यंग इंडिया' में ही एक दूसरा लेख लिखा जिसमें परचे की तारीफ करते हुए बताया कि "सच ही मैंने आपने प्रथम लेख (कल्ट आफ दी बम) में क्रातिकारियों के बाबत इन्साफ नहीं बरता और अगरचे में हिंसा मार्ग को ठीक नहीं मानता लेकिन क्रांतिकारियों की वीरता को सराहता हूं और क्रान्तिकारियों से कहना चाहता हूं कि में अगले तीन सालों में हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी प्राप्त करा दूंगा। यदि में ऐसा न कर सकूं तो फिर क्रांतिकारी अपने मार्ग से संघर्ष करने के लिये स्वतंत्र होंगे।"

हाल ही की घटनाओं, विशेष रूप से २३ दिसम्बर, १९२९ को वायसराय की स्पेशल उड़ाने का जो प्रयत्न किया गया था, उसकी निन्दा करते हुए कांग्रेस द्वारा पारित किया गया प्रस्ताव तथा "यंग इंडिया" में गांधी जी द्वारा लिखे गये लेखों से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस ने गांधीजी से सांठ-गांठ कर भारतीय क्रांतिकारियों के विरुद्ध घोर आंदोलन प्रारंभ कर दिया है।

जनता के बीच भाषणों तथा पत्रों के माध्यम से क्रांतिकारियों के विरुद्ध बराबर प्रचार किया जाता रहा है। या तो यह जान-बूझकर किया गया या फिर केवल अज्ञान के कारण उनके विषय में गलत प्रचार होता रहा और उन्हें गलत समझा जाता रहा। परन्तु क्रांतिकारी अपने सिद्धांतों तथा कार्यों की ऐसी आलोचना से नहीं घबराते हैं। बल्कि वे ऐसी आलोचना का स्वागत करते हैं, क्योंकि इसे वे एक ऐसा स्वर्णावसर मानते हैं जब वे लोगों को क्रांतिकारियों के मूलभूत सिद्धांतों तथा उच्चादर्शों को, जो उनकी प्रेरणा तथा शक्ति के अनवरत स्रोत हैं, समझा सकते हैं। आशा की जाती है कि इस लेख द्वारा आम जनता को यह जानने का अवसर मिलेगा कि क्रांतिकारी क्या हैं और उनके विरुद्ध किये गये भ्रमात्मक प्रचार से उत्पन्न होने वाली गलतफहमियों से भी उन्हें बचाया जा सकेगा।

हिंसा और अहिंसा

पहले हम हिंसा और अहिंसा के प्रश्न पर ही विचार करेंगे। हमारे विचार से इन शब्दों का प्रयोग ही गलत किया गया है, और ऐसा करना ही दोनों दलों के साथ अन्याय करना है, क्योंकि इन शब्दों से दोनों दलों ही के सिद्धांतों का स्पष्ट बोध नहीं हो पाता। हिंसा का अर्थ है अन्याय के लिए किया गया बल प्रयोग, परन्तु क्रांतिकारियों का तो यह उद्देश्य नहीं है। दूसरी ओर अहिंसा का जो आम अर्थ समझा जाता है, वह है आत्मिक शक्ति का सिद्धांत। इसका उपयोग व्यक्तिगत तथा राष्ट्रीय अधिकारों को प्राप्त करने के लिए किया जाता है। अपने आपको कष्ट देकर आशा की जाती है कि इस प्रकार अंत में अपने विरोधी का हृदय परिवर्तन संभव हो सकेगा।

एक क्रांतिकारी जब कुछ बातों को अपना अधिकार मान लेता है तो वह उनकी मांग करता है, अपनी उस मांग के पक्ष में दलीलें देता है, समस्त आत्मिक शक्ति के द्वारा उन्हें प्राप्त करने की इच्छा करता है, उसकी प्राप्ति के लिए अत्यधिक कष्ट सहन करता है। इसके लिए वह बड़े से बड़ा त्याग करने के लिए प्रस्तुत रहता है और उसके समर्थन में वह अपना समस्त शारीरिक-बल भी प्रयोग करता है। उसके इन प्रयत्नों को आप चाहे जिस नाम से पुकारें, परन्तु आप इन्हें हिंसा के नाम से संबोधित नहीं कर सकते, क्योंकि ऐसा करना कोष में दिये इस शब्द के अर्थ के साथ अन्याय होगा। सत्याग्रह का अर्थ है सत्य के लिए आग्रह। उसकी स्वीकृति के लिए केवल आत्मिक शक्ति के प्रयोग का ही आग्रह क्यों? इसके साथ-साथ शारीरिक बल-प्रयोग भी क्यों न किया जाय? क्रांतिकारी स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के लिए अपनी शारीरिक एवं नैतिक शक्ति-दोनों के प्रयोग में विश्वास करता है, परन्तु नैतिक शक्ति का प्रयोग करने वाले शारीरिक बल प्रयोग को निषिद्ध मानते हैं। इसलिए अब सवाल यह नहीं है कि आप हिंसा चाहते हैं या अहिंसा, बल्कि प्रश्न तो यह है कि आप अपने उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिए शारीरिक बल सहित नैतिक बल का प्रयोग करना चाहते हैं, या केवल आत्मिक शक्ति का।

क्रांतिकारियों का विश्वास है कि देश को क्रांति से ही स्वतंत्रता मिलेगी। वे जिस क्रांति के लिए प्रयत्नशील हैं और जिस क्रांति का रूप उनके सामने स्पष्ट है उसका अर्थ केवल यह नहीं है कि विदेशी शासकों तथा उनके पिट्ठुओं से क्रांतिकारियों का केवल सशस्त्र संघर्ष हो, बल्कि इस सशस्त्र संघर्ष के साथ-साथ नवीन सामाजिक व्यवस्था के द्वार देश के लिए खुल जाएं। क्रांति पूंजीवाद, वर्गवाद तथा कुछ लोगों को ही विशेषाधिकार दिलाने वाली प्रणाली का अन्त कर देगी। यह राष्ट्र को अपनी पैरों पर खड़ा करेगी, उससे नवीन राष्ट्र और नये समाज का जन्म होगा। क्रांति से सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह होगी कि यह मजदूर तथा किसानों का राज्य कायम कर उन सब सामाजिक अवांछित तत्वों को समाप्त कर देगी, जो देश की राजनैतिक शक्ति को हथियाये बैठे हैं।

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

> गाँधीजी घोषणा करते हैं कि अहिंसा की सामर्थ्य तथा अपने आपको पीड़ा देने की प्रणाली से उन्हें यह आशा है कि वह एक दिन विदेशी शासकों का हृदय परिवर्तन कर उन्हें अपनी विचारधारा का अनुयायी बना लेंगे। परन्तु क्या वह बता सकते हैं, कि वह भारत में कितने शत्रुओं का हृदय परिवर्तन कर उन्हें भारत का मित्र बनाने में समर्थ हुए हैं? वह कितने ओ' डायरों, तथा रीडिंग और इरविन जैसों को भारत का मित्र बना सके हैं?

आज की तरुण पीढ़ी को जो मानसिक गुलामी तथा धार्मिक रूढ़िवादी बन्धन जकड़े हैं और उससे छुटकारा पाने के लिए तरुण समाज में जो बेचैनी है, उसी में क्रांतिकारी, प्रगतिशीलता के अंकुर देख रहा है। नवयुवक जैसे-जैसे मनोविज्ञान आत्मसात् करता जायेगा वैसे-वैसे राष्ट्र की गुलामी का चित्र उसके सामने स्पष्ट होता जायेगा तथा उसकी देश को स्वतंत्र करने की इच्छा प्रबल होती जायेगी। उसका यह क्रम तब तक चलता रहेगा जबतक कि युवक न्याय, क्रोध और क्षोभ से ओतप्रोत हो अन्याय करने वालों की हत्या न प्रारंभ कर देगा। इस प्रकार देश में आतंकवाद का जन्म होता है।

आतंकवाद संपूर्ण क्रांति नहीं और क्रांति भी आतंकवाद के बिना पूर्ण नहीं। यह तो क्रांति का एक आवश्यक और अवश्यम्भावी अंग है। इस सिद्धांत का समर्थन इतिहास की किसी भी क्रांति के विश्लेषण द्वारा जाना जा सकता है। आतंकवाद आततायी के मन में भय पैदा कर तथा पीड़ित जनता में प्रतिशोध की भावना जागृत कर उसे शक्ति प्रदान करता है। अस्थिर भावना वाले लोगों को इससे हिम्मत बंधती है तथा उनमें आत्मविश्वास पैदा होता है। इससे दुनिया के सामने क्रांतिक उद्देश्य का वास्तविक रूप प्रकट हो जाता है। क्योंकि ये किसी राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता की उत्कट महत्वाकांक्षा का विश्वास दिलाने वाले प्रमाण हैं। जैसे दूसरे देशों में होता आया है, वैसे ही भारत में भी आतंकवाद क्रांति का रूप धारण कर लेगा और अन्त में क्रांति से ही देश को सामाजिक, राजनैतिक तथा आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता मिलेगी।

तो यह है क्रांतिकारी के सिद्धांत, जिनमें वह विश्वास करता है और जिन्हें देश के लिए प्राप्त करना चाहता है। इस सत्य की प्राप्ति के लिए वह गुप्त तथा खुले आम दोनों ही तरीकों से प्रयत्न कर रहा है। इस प्रकार एक शताब्दी से संसार में जनता तथा शासक वर्ग में जो संघर्ष चला आ रहा है, वही अनुभव उसके लक्ष्य पर पहुंचने का मार्गदर्शक है। क्रांतिकारी जिन तरीकों में विश्वास करता है वे कभी असफल नहीं हुए।

कांग्रेस-कर्म

इस बीच कांग्रेस क्या कर रही थी? उसने अपना ध्येय स्वराज्य से बदलकर पूर्ण स्वशासन घोषित किया। इस घोषणा से कोई भी व्यक्ति यही निष्कर्ष निकालेगा कि कांग्रेस ने ब्रिटिश शासन के विरुद्ध युद्ध की घोषणा न कर क्रांतिकारियों के विरुद्ध ही युद्ध की घोषणा कर दी है।

इस सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस का पहला वार था उसका वह प्रस्ताव जिसमें २३ दिसम्बर, १९२९ को वायसराय की स्पेशल उड़ाने के प्रयत्न की निन्दा की गई। इस प्रस्ताव का मसविदा गांधीजी ने तैयार किया था और उसका पारित कराने के लिए गांधीजी ने अपनी सारी शक्ति लगा दी।

परिणाम यह हुआ कि १९१३ की सदस्य संख्या में वह केवल ३१ अधिक मतों से पारित हो सका। क्या इस अत्यल्प बहुमत में भी राजनैतिक ईमानदारी थी? इस संबंध में हम सरलादेवी चौधरानी का मत ही यहां उद्धृत करें। वे तो जीवन भर कांग्रेस की भक्त रही हैं। इस संबंध में प्रश्न के उत्तर में उन्होंने कहा है—"मैंने महात्मा गांधी क अनुयायियों के साथ इस विषय में जो बातचीत की, उसमें मुझे मालूम हुआ कि वे इस संबंध में अपने स्वतंत्र विचार महात्माजी के प्रति व्यक्तिगत निष्ठा के कारण प्रकट न कर सके, तथा इस प्रस्ताव के विरुद्ध मत देने में असमर्थ रहे, जिसके प्रणेता महात्मा जी थे।" जहां तक गांधीजी की दलील का प्रश्न है, उस पर हम बाद में विचार करेंगे। उन्होंने जो दलीलें दी हैं, वे कुछ कम या अधिक इस संबंध में कांग्रेस में दिये गये भाषण का ही विस्तृत रूप हैं।

इस दुःखद प्रस्ताव के विषय में एक बात मार्के की है, जिसे हम अनदेखा नहीं कर सकते। वह यह कि यह सर्वविदित है कि कांग्रेस अहिंसा का सिद्धांत मानती है और पिछले दस वर्षों से वह इसके समर्थन में प्रचार करती रही है। यह सब होने पर भी प्रस्ताव के समर्थन-भाषणों में गाली-गलौज की गई। उन्होंने क्रांतिकारियों को बुजदिल कहा और उनके कार्यों को घृणित। उनमें से एक वक्ता ने धमकी देते हुये यहां तक कह डाला कि यदि वे (सदस्य) गांधीजी का नेतृत्व चाहते हैं तो उन्हें इस प्रस्ताव को सर्वसम्मति से पारित करना चाहिये। इतना सब कुछ किये जाने पर भी यह प्रस्ताव बहुत थोड़े मतों से ही पारित हो सका। इससे यह बात निःशंक प्रमाणित हो जाती है कि देश की जनता पर्याप्त संख्या में क्रांतिकारियों का समर्थन कर रही है। इस तरह से इसके लिये गांधीजी हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं, कि उन्होंने इस प्रश्न पर विवाद खड़ा किया और इस प्रकार संसार को दिखा दिया कि कांग्रेस, जो अहिंसा का गढ़ मानी जाती है, वह सम्पूर्ण नहीं तो एक हद तक तो क्रांतिकारियों के साथ है।

इस विषय में गांधी जी ने जो विजय प्राप्त की वह एक प्रकार की हार ही के बराबर थी और अब वे "दि कल्ट आफ दि बम" लेख द्वारा क्रांतिकारियों पर दूसरा हमला कर बैठे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में आगे कुछ कहने से पूर्व इस लेख पर हम अच्छी तरह विचार करेंगे। इस लेख में उन्होंने तीन बातों का उल्लेख किया है। उनका विश्वास, उनके विचार और उनका मत। हम उनके विश्वास के संबंध में विश्लेषण नहीं करेंगे, क्योंकि विश्वास में तर्क के लिए स्थान नहीं है। गांधीजी जिसे हिंसा कहते हैं और जिसके विरुद्ध उन्होंने जो तर्कसंगत विचार प्रकट किये हैं, हम उनका सिलसिलेवार विश्लेषण करेंगे।

गांधीजी का भ्रम

गांधीजी सोचते हैं कि उनकी यह धारणा सही है कि अधिकांश भारतीय जनता को हिंसा की भावना छू तक नहीं गई है और अहिंसा उनका राजनैतिक शस्त्र बन गया है। हाल ही में उन्होंने देश का जो भ्रमण किया है उस अनुभव के आधार पर उनकी यह धारणा बनी है, परन्तु उन्हें अपनी इस यात्रा के इस अनुभव से इस भ्रम में न पड़ना चाहिये। यह बात सही है कि कांग्रेसी नेता जनता के दौरे वहीं तक सीमित रखता है जहां तक डाक गाड़ी उसे आराम से पहुंचा सकती है, जबकि गांधीजी ने अपनी यात्रा का दौरा वहां तक बढ़ा दिया है, जहां तक कि मोटरकार द्वारा वे जा सके। इस यात्रा में वे धनी व्यक्तियों के ही निवासस्थानों पर ठहरे

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इस यात्रा का अधिकतर समय उनके भक्तों द्वारा आयोजित गोष्ठियों में की गई उनकी प्रशंसा सभाओं में व यदाकदा अशिक्षित जनता को दिए जाने वाले दर्शनों में बीता, जिसके विषय में उनका दावा है कि वे उन्हें अच्छी तरह समझते हैं, परन्तु यही बात इस दलील के विरुद्ध है कि वे आम जनता की विचारधारा को जानते हैं।

कोई व्यक्ति जनसाधारण की विचारधारा को केवल मंचों से दर्शन और उपदेश देकर नहीं समझ सकता। वह तो केवल इतना ही दावा कर सकता है कि उसने विभिन्न विषयों पर अपने विचार जनता के सामने रखे। क्या गांधीजी ने इन वर्षों में आम जनता के सामाजिक जीवन में भी कभी प्रवेश करने का प्रयत्न किया? क्या कभी उन्होंने किसी संध्या को गांव के किसी चौपाल के अलाव के पास बैठकर किसी किसान के विचार जानने का प्रयत्न किया? क्या किसी कारखाने के मजदूर के साथ एक भी शाम गुजारकर उसके विचार समझने की कोशिश की है? पर हमने यह किया है और इसलिए हम दावा करते हैं कि हम आम जनता को जानते हैं। हम गांधीजी को विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि साधारण भारतीय, साधारण मानव के समान ही अहिंसा तथा अपने शत्रु से प्रेम करने की आध्यात्मिक भावना को बहुत कम समझता है। संसार का तो यही नियम है—तुम्हारा एक मित्र है, तुम उससे स्नेह करते हो, कभी-कभी तो इतना अधिक कि तुम उसके लिये अपने प्राण भी दे देते हो। जो तुम्हारा शत्रु है, तुम उससे किसी प्रकार का संबंध नहीं रखते हो। क्रांतिकारियों का यह सिद्धांत नितांत सत्य, सरल और सीधा है और यह ध्रुव सत्य आदम और हव्वा के समय से चला आ रहा है तथा इसे समझने में कभी किसी को कठिनाई नहीं हुई। हम यह बात स्वयं के अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहे हैं। वह दिन दूर नहीं जब लोग क्रांतिकारी विचारधारा को सक्रिय रूप देने के लिये हजारों की संख्या में जमा होंगे।

गांधीजी घोषणा करते हैं कि अहिंसा की सामर्थ्य तथा अपने आपको पीड़ा देने की प्रणाली से उन्हें यह आशा है कि वे एक दिन विदेशी शासकों का हृदय परिवर्तन कर अपनी विचारधारा का उन्हें अनुयायी बना लेंगे। अब उन्होंने अपने सामाजिक जीवन की इस "चमत्कार की प्रेम संहिता" के प्रचार के लिये अपने आपको समर्पित कर दिया है। वे अडिग विश्वास के साथ उसका प्रचार कर रहे हैं, जैसाकि उनके कुछ अनुयायियों ने भी किया है। परन्तु क्या वे बता सकते हैं कि भारत में कितने शत्रुओं का हृदय परिवर्तन कर उन्हें भारत का मित्र बनाने में समर्थ हुए हैं? वे कितने ओ'-डायरों तथा रीडिंग और इरविन को भारत का मित्र बना सके हैं? यदि किसी को नहीं तो भारत उनकी इस विचारधारा से कैसे सहमत हो सकता है कि वे इंग्लैंड को अहिंसा द्वारा समझा-बुझाकर इस बात को स्वीकार करने के लिये तैयार कर लेंगे कि वह भारत को स्वतन्त्रता दे दे।

यदि वाइसराय की गाड़ी के नीचे बमों का ठीक से विस्फोट हुआ होता तो दो में से एक बात अवश्य हुई होती, या तो वाइसराय अत्यधिक घायल हो जाते या उनकी मृत्यु हो गई होती। ऐसी स्थिति में वाइसराय तथा राजनैतिक दलों के नेताओं के बीच मंत्रणा न हो पाती, यह प्रयत्न रुक जाता और उससे राष्ट्र का भला ही होता। कलकत्ता—कांग्रेस की चुनौती के बाद भी स्वशासन की भीख मांगने के लिए वाइसराय-भवन के आसपास मंडराने वालों के ये घृणास्पद प्रयत्न विफल हो जाते। यदि बमों का ठीक से विस्फोट

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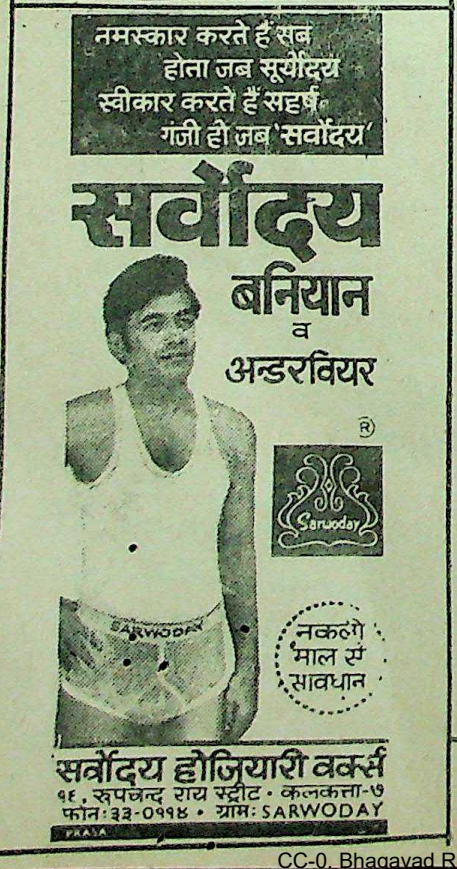
हुआ होता तो भारत का एक शत्रु उचित सजा पा जाता। "मेरठ" तथा "लाहौर-षड्यंत्र" और "भुसावल कांड" का मुकदमा चलाने वाले केवल भारत के शत्रुओं को ही मित्र प्रतीत हो सकते हैं। साइमन कमीशन के सामूहिक विरोध से देश में जो एकता स्थापित हो गई थी, गांधी तथा नेहरू की राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता के बाद ही इरविन उसे छिन्न-भिन्न करने में समर्थ हो सका। आज कांग्रेस में भी आपस में फूट पड़ गई है। हमारे इस दुर्भाग्य के लिए वाइसराय या उसके चाटुकारों के सिवा कौन जिम्मेदार हो सकता है। इस पर भी हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग हैं जो उसे भारत का मित्र कहते हैं।

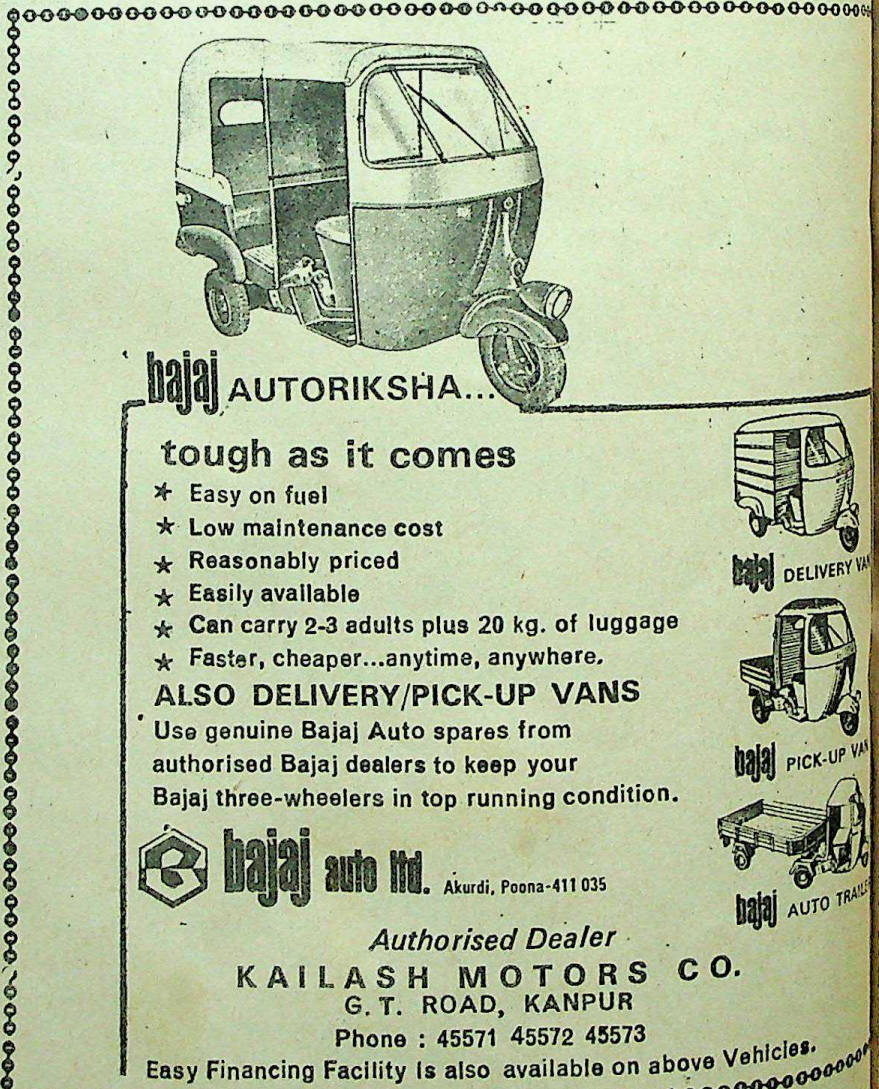
अहिंसा की सनक

देश के ऐसे भी लोग होंगे जिन्हें कांग्रेस के प्रति श्रद्धा नहीं, इससे वे कुछ आशा भी नहीं करते। यदि गांधीजी क्रांतिकारियों को इस श्रेणी में गिनते हैं तो वे उनके साथ अन्याय करते हैं। वे इस बात को अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस ने जन-जागृति का महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया है। उसने आम जनता में स्वतंत्रता की भावना जागृत की है, गो कि उनका यह दृढ़ विश्वास है कि जब तक कांग्रेस में सेन गुप्ता जैसे अद्भुत प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्तियों का, जो वाइसराय की ट्रेन उड़ाने में गुप्तचर विभाग का हाथ होने की बात करते हैं तथा अन्सारी जैसे लोगों का, जो राजनीति कम जानते हैं और उचित तर्क की उपेक्षा कर बेतुकी और तर्कहीन दलीलें देते कहते हैं कि किसी राष्ट्र ने बम से स्वतंत्रता नहीं की आदि, कांग्रेस के निर्णयों में प्राधान्य रहेगा तब देश उससे बहुत कम आशा कर सकता है। क्रांतिकारी दिन की प्रतीक्षा में हैं जब कांग्रेस आंदोलन से अहिंसा की समाप्त हो जायेगी और वह क्रान्तिकारियों के कंधे से कंधा मिल पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता के सामूहिक लक्ष्य की ओर बढ़ेंगा। इस वर्ष इस सिद्धांत को स्वीकार कर लिया है, जिसका प्रतिपादन क्रांति पिछले २५ वर्षों से करते चले आ रहे हैं। हम आशा करें कि वर्ष वे उनके स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के तरीकों का भी समर्थन करेंगे।

गांधी जी यह प्रतिपादित करते हैं कि जब-जब हिंसा का हुआ है तब-तब सैनिक खर्च बढ़ा है। यदि उनका मन्तव्य कारियों की पिछली २५ वर्षों की गतिविधियों से है तो हम वक्तव्य को चुनौती देते हैं कि वे अपने इस कथन को तथ्य आंकड़ों से सिद्ध करें। बल्कि हम तो यह कहेंगे कि उनके और सत्याग्रह के प्रयोगों का परिणाम, जिनकी तुलना स्व संग्राम से नहीं की जा सकती, नौकरशाही अर्थव्यवस्था पर हुए आंदोलन का, फिर वे हिंसात्मक हों या अहिंसात्मक, सफल असफल, परिणाम तो भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था पर होगा ही।

देश में सरकार ने जो विभिन्न सुधार किये गांधी जी सम्बन्ध क्रांतिकारियों से क्यों जोड़ते हैं ? उन्होंने मालों





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रिफार्म, माण्टेग्यू रिफार्म या ऐसे ही अन्य सुधारों की न तो कभी परवाह की और न ही उनके लिए आंदोलन किया। ब्रिटिश सरकार ने तो यह टुकड़े वैधानिक आंदोलनकारियों के सामने फेंके थे, जिससे उन्हें उचित मार्ग पर चलने से पथभ्रष्ट किया जा सके। ब्रिटिश सरकार ने उन्हें तो यह घूस दी थी, जिससे वे क्रांतिकारियों को समूल नष्ट करने की उनकी नीति के साथ सहयोग करें। गांधी जी जैसा कि इन्हें सम्बोधित करते हैं कि भारत के लिए ये खिलौने जैसे हैं, उन लोगों को बहलाने-फुसलाने के लिए जो समय-समय पर होम रूल, स्वशासन, जिम्मेदार सरकार, पूर्ण जिम्मेदार सरकार, औपनिवेशक स्वराज्य जैसे अनेक वैधानिक नाम जो गुलामी के हैं, की मांग करते हैं। क्रांतिकारियों का लक्ष्य तो शासन सुधार का नहीं है, वे तो स्वतंत्रता का स्तर कभी का ऊंचा कर चुके हैं और वे उसी लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए बिना किसी हिचकिचाहट के बलिदान कर रहे हैं। उनका दावा है कि उनके बलिदानों ने जनता की विचारधारा में प्रचंड परिवर्तन किया है। अपने प्रयत्नों से वे देश को स्वतंत्रता के मार्ग पर बहुत आगे बढ़ा ले गये हैं और यह बात उनसे राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में मतभेद रखने वाले लोग भी स्वीकार करते हैं।

वे हिंसा से सफल हुए

गांधीजी का कथन है कि हिंसा से प्रगति का मार्ग अवरुद्ध होकर स्वतंत्रता का दिवस स्थगित होताजाता है, तो हम इस विषय में अनेक ऐसे उदाहरण दे सकते हैं, जिनमें जिन देशों ने हिंसा से काम लिया उनकी सामाजिक प्रगति हुई व उन्हें राजनैतिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त हुई। हम रूस तथा तुर्की का ही उदाहरण लें। दोनों ने हिंसा के उपायों से ही सशस्त्र क्रांति द्वारा सत्ता प्राप्त की। उसके बाद भी सामाजिक सुधारों के कारण वहां की जनता ने बड़ी तीव्र गति से प्रगति की। एकमात्र अफगानिस्तान के उदाहरण से राजनैतिक सूत्र सिद्ध नहीं किया जा सकता। यह तो अपवादमात्र है।

गांधीजी के विचार में "असहयोग आंदोलन के समय जो जन-जागृति हुई है वह अहिंसा के उपदेश का ही परिणाम था"। परन्तु यह धारणा गलत है और यह श्रेय अहिंसा को देना भी भूल है, क्योंकि जहां भी अत्यधिक जन-जागृति हुई वह सीधे मोर्चे की कार्रवाई से हुई। उदाहरणार्थ, रूस में शक्तिशाली जन-आंदोलन से ही वहां किसान और मजदूरों में जागृति उत्पन्न हुई। उन्हें तो किसी ने अहिंसा का उपदेश नहीं दिया था, बल्कि हम तो यहां तक कहेंगे कि अहिंसा तथा गांधीजी की समझौता नीति से ही उन शक्तियों में फूट पड़ गई जो सामूहिक मोर्चे के नारे से एक हो गई थीं। यह प्रतिपादित किया जाता है कि राजनैतिक अन्यायों का मुकाबला अहिंसा के शस्त्र से किया जा सकता है, पर इस विषय संक्षेप में तो यही कहा जा सकता है कि यह अनोखा विचार है जिसका अभी प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है।

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में भारतीयों के जो न्यायोचित अधिकार माने जाते थे उन्हें प्राप्त करने में अहिंसा का शस्त्र असफल रहा। वह भारत को स्वराज्य दिलाने में भी असफल रहा, जबकि राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस स्वयंसेवकों की एक बड़ी सेना उसके लिए प्रयत्न करती रही तथा उस पर लगभग सवा करोड़ रुपया भी खर्च किया गया। हाल ही में बारदोली सत्याग्रह में इसकी असफलता सिद्ध हो चुकी है। इस अवसर पर सत्याग्रह के नेता गांधी और पटेल ने बारदोली के किसानों को जो कम से कम अधिकार दिलाने का आश्वासन दिया था, उसे भी वे न दिला सके। इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी देशव्यापी आंदोलन की बात हमें मालूम नहीं। अब तक इस अहिंसा को एक ही आशीर्वाद मिला और वह था असफलता का। ऐसी स्थिति में यह आश्चर्य नहीं कि देश ने फिर उसके प्रयोग से इंकार कर दिया।

क्रान्ति-गीत

बढ़ो रे तरुण वीर!

काल-झंझा पर उभर आये शहीदी नाम,
विस्मृति-मरुत कब उनको मिटा पायी!

घिरा था तम-तोम अंबर में, अवनि में,
घिरे थे बादल अनय के आततायी।
रुद्ध थे पथ, किन्तु थे उन्मुक्त कारा-द्वार,
फांसी-घरों से तब विलक्षण आवाज आयी-

क्रांति चिरजीवी हो! वन्दे ऽ ऽ ऽ मातरम्—!!
उद्घोष वे कब मृत्यु की घाटी मिटा पायी!

जागरण के ज्योति-धर, वे अग्नि-पंथी,
अभय-चरण, रक्त-क्षरण, विषपायी।
रिपु-रक्त-तर्पण-रत, रण-जेता, प्रचेता वे,
पांव बेड़ी, हथकड़ी कर में जिन्हें भायी।

राज-भय, कारा-भय, मृत्यु-भय विरत, ले
छिन्न-मस्तक-माल्य बलि-वेदी सजाई॥

फिर "डिमक-डिम! डिमक-डिम!" डमरु-
रव गुंजित,
ध्वान्त है दिग्दिगान्त, जागो है शेष शायी!!
वज्रानल बीच आज, बढ़ो रे तरुण वीर!
नृत्य निरत नीलकण्ठ, धरा डगमगायी।
सावधान साधक हो, सिद्धि सन्निकट है,
जागृत षटचक्र, सुप्त कुंडलिनी उठ धाई॥

● वच्चनेश त्रिपाठी

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"हम प्रत्येक देशभक्त से निवेदन करते हैं कि वह हमारे साथ गंभीरतापूर्वक इस युद्ध में शामिल हो। कोई भी व्यक्ति अहिंसा और ऐसे ही अजीबो-गरीब तरीकों से मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रयोग कर राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता के साथ खिलवाड़ न करे। स्वतंत्रता राष्ट्र का प्राण है। हमारी प्राचीन सभ्यता और गौरव की विरासत का क्या लाभ, यदि हममें यह स्वाभिमान न रहे कि हम विदेशी गुलामी, विदेशी झंडे और बादशाह के सामने सिर झुकाने से अपने आपको न रोक सकें।"

वास्तव में गांधी जी जिस रूप में सत्याग्रह का प्रचार करते हैं, वह एक ऐसे प्रकार का आंदोलन है, एक विरोध है जिसका स्वाभाविक परिणाम समझौते में होता है, जैसा कि प्रत्यक्ष देखा गया है। इसलिए जितनी जल्दी हम समझ लें कि स्वतंत्रता और गुलामी में कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता उतना ही अच्छा है।

गांधी जी सोचते हैं "हम नये युग में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं।" परन्तु कांग्रेस विधान में शब्दों का हेरफेर मात्र कर, अर्थात् स्वराज्य को पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता कह देने से नया युग प्रारम्भ नहीं हो जाता। वह दिन वास्तव में एक महान दिवस होगा जब कांग्रेस देशव्यापी आंदोलन प्रारम्भ करने का निर्णय करेगी, जिसका आधार सर्वमान्य क्रांतिकारी सिद्धान्त होंगे। ऐसे समय तक स्वतन्त्रता का झंडा फहराना हास्यास्पद होगा। इस विषय में हम सरला देवी चौधरानी के इन विचारों से सहमत हैं जो उन्होंने एक पत्र-संवाददाता को भेंट में व्यक्त किये। उन्होंने कहा: "३१ दिसम्बर १९२९ की अर्द्ध रात्रि के ठीक एक मिनट बाद स्वतंत्रता का झंडा फहराना, यह एक विचित्र घटना है। उस समय जी० ओ०सी० असिस्टेंट जी०ओ०सी० तथा अन्य लोग इस बात को अच्छी तरह जानते थे कि स्वतंत्रता का झंडा फहराने का निर्णय आधी रात तक अधर में लटका है, क्योंकि यदि वाइसराय या सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट का कांग्रेस को यह संदेश आ जाता है कि भारत को औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य दे दिया गया तो रात्रि को ११ बजकर ५९ मिनट पर भी स्थिति में परिवर्तन हो सकता था। इससे स्पष्ट है कि पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति का ध्येय नेताओं की हार्दिक इच्छा नहीं थी, बल्कि एक बाल-हठ के समान था।" भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के लिये उचित यही होता कि वह पहले स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त कर फिर उसकी घोषणा करती। यह सच है कि अब औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य के बजाय कांग्रेस के वक्ता जनता के सामने पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता का ढोल पीटेंगे। वे अब जनता से कहेंगे कि जनता को उस संघर्ष के लिये तैयार हो जाना चाहिए जिसमें एक पक्ष तो मुझे बागी कहेगा और दूसरा उन्हें केवल सहता रहेगा, जब तक कि वह खूब पिटकर इतना हतोत्साह हो जाये कि फिर न उठ सके। क्या उसे संघर्ष कहा जा सकता है और क्या इससे देश को पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता मिल सकती है? किसी भी राष्ट्र के लिए सर्वोच्च लक्ष्य प्राप्ति का ध्येय सामने रखना अच्छा है, परन्तु साथ में यह भी आवश्यक है कि इस लक्ष्य तक पहुंचने के लिये उन साधनों का उपयोग किया जाये जो योग्य हों और जो पहले उपयोग में आ चुके हों, अन्यथा संसार के सम्मुख हमारे हास्यास्पद बनने का भय बना रहेगा।

गांधी जी ने सभी विचारशील लोगों से कहा कि वे लोग क्रांतिकारियों से सहयोग करना बन्द कर दें तथा उनके कार्यों की निन्दा करें, जिससे हमारे इस प्रकार उपेक्षित देशभक्तों की हिंसात्मक विचारधारा को बल न मिल सके और वे हिंसा की निरर्थकता और हिंसात्मक कार्यों से जो हानि हुई है, उसे समझ सकें। लोगों को उपेक्षित तथा पुरानी दलीलों के समर्थक कह देना जितना आसान है, उतना ही आसान उनकी निन्दा कर जनता से उनसे सहयोग न करने को कहना है, जिससे वे अलग-अलग हो अपना कार्यक्रम स्थगित करने के लिए बाध्य हो जाएं। यह सब करना विशेष रूप से उस व्यक्ति के लिये आसान होगा जो कि जनता के कुछ प्रभावशाली व्यक्तियों का विश्वासपात्र हो। गांधी जी ने जीवन भर जन-जीवन का अनुभव किया है, पर यह बड़े खेद की बात है कि वे फिर भी क्रांतिकारियों का मनोविज्ञान न तो समझते हैं और न समझना चाहते हैं। वह सिद्धान्त अमूल्य है, जो प्रत्येक क्रांतिकारी को प्रिय है। जो व्यक्ति क्रांतिकारी बनता है, जब वह अपना सिर हथेली पर रखकर किसी क्षण भी आत्मबलिदान के लिए तैयार रहता है, तो वह केवल खेल के लिये नहीं। वह यह त्याग और बलिदान इसलिए भी नहीं करता कि जब जनता उसके साथ सहानुभूति दिखाने की स्थिति में हो तो उसकी जय-जयकार करे। वह इस मार्ग का इसलिए अवलम्बन करता है कि उसका सद्विवेक उसे इसकी प्रेरणा देता है, उसकी आत्मा उसे उसके लिए प्रेरित करती है।

एक क्रांतिकारी सबसे अधिक तर्क में विश्वास करता है। वह केवल तर्क और तर्क में ही विश्वास करता है। किसी प्रकार का गाली-गलौज या निन्दा, चाहे फिर वह ऊंचे से ऊंचे स्तर से की गई हो, उसे अपने निश्चित उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति से वंचित नहीं कर सकती। यह सोचना कि यदि जनता का सहयोग न मिला या उसके कार्य की प्रशंसा न की गई तो वह अपने उद्देश्य को छोड़ देगा, निरी मूर्खता है। अनेक क्रांतिकारी, जिनके कार्यों की वैधानिक आंदोलनकारियों ने घोर निन्दा की, फिर भी वे इसकी परवाह न कर फांसी के तख्ते पर झूल गये। यदि तुम चाहते हो कि क्रांतिकारी अपनी गतिविधियों को स्थगित कर दें, तो उसके लिए होना तो यह चाहिए कि उनके साथ तर्क द्वारा अपना मत प्रमाणित किया जाये। यह एक और केवल यही एक रास्ता है, और बाकी बातों के विषय में किसी को संदेह नहीं होना चाहिए। क्रांतिकारी इस प्रकार के डराने-धमकाने से कदापि हार मानने वाला नहीं।

हम प्रत्येक देशभक्त से निवेदन करते हैं कि वह हमारे साथ गंभीरतापूर्वक इस युद्ध में शामिल हो। कोई भी व्यक्ति अहिंसा और ऐसे ही अजीबो-गरीब तरीकों से मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रयोग पर राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता के साथ खिलवाड़ न करे। स्वतंत्रता राष्ट्र का प्राण है। हमारी गुलामी, हमारे लिए लज्जास्पद है, न जाने कब हममें यह बुद्धि और साहस होगा कि हम उससे मुक्ति प्राप्त कर स्वतंत्र हो सकें? हमारी प्राचीन सभ्यता और गौरव की विरासत का क्या लाभ, यदि हममें यह स्वाभिमान न रहे कि हम विदेशी गुलामी, विदेशी झंडे और बादशाह के सामने सिर झुकाने से स्वयं को न रोकें।

क्या यह अपराध नहीं है कि ब्रिटेन ने भारत में अनैतिक शासन किया? हमें भिखारी बनाया तथा हमारा समस्त खून चूस लिया। एक जाति और मानवता के नाते हमारा घोर अपमान तथा शोषण किया गया है। क्या जनता अब भी चाहती है कि इस अपमान को भुलाकर हम ब्रिटिश शासकों को क्षमा कर दें! हम बदला लेंगे, यह जनता द्वारा शासकों से लिया गया न्यायोचित बदला होगा। कायरता को पीठ दिखाकर समझौता और शांति की आशा से चिपके रहिए। हम किसी से भी दया की भिक्षा नहीं मांगते हैं और हम भी किसी को क्षमा नहीं करेंगे। हमारा युद्ध विजय या मृत्यु के निर्णय तक चलेगा। क्रांति चिरंजीवी हो। ● करतार सिंह* प्रेजीडेंट

* यह छद्म नाम है। वस्तुतः यह परचा बाबू भाई भगवतीचरण वोहरा ने लिखा था। ●

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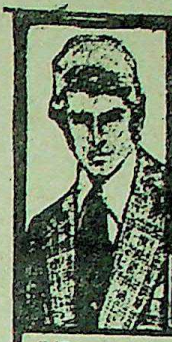

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कल्पना दत्त

कल्पना का जन्म २७ जुलाई १९१४ में चटगांव में हुआ था। माता का नाम शोभना देवी और पिता का विनोद बिहारी दत्त था। बचपन से ही इस बालिका को साहसी कहानियां सुनने का बड़ा शौक था। डा० खास्तगीर बालिका हाई स्कूल में पढ़ते समय ही उसने अनेक कहानी—पुस्तकें और क्रान्तिकारियों की जीवनियां पढ़ डाली थीं। महापुरुषों और बहादुरों की जीवनियों में उसे विशेष आनन्द आता। इसके साथ ही पढ़ाई में भी वह सदा अच्छे नम्बरों से पास होती थी। बचे समय में व्यायाम करती और तैराकी सीखती, कि बहादुरी के काम करने के लिए शरीर को सुदृढ़ बनाया जा सके।

असहयोग आंदोलन के उन दिनों उसके दो चाचा आंदोलन में भाग ले रहे थे। एक चाचा ने कल्पना की रुचि देख उसे क्रान्ति संबंधी कुछ ऐसा साहित्य ला कर दिया, जिससे उसका संकल्प और दृढ़ हुआ।

पहली सफलता

चटगांव में उन दिनों सूर्यसेन का क्रान्तिकारी दल सक्रिय था। सूर्यसेन के दल का एक सदस्य तारकेश्वर दस्तीदार अक्सर कल्पना के यहां आया करता था। उसने भी उसे क्रांतिकारी साहित्य पढ़ने के लिए दिया और उसे दल में सम्मिलित होने के लिए प्रेरित किया।

चटगांव के कालेज में विज्ञान-शिक्षा का प्रबंध न होने से कल्पना कलकत्ता के बेथुन कालेज में पढ़ने के लिए गयी। होस्टल में रहते हुए भी वह अपना व्यायाम का नित्य अभ्यास जारी रखती, और अवसर की तलाश में रहती। दस्तीदार उससे निरंतर संपर्क बनाए हुए था और उसे प्रशिक्षण दे रहा था। कल्पना ने लाठी, तलवार, पिस्तौल, छुरा आदि चलाना सीख लिया। अप्रैल १९३० में श्री नेहरू की गिरफ्तारी पर उसकी छिपी शक्ति सामने आ गयी। आगे बढ़ उसने विरोध में कालेज में हड़ताल करवा दी। हड़ताल में उसे पूर्ण सफलता मिली। इस सफलता और उसके द्वारा विद्यार्थियों के बीच क्रान्तिकारियों के कारनामों के गौरवपूर्ण प्रचार से कालेज अधिकारी उसकी ओर से सतर्क हो गये।

उन्हीं दिनों वह ऐतिहासिक घटना घट गयी। १८ अप्रैल १९३० को क्रान्तिकारियों ने चटगांव शस्त्रागार पर भारी हमला कर उसे लूट लिया और शस्त्रागार अपने कब्जे में ले लिया। इस अचानक हमले से अंग्रेज शासक हक्के-बक्के रह गये। फिर चटगांव के चप्पे-चप्पे पर पुलिस बिठा दी गयी। वहां 'करफ्यू' लगा दिया गया। बड़ी कठिनाई से कल्पना चटगांव लौटी और उसने

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दल के लोगों से संपर्क कायम किया। चटगांव के क्रान्तिकारियों पर जेल में मुकदमा चल रहा था। क्रान्तिकारियों ने तय किया कि जिस दिन रामकृष्ण और दिनेश गुप्त को फांसी की सजा दी जाय, उसी दिन 'डाइनामाइट' से जेल उड़ा दी जाय। विशाल पैमाने पर तैयारी हो गयी। जेल उड़ाने का काम कल्पना व उसके साथियों को मिला पर एकाएक किसी सूत्र से पुलिस को खबर मिल गयी, और उनकी योजना क्रियान्वित नहीं हो पायी। मुकदमा चला कर रामकृष्ण व दिनेश गुप्त को फांसी दे दी गयी। गणेश घ.प, लोकनायक बल आदि कई क्रान्तिकारी पकड़ लिए गये। अनन्त सिंह ने आत्मसमर्पण कर दिया। उसी रात 'एक्शन' की असफलता पर १७ सितम्बर १९३२ को पहाड़ीतल्ला के निकट पुरुष-वेष में कल्पना दत्त पुलिस के हाथ पड़ गयी।

मुकदमा दफा १०९ में चलाया गया था। कल्पना पर अभियोग था कि उसने अपने घर में चटगांव शास्त्रागार के हथियार छुपाए और लड़कियों को क्रांतिकारी दल में शामिल होने के लिए भड़काया। अभियोग ठीक थे पर पूरी तरह राजनीतिक थे। वे अभियोग दफा १०९ में नहीं लगाए जा सकते थे। इसलिए कल्पना जमानत पर छूट गयी।

मई १९३३ में कल्पना गांव के जिस मकान में ठहरी थी, सूराग मिलने पर उसे सेना ने घेर लिया। सुबह पौ फटते ही क्रांतिकारियों और सैनिकों में जमकर लड़ाई शुरू हो गयी। दोनों ओर से खूब गोलियां चलीं। कल्पना का साथी उसके सामने ही धराशाही हो गया। एक छर्रा कल्पना के हाथ में भी आकर लगा। फिर भी उसके सधे दृढ़ व्यक्तित्व ने पूरे दो घंटे तक बहादुरी से मुकाबला किया। आखिर उसे हथियार डाल देना पड़ा। गिरफ्तारी के बाद रात भर उसे थाने में रखा गया। सूर्यसेन, तारकेश्वर, कल्पना आदि पर चटगांव-शास्त्रागार कांड में मुकदमा चला। सूर्यसेन और तारकेश्वर दस्तीदार को फांसी की सजा मिली और कल्पना को उम्र कैद।

आजकल वह जवाहर लाल नेहरू विश्व विद्यालय, दिल्ली में अध्यापन कार्य कर रही हैं।

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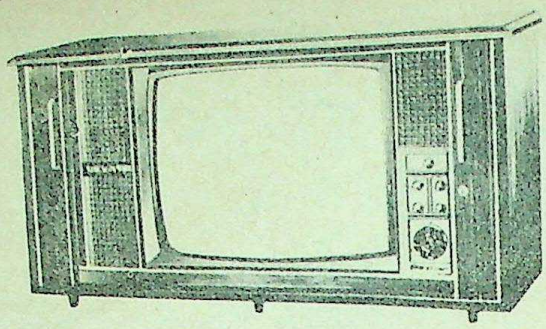

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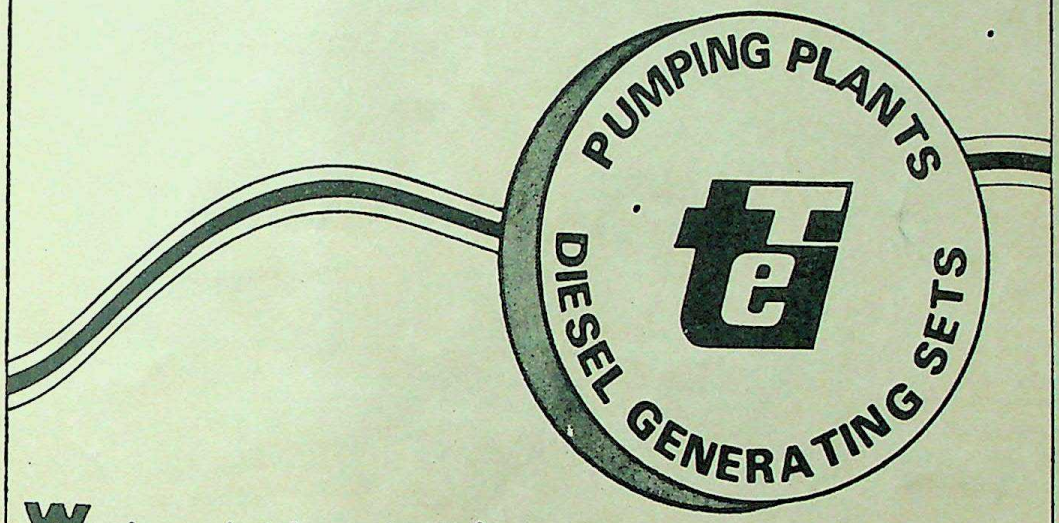

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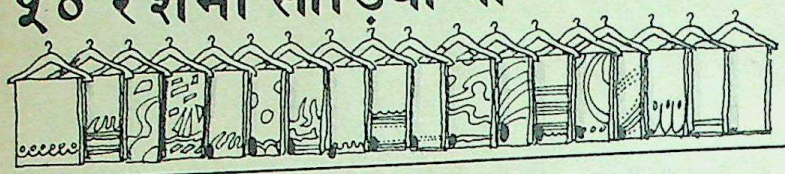
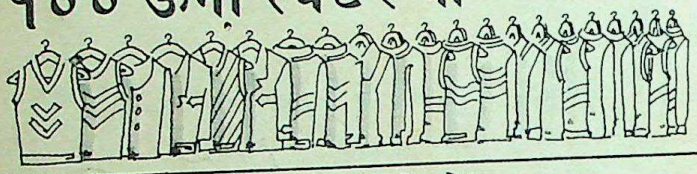
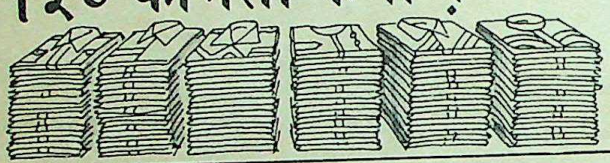
५० रेशमी साड़ियां या



१०० ऊनी स्वैटर या



१५० कीमती कमीज़ें



और धुलाई ड्राइ-क्लीनिंग के समान सुरक्षापूर्ण, सुकोमल और प्रभावशाली, इसलिए अब अन्य डिटर्जेंट भूल जाइए ईज़ी सुपर डिटर्जेंट अपनाइए.

आजकल ड्राइ-क्लीनिंग पर जो खर्च आता है वह सुनते ही मन घबराता है. घर के नाजुक, सुन्दर कपड़े क्या घर में ही नहीं धुल सकते ? जी हाँ, अवश्य. क्योंकि ईज़ी सुपर डिटर्जेंट आ गया है. ड्राइ-क्लीनिंग के समान प्रभावशाली, घर में धुलाई का साधन.

ड्राइ-क्लीनिंग के समान सुरक्षितः जी हाँ, महँगे और नाज़ुक कपड़ों को सुरक्षापूर्वक साफ़ करने के लिए ईज़ी में विशेष डिटर्जेंट पदार्थ मिला हुआ है. धुलकर भी रेशमी कपड़ों की वही आनबान और ऊनी कपड़ों की वही नर्मी और गर्मी. और चूंकि इसका कण भर भी कपड़ों से चिपका नहीं रहता इसलिए बच्चों के कपड़े और अंडरवेअर आदि के लिए लाजवाब है.

आश्चर्यजनक किफ़ायतः वास्तव में परीक्षणों द्वारा सिद्ध हो चुका है कि अधिकतम बिक्रीवाले तरल डिटर्जेंट के मुकाबले ईज़ी में ३०% अधिक क्रियाशील सफ़ाई की शक्ति है. दूसरे शब्दों में यह समझिए कि थोड़ा-सा ईज़ी और ढेरों कपड़ों की धुलाई.
आश्चर्यचकित होकर बैठी न रहिए. जाइए और आज ही ईज़ी लेकर आइए.

१००० ग्रा., ५०० ग्रा. और २०० ग्रा. में उपलब्ध.

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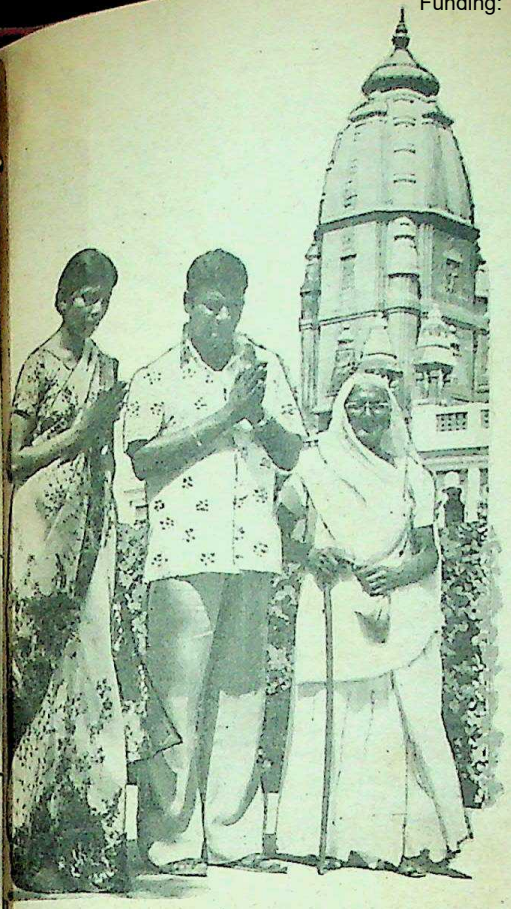

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* लक्ष्मी महिमा (पृष्ठ 272)
* शिव महिमा (पृष्ठ 344)
* विष्णु महिमा (पृष्ठ 352)

1 प्रत्येक पुस्तक के ज्ञानखण्ड में—उस देवी-देवता के पृथ्वी पर अवतरित होने के कारण और परिस्थितियां, उसकी दिव्य शक्ति और दिव्य लीलाओं का प्रामाणिक वर्णन है।

2 इन पुस्तकों के भक्ति खण्ड में उनके महान भक्तों से संबन्धित रोचक कथाएं तथा उनकी भक्ति के चमत्कार वर्णित हैं, जिन्हें पढ़कर आप गद्‌गद् हो उठेंगे।

3 उपासना खण्ड में—शास्त्रसम्मत विधि-विधान से उनकी पूजा व उपासना करने का सरल ढंग दिया गया है।

4 प्रत्येक पुस्तक के तीर्थ खण्ड में—भारत तथा विश्व के अन्य देशों में स्थापित उनके प्रमुख मंदिरों एवं भव्य मूर्तियों से सम्बन्धित रोचक कथाएं आदि हैं।

5 इनके अतिरिक्त—पूजन से संबंधित मंत्र तथा धूप, दीप नैवेद्य, आरती आदि समर्पित करने के समय के मंत्रादि भी दिए हैं।

***इस ग्रंथ माला के अन्तर्गत हिन्दू धर्म के प्रमुख देवी-देवताओं का जीवन-दर्शन सरल-सुबोध भाषा में प्रस्तुत किया है।**

***ईश्वर के रूपों, आविर्भाव, जीवन-दर्शन, व्यापकता, प्रामाणिकता और उसकी अदृश्य शक्ति को जानने-समझने की जिज्ञासा प्रायः मनुष्यों में बनी रहती है। इन्हीं जिज्ञासाओं का समाधान आपको इस ग्रंथ माला में मिलेगा।** प्रत्येक का मूल्य 12/- डाकखर्च 3/-

हमारे पूज्य तीर्थ

कैलास पर्वत से कन्याकुमारी, कामाख्या से कच्छ तक के संपूर्ण तीर्थों का विश्वकोश !

तीर्थ स्थान हमारे देश के प्राण हैं। भारत भूमि तीर्थों से भरी पड़ी है। यदि आप तीर्थ यात्रा करना चाहते हैं, तो यह पुस्तक आपको, तीर्थों की धार्मिक; ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि, उपयोग में आने वाले साज-सामान, आने-जाने के मार्ग का निर्देश, ठहरने व आसपास के अन्य दर्शनीय स्थलों की सुरुचिपूर्ण विस्तृत वांछित जानकारी प्रदान करेगी और यदि आप तीर्थ यात्रा नहीं कर सकते, तो यह पुस्तक घर पर ही आपको तीर्थों का सुफल प्रदान करेगी। तीर्थ यात्रियों, पर्यटकों एवं धर्म प्रेमियों के लिए समान रूप से उपयोगी!

तीर्थों में से कुछेक की झलक :

* चार धाम कौन से हैं, ये इतने महत्त्वपूर्ण क्यों हैं?
* द्वादश ज्योतिर्लिंग कैसे बने?
* सप्तपुरी यात्रा कितनी सुफल दायक है?
* त्रिस्थलियों का माहात्म्य क्या है?
* पंच सरोवर कितने पावन हैं?
* मातृ गया का विधि-विधान और स्थान ...?
* पितृ गया का विधि-विधान और स्थान ...?
* बावन शक्तिपीठों का जन्म कैसे हुआ?
* जैन तीर्थ एवं सिक्ख तीर्थों की महिमा क्या है?

मंदिरों व मूर्तियों के 180 छायाचित्रों से सुसज्जित

बड़े साइज़ के 208 पृष्ठ : मूल्य 20/- डाकखर्च 4/-

1. कोई एक पुस्तक लेने पर, 1/- मूल्य का सचित्र 2 रंगा 'हनुमान चालीसा' मुफ्त
2. कोई दो पुस्तकें लेने पर, 2/- मूल्य का सचित्र 2 रंगा 'आरती संग्रह' मुफ्त
3. कोई तीन पुस्तकें लेने पर, [illegible] मुफ्त तथा डाकखर्च माफ

अपने निकट के बुक स्टाल एवं यू.एच. व्हीलर के रेलवे तथा बस अड्डों पर स्थित बुक स्टालों पर मांग करें या वी. पी. पी. द्वारा मंगाने के लिए लिखें

पुस्तक महल

• खारी बावली, दिल्ली-110006.

• 10-B, नेता जी सुभाष मार्ग, दरियागंज, नई दिल्ली-110002

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

गले से 'खिचखिच' दूर करो...

'खिचखिच' है क्या ?
जब भी आपके गले में खराश हो या गला सूखा लगने लगे— तो समझिए आपके गले को 'खिचखिच' ने पकड़ा.

विक्स लीजिए, इसे दूर कीजिए
विक्स लीजिए.
विक्स खांसी की गोलियों में गले को आराम पहुंचाने वाली ६ विक्स औषधियां हैं, जो 'खिचखिच' दूर हटाती हैं.
इसलिए, जब भी गले में 'खिचखिच' हो, विक्स लो.

विक्स लो!

OBM/182

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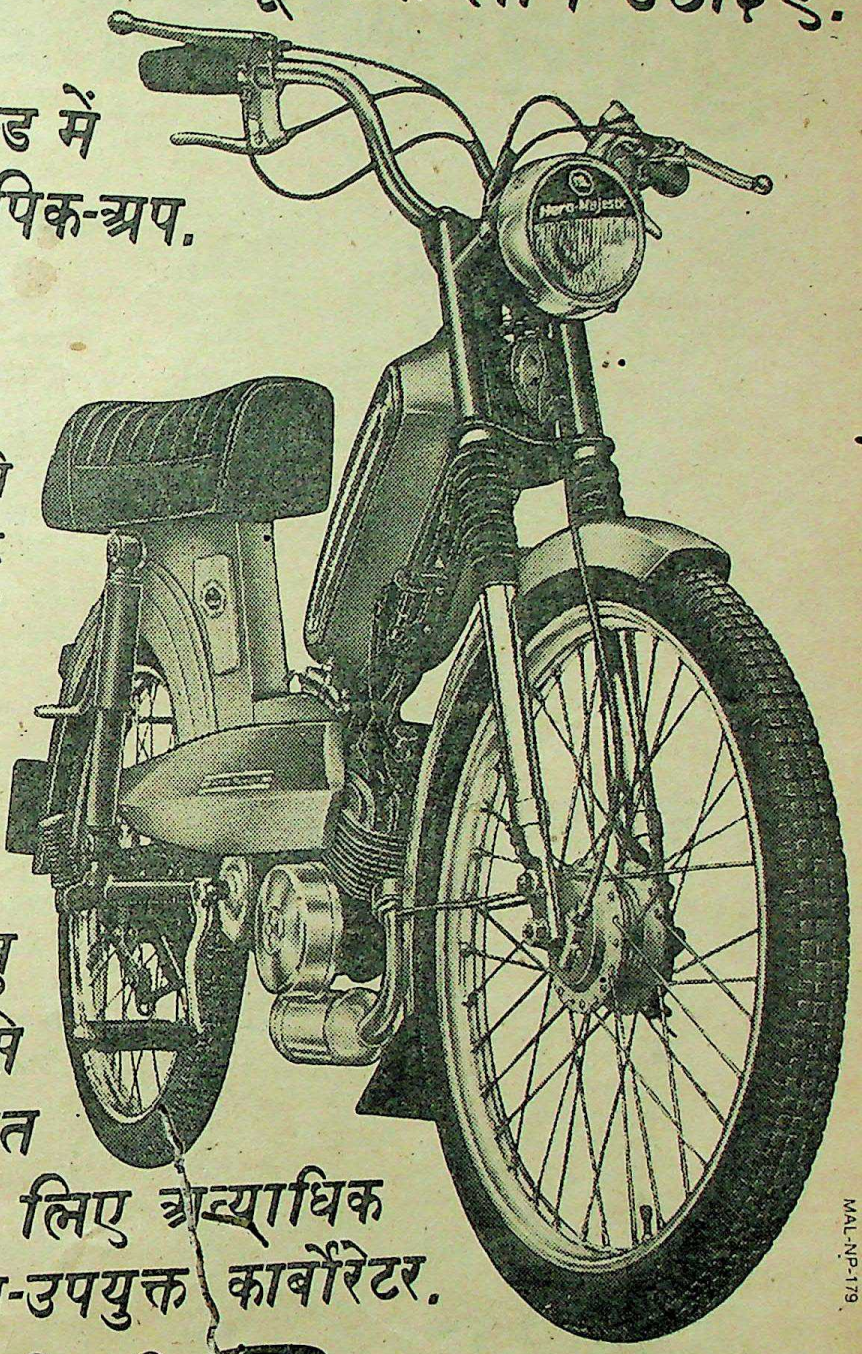
उपयुक्त कीमत में मोपेड खरीदिए और मोटर साइकिल अथवा स्कूटर के लाभ उठाइए.

केवल ६.५ सैकिन्ड में
सुपर-स्पीड पिक-अप.



उबड़-खाबड़ मार्ग पर भी
४५ कि. मी. प्रति घन्टे
की रफ़्तार

७० कि. मी.
प्रति लिटर हेतु
विशेष रूप से
विकसित
कम खपत के लिए अत्याधिक
ईंधन-उपयुक्त कार्बोरेटर.

MAL-NP-176

हीरो-मैजेस्टिक
डीलक्स मोपेड

कार्य कुशल साइलेन्सर, अतिरिक्त क्षमता एवम् अत्याधिक कार्यक्षम क्लच • विशेष ट्रान्समिशन कुशलता • उबड़-खाबड़ मार्ग पर भी तीव्र गति • उत्तम ब्रेक क्षमता • अधिक भार-वहन क्षमता • टैलिस्कोपिक अगला सस्पेंशन • अलग होने योग्य वी-बैल्ट कवर व विविध उपयोगी इलैक्ट्रिक स्विच • अनेक मन-भावन चमकीले रंगों में प्राप्य.

मैजेस्टिक ऑटो लिमिटेड
सी-४८, फोकल प्वाइंट, लुधियाना-१४१०१०

OBM/1829

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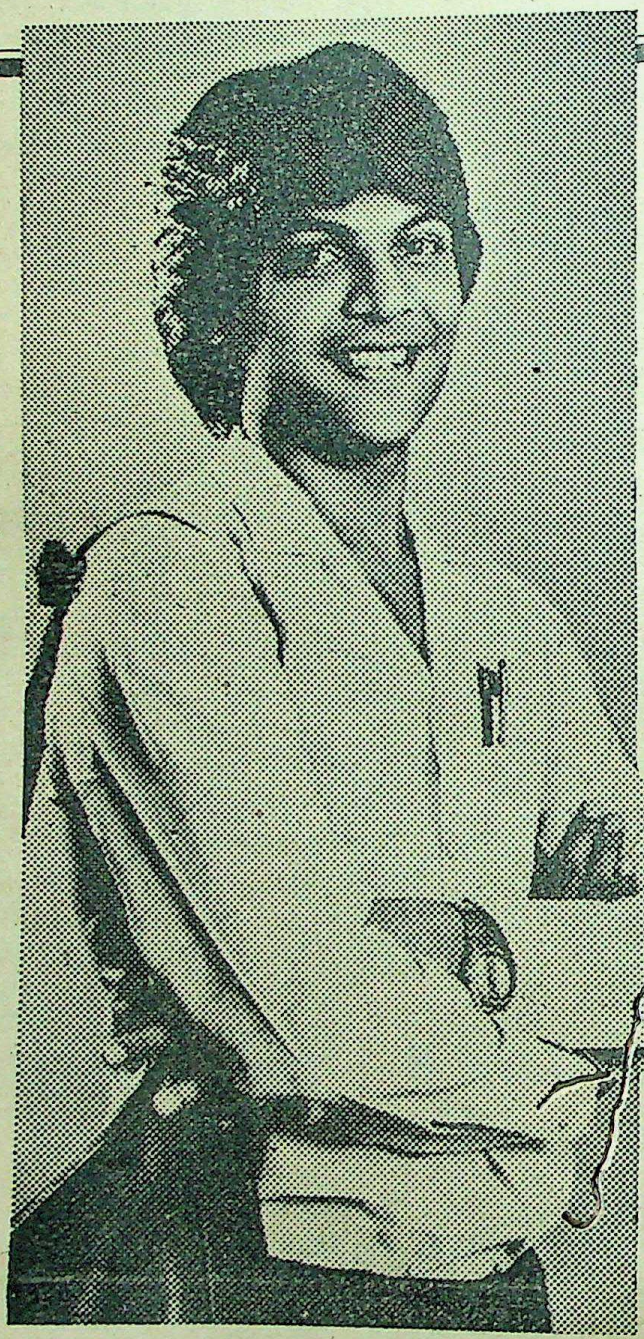
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

युवावस्था का सौभाग्य



जीवन बीमा की दरें कम

बस, जल्दी ही आपकी जिम्मेदारियां बढ़ेंगी— आपकी शादी होगी व बच्चे होंगे। और उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए देर-सबेर आपको जीवन बीमा पालिसी लेनी ही पड़ेगी। जल्दी करने से आपको कम देना पड़ेगा (नवजवानों के लिए प्रीमियम कम है)।

बीमा कराने का यही समय है, जबकि आपकी सेहत बहुत ही अच्छी है; बीमारी या अधिक उम्र का मतलब होगा— अधिक प्रीमियम। आपका जीवन बीमा एजेन्ट आपको यह बता सकता है कि अन्य बचत या जमा योजनाओं की तुलना में जीवन बीमा पालिसी कहीं अधिक लाभकारी है।

आपकी जरूरतों के अनुसार तरह-तरह की जीवन बीमा पालिसियां हैं, जैसे कि परिवर्तनशील बन्दोबस्ती/आजीवन पालिसी, बन्दोबस्ती पालिसी, आजीवन पालिसी आदि। आपका जीवन बीमा एजेन्ट सही पालिसी चुनने में आपकी सहायता करेगा। पूरी जानकारी के लिए अपने जीवन बीमा एजेन्ट से सलाह या निकटतम जीवन बीमा कार्यालय से सम्पर्क कीजिये।

RADEUS/LIC/13

बढ़ती जरूरतों के लिए आज ही बीमा कराइए

भारतीय जीवन बीमा निगम

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Funding: Tattva Herita

देश की लोकप्रिय सम्पूर्ण सामयिक पत्रिका

अब ५५वें वर्ष में **माया** फरवरी, १९८४

श्रद्धांजलि

कुछ कर्मठ, पहल-निपुण और दूरदर्शी व्यक्ति समय की रेत पर अपने ऐसे अमिट चरण-चिह्न छोड़ जाते हैं जो भावी पीढ़ियों का निरंतर मार्ग प्रशस्त करते रहते हैं। हिन्दी पत्रकारिता और कथा साहित्य के इतिहास में स्वर्गीय श्री क्षितीन्द्रमोहन मित्र का नाम ऐसे ही व्यक्तियों में गिना जाता है। आज से ५५ वर्ष पूर्व जब अंग्रेजों का आतंक चारों ओर छाया था और राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी विदेशी शासन का कोपभाजन बनी हुई थी, तब राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता के प्रमुख शस्त्र हिन्दी को शाणित करने के लिए माया बाबू (स्वर्गीय हिन्दी क्षितीन्द्रमोहन मित्र के लिए आम सम्बोधन) ने १९२९ में मात्र २१ वर्ष की अवस्था में 'माया' के प्रकाशन-संपादन का बीड़ा उठाया था। इतना ही नहीं, वह बंगलाभाषी थे और उन्होंने १६ वर्ष की अवस्था में हिन्दी सीखना आरंभ किया था। 'माया' की प्रगति के रास्ते में बाधाएं कम नहीं थीं, लेकिन माया बाबू ने एक बार कदम आगे रखने के बाद पीछे हटना नहीं सीखा था। माया बाबू की इसी अपराजेय संघर्षशीलता के कारण 'माया' ने अन्ततः अपना सिक्का जमा लिया और कथा साहित्य के क्षेत्र में मील का पत्थर बन कर उभरने लगी। हिन्दीतर भारतीय और विदेशी कथा साहित्य की बहु-चर्चित रचनाओं को सबसे पहले हिन्दी पाठकों के सामने रखने वाले अग्रणी व्यक्तियों मे माया बाबू का नाम आता है। माया बाबू ने नये साहित्यकारों की पौध तैयार करने और प्रतिष्ठित साहित्यकारों को सम्मान और आर्थिक मदद देने में कभी कोताही नहीं की। स्वयं माया बाबू ने क्षितीन्द्रमोहन मित्र 'मुस्तफी' के नाम से जीवनोपयोगी और प्रेरणास्पद साहित्य सृजन भी किया। माया बाबू ने जिस निष्पक्ष, निर्भीक संपादन नीति की नींव डाली थी, उसी के तहत आज 'माया' खोजपूर्ण सामयिक पत्रिकाओं में शीर्षस्थ स्थान रखती है।

माया बाबू ने 'माया' के साथ-साथ महिलाओं के लिए लोकप्रिय पत्रिका 'मनोरमा', खोजपूर्ण मानवीय कथाओं के लिए 'मनोहर कहानियां' का प्रकाशन किया जो आज देश की सबसे ज्यादा बिकनेवाली पत्रिका है। इसी गौरवशाली परम्परा की अगली कड़ी अंग्रेजी पत्रिका 'प्रोब इंडिया' निरंतर उन्नति की ओर अग्रसर है।

२९ नवंबर, १९०८ को जन्मे 'माया' के संस्थापक-सम्पादक माया बाबू ११ फरवरी, १९५७ को हमारे बीच नहीं रहे। उनकी सत्ताईसवीं पुण्य तिथि के अवसर पर 'माया' परिवार अपनी हार्दिक श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता है।

यह अंक

आवरण कथा

सोनिया गांधी यानी प्रधानमंत्री के पुत्र राजीव गांधी की पत्नी को लेकर तरह-तरह की चर्चाएं होती रही हैं। मेनका की चुनौती के बाद सोनिया की सार्वजनिक सक्रियता को लेकर अटकलों का बाजार गर्म है। क्या चरित्र-हनन की राजनीति ने सोनिया गांधी को बेवजह विवादों में घसीटा है? क्या सोनिया को मेनका के जवाब में राजनीति में उतारा जा रहा है? १८

विशेष रिपोर्ट

लारकिस बंधुओं की गिरफ्तारी के बाद सैनिक गुप्तचरी, विशेषकर सी०आई०ए० की सक्रियता का विस्फोटक मामला सामने आया है। यह बात भी प्रकाश में आयी है कि हथियारों के सौदागर किस कदर भारत पर अपनी नजरें गड़ाये बैठे हैं। इन विदेशी जासूसों और हथियारों के सौदागरों की सेना में घातक घुसपैठ का कारण क्या है? १०

दिल्ली

देश की राजधानी में डकैती, लूट-पाट और हत्या की घटनाएं दिनोंदिन बढ़ती जा रही हैं। एक प्रकार से दिल्ली अपराधों की नगरी बन गयी है। अपराधी गिरोह दिल्ली में इतने सक्रिय क्यों हैं? क्या पुलिस इन अपराधी गिरोहों पर अंकुश लगाने में अक्षम है? दिल्ली में होने वाले अपराधों और आतंककारी घटनाओं का अंदरूनी जायजा ४१

बिहार

४ जनवरी को पिपरिया (मुंगेर) में १४ किशोरों के अपहरण के मामले से जाति को जाति से भिड़ाने और उसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की प्रवृत्ति का क्रूर नमूना सामने आया है। इसके साथ ही बिहार के ग्रामीण इलाकों में व्याप्त आतंक का भयावह रूप भी प्रकट हुआ है। पिपरिया प्रकरण की भीतरी तहकीकात ६४

भारतीय राडार वैज्ञानिक जब अमरीका भागा ९
कांग्रेस-इ का कलकत्ता पूर्णाधिवेशन २५
विधानसभा चुनावों के पहले राष्ट्रपति शासन! २९
आपरेशन फ्लड : झगड़ा दूध का या तेल का? ३४
उपचुनावों के नतीजे क्या कहते हैं? ३७
आग फैलाने वाली खबरें (राजस्थान) ४५
क्या केन्द्र फारूख की सरकार को गिराना चाहता है? (जम्मू-कश्मीर) ४७
स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों का सम्मेलन (उत्तर प्रदेश) ५०
जब महिला विधायक ने अपराधी को छुड़ाया ५१
उ०प्र० राज्य विद्युत परिषद : सफेद हाथी मर गया है! ५४
ब्राह्मण-राजपूत: अन्तर्घात की राजनीति (बिहार) ५७
नगीना राय बनाम काली पांडे (बिहार) ६२
जब युवा कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने कुरैशी पर धावा बोला (मध्य प्रदेश) ६७
१९८३ के नये सितारे ७१
क्या गावस्कर जानबूझकर आउट हो रहा था? ७५
क्या जीवन बीमा निगम का विभाजन होना चाहिए? ७९
अराफात फिर गर्दिश में (विदेश में) ८२

मुखपृष्ठ पारदर्शी : क्रिएटिव आई (सोनिया गांधी)

संस्थापक : स्वर्गीय श्री क्षितीन्द्रमोहन मित्र प्रधान सम्पादक : आलोक मित्र सहायक सम्पादक : बाबू लाल शर्मा
दिल्ली ब्यूरो चीफ : भूपेन्द्र कुमार स्नेही फोन : ३२४२८५ © इस अंक में प्रकाशित सभी रचनाओं के सर्वाधिकार सुरक्षित हैं

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पेश हैं

...उच्च
पाक कला के लिए,
उत्कृष्ट
गुणों से भरपूर

नूतन

नवज्योति ग्रुप,
इंडियन आयल के मौलिक
डिज़ाइन का एकमात्र
निर्माता है.

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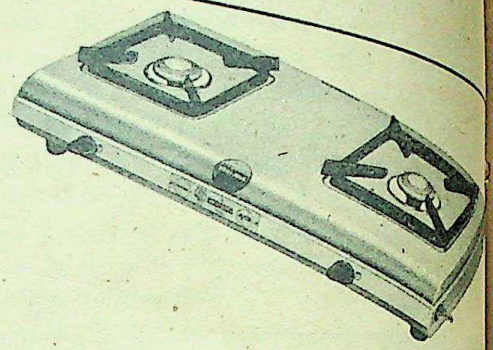

नूतन ज्योति

नवज्योति के आकर्षक
बाडीफ्रेम में इंडियन
आयल के डिजाइन का
बर्नर लगा है.

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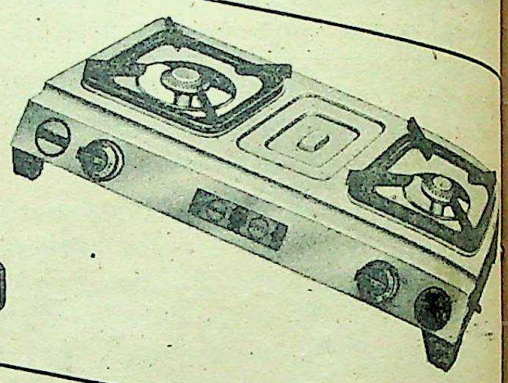

NAVJYOTI

मनमोहक
कुशल
किफायती

नवज्योति हाई-थर्म

अत्यधिक कुशलता के लिए
विशेष प्रकार के ब्रास बर्नर
से युक्त है.

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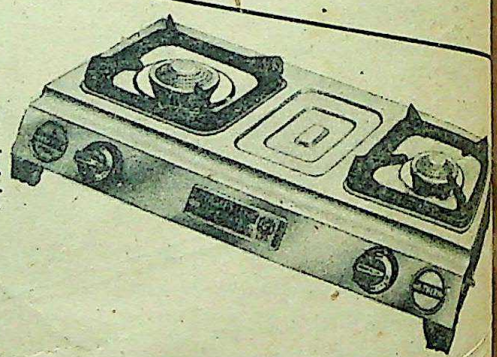


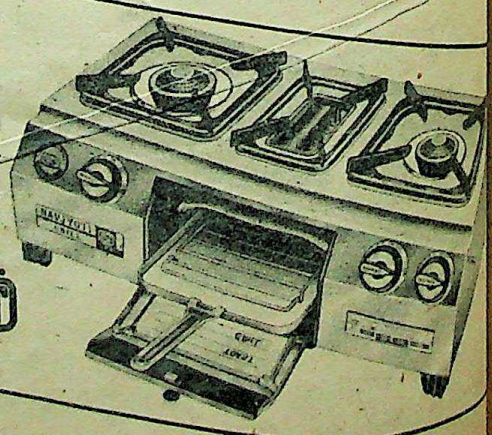
स्टेनलैस स्टील, क्रोम प्लेटिड
व आकर्षक रंगों में उपलब्ध

दो वर्ष की गारंटी

नवज्योति ग्रिल

टोस्टिंग, रोस्टिंग, स्टीमिंग
एवं ग्रिलिंग के लिए बड़े
आकार का ग्रिलर.

IS: 4260



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जार्ज बंगलौर से चुनाव लड़ेंगे और पत्नी...?

जार्ज फर्नाण्डीस अगला लोकसभा-चुनाव बंगलौर से लड़ें, तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं होगा। वह १९७७ और १९८० के चुनाव में बिहार के मुजफ्फरपुर चुनाव क्षेत्र से जीते थे। किंतु इस बीच वह इस चुनाव क्षेत्र में लोकप्रियता इतनी खो चुके हैं कि एक बार वह एक कालेज में भाषण देने गये, तो अपने विरुद्ध उग्र-प्रदर्शन होते देखकर वहां से भाग खड़े होने के लिए मजबूर हुए। लोकप्रियता खोने का एक कारण यह है कि वह इस चुनाव क्षेत्र में कभी झांकते तक नहीं हैं।

दूसरे, बिहार जनता पार्टी में पुराने संगठन कांग्रेसियों (जिनके नेता प्रदेश पार्टी अध्यक्ष सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह हैं) और समाजवादियों (जिनके नेता कर्पूरी ठाकुर हैं) के बीच इस कदर ठन गयी है कि अगर फर्नाण्डीस ने केन्द्रीय नेताओं से अपना नाम पास करा लिया, तो वह अंदरूनी फूट के कारण हार जायेंगे। उनके प्रतिद्वंद्वी हैं पुराने संगठन कांग्रेसी दिग्विजय नारायण सिंह जो १९५२ से यह सीट बराबर जीतते आये हैं।

बताया जाता है कि कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने जार्ज को सावधान कर दिया है और बता दिया है कि इस बार वहां से उनका जीतना इस कारण भी असंभव लगता है कि वहां लोकदल अपना उम्मीदवार जरूर खड़ा करेगा (१९८० में जार्ज लोकदल के टिकट पर जीते थे), जिससे पिछड़े हुए वर्गों के वोट बंट जायेंगे।

बंगलौर में जार्ज को कई सुविधाएं हैं। एक तो वहां काफी मजदूर आबादी हैं। दूसरे, वहां फिलहाल जनता पार्टी का राज है। इसलिए जार्ज ने वहां मजदूरों में ट्रेड यूनियनें बनाना शुरू कर दिया है।

दूसरी ओर, यह भी सुनने में आ रहा है कि कांग्रेस-इ का प्रभाव जार्ज फर्नाण्डीस के घर में हो गया है। फर्नाण्डीस की पत्नी लैला ने अनौपचारिक रूप से कांग्रेस-इ के लिए काम शुरू करने का फैसला किया है। लैला फर्नाण्डीस के निकटवर्ती सूत्रों के अनुसार वह कुछ सप्ताह के भीतर ही कांग्रेस-इ में शामिल हो जायेगी। इधर कुछ समय से लैला फर्नाण्डीस और उनके पति के बीच अनबन रही है। लैला ने अपने निकट के मित्रों से कहा है कि वे उन्हें श्रीमती फर्नाण्डीस कहकर सम्बोधित न करें। तो क्या वह अपने पति से सम्बन्ध-विच्छेद करेंगी? क्या कांग्रेस-इ के प्रति उनका झुकाव इसकी पुष्टि करता है?

उड़ीसा के राज्यपाल क्या सत्पथी को कांग्रेस-इ में ला रहे हैं?

उड़ीसा की भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री और एक समय श्रीमती गांधी की अत्यंत विश्वासपात्र श्रीमती नंदिनी सत्पथी ने गत १८ दिसम्बर को राज्यपाल बी०डी० पाण्डेय से भेंट की। जानकारों का कहना है कि यह भेंट स्वयं राज्यपाल के निमंत्रण पर हुई थी। श्रीमती सत्पथी ने इस भेंट को महज औपचारिक और शिष्टाचारवश बताया है।

किंतु वर्तमान मुख्यमंत्री जे० बी० पटनायक के निकटवर्ती सूत्रों का कहना है कि राज्यपाल के इस निमंत्रण के पीछे कांग्रेस-इ हाई कमान की प्रेरणा है और इसका उद्देश्य था, श्रीमती सत्पथी को कांग्रेस-इ में वापस लौट आने के लिए प्रेरित किया जाना।

यह भेंट तब और रहस्यपूर्ण बन गयी, जब अगले दिन कुछ मंत्रियों ने भी श्रीमती सत्पथी से भेंट की। तब क्या श्रीमती सत्पथी के दिन फिरने वाले हैं और वह मुख्यमंत्री पद सभालने जा रही हैं? इसके एक सप्ताह पहले श्रीमती सत्पथी दिल्ली में श्रीमती गांधी से दो बार भेंट कर चुकी हैं। इसलिए इन गतिविधियों को बड़ा महत्व दिया जा रहा है। उस भेंट के बाद मुख्यमंत्री पटनायक दिल्ली दौड़े गये, किंतु उन्होंने अपनी यात्रा का उद्देश्य बताने से इनकार कर दिया।

चन्द्रशेखर सिंह को शाही भोज बड़ा महंगा पड़ा

बेतिया संसदीय चुनाव क्षेत्र कम्युनिस्ट उम्मीदवारों के हाथ हारने से बिहार के नये मुख्यमंत्री चन्द्रशेखर की गद्दी पर आ बनी है। राजीव गांधी ने इस हार की

जांच करने की हिदायत दे दी है।

अब मुख्यमंत्री पछता रहे हैं उस शाही भोज को लेकर जो उन्हें क्षेत्र के रमगढ़ता अंचल में गांव के एक मुखिया ने दिया था। इस भोज के लिए ९ बकरों, ४७ मुर्गों और ९० किलो मछली का इंतजाम किया गया था।

अब अगर जांच हो, तो क्या यह भेद खुले बिना नहीं रहेगा कि इस शाही भोज का इंतजाम किसने किया था? यह तो सभी जानते हैं कि वह मुखिया महज एक एकड़ खेत का मालिक है और इतने बड़े भोज की व्यवस्था उसकी हैसियत से बाहर है। तब फिर क्या जांच करने वालों का ध्यान उन धन्ना-सेठों की तरफ नहीं जायेगा, जिन्होंने इस भोज के लिए खुले हाथों 'दान' दिया था? उन्होंने इसके बदले क्या 'पुण्य' कमाया, यह भी छिपा नहीं रह सकता।

बिहार के एक कांग्रेस-इ नेता का खयाल है कि इस शाही भोज के कुप्रभाव से उस क्षेत्र में कांग्रेस-इ को वोट भले ही कम मिले हों, दिल्ली में कोई बाल बांका नहीं कर सकता। यहां भी ऐसे ही लोग बैठे हुए हैं।

उनसे प्यार करो और उनके कुत्ते से भी...

भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को कुत्तों से बड़ा प्यार है। उनकी तरह उनके कुत्ते भी शेर दिल हैं। कुछ अर्से पहले उनके और उनके पड़ोसी, वित्तमंत्री प्रणव मुखर्जी की भिड़न्त की कथा 'माया' सहित अनेक अखबारों में छपी थी।

किंतु हाल में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के कार्यकर्ताओं को मालूम हुआ कि पुरानी कहावत के अनुसार यदि वाजपेयीजी से मोहब्बत रखनी है, उनके कुत्तों से भी प्यार करना पड़ेगा।

हुआ यह कि पिछले दिनों वाजपेयी जी के जन्मदिन पर दिल्ली में किन्हीं युवा भारतीय जनता पार्टी के कार्यकर्ताओं ने रक्तदान अभियान चलाया। वे वाजपेयीजी से संदेश लेने गये। वायजपेयीजी उस समय अपने दो कुत्तों के बीच सोफे पर बैठे उन्हें प्यार कर रहे थे। कार्यकर्ता डर कर ठिठक गये और कुत्ते दौड़ कर उन पर लपक पड़े। एक युवा नेता को कुत्ते ने दांत भी मार दिये। बेचारे को १४ इंजेक्शन लगवाने पड़े।

और अंत में...

पहले सज्जन : मारुति पूरी तरह स्वदेशी है।

दूसरे सज्जन : किन्तु मैंने तो सुना है कि उसमें शतप्रतिशत पुर्जे जापानी सुजुकी कार के हैं।

पहले सज्जन : आपने ठीक सुना है। मैं तो मारुति कार की नाम-पट्टिका की बात कर रहा हूं। वह भारत में बनी है।

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

जीतिए ५ लाख रुपये के मुफ़्त उपहार!

★ पॉलिएस्टर साड़ियाँ
★ स्टेनलेस स्टील थालियाँ, प्लेट, कटोरियाँ ★ बॉलपेन

सफेद के बहुसंख्यक १ किलो और १/२ किलो पैकों में इन शानदार पुरस्कारों के उपहार मौजूद हैं। इसलिए जल्दी कीजिए और सफेद का अपना पैक आज ही लाइए—आप भी एक भाग्यशाली विजेता हो सकते हैं। सिर्फ एक ही पैक खरीद कर रुक मत जाइए। चूँकि अनेक पैकों में पुरस्कार छिपे पड़े हैं, इसलिए आप कई बार पुरस्कार जीत सकते हैं।

जीतने का तरीका

१. पैक के निचले भाग पर लगी इस काली पट्टी को काट कर खोलिए, लेकिन ख्याल रखिए—पैक से फाड़ कर उसे अलग न कीजिए।
२. अगर आपने पुरस्कार जीता है तो वहाँ उसका उल्लेख रहेगा, जैसा कि यहाँ दिखाया गया है।
३. अगर आपको कोई भाग्यशाली पैक मिला है तो उसे फौरन उस दुकान पर ले जाइए जहाँ से आपने उसे खरीदा था। दुकानदार के बताये पते से आप अपना पुरस्कार हाथों-हाथ प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

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भारतीय राडार-वैज्ञानिक जब अमरीका भागा

पिछले दिनों रक्षामंत्री आर० वेंकटरमन ने लोकसभा में बताया कि लापता भारतीय राडार वैज्ञानिक अभी अमरीका में है।

रक्षा मंत्रालय की अत्यंत गोपनीय एवं संवेदनशील परियोजना—इलेक्ट्रानिक्स एंड राडार डेवलपमेंट एस्टैबलिशमेंट (एल०आर०डी०ई०), बंगलोर—में पिछले पांच साल से काम कर रहा एक राडार-वैज्ञानिक एम०के० शानदास गत १८ सितम्बर से अचानक लापता हो गया और उसकी गुमशुदगी की रिपोर्ट बंगलोर के किसी भी थाने में दर्ज नहीं की गयी। तीन महीने बाद पता चला कि वह अपने बीवी-बच्चों के साथ कैलिफोर्निया (अमरीका) में है।

वैज्ञानिक शानदास बंगलोर से कैलिफोर्निया कैसे पहुंच गया, इसकी दिलचस्प कहानी है।

१९७९ में उसे एल०आर०डी०ई० की ओर से अमरीका भेजा गया था। दरअसल, एल०आर०डी०ई० के निदेशक डा० बी०पी० शेनोय ने नीची उड़ान भरने वाले विमानों की पकड़ के लिए राडार निर्माण की एक नयी परियोजना की पेशकश की थी और इस परियोजना के कुछ विशेष उपकरणों के लिए एक अमरीकी कांट्रेक्टर एस०एम०एल० को आर्डर दिये गये। इस राडार प्रोजेक्ट की निगरानी के लिए वैज्ञानिक शानदास को अमरीका भेजा गया, ताकि उनकी मौजूदगी में वे उपकरण ठीक-ठाक बनें और जल्दी-से-जल्दी उन्हें भारत भेजा जा सके। निदेशक डा० शेनोय ने परियोजना पेश करते समय यह वादा किया था कि यह दो वर्ष में बनकर तैयार हो जायेगी।

आज से चार साल पहले यानी १९७९ में वैज्ञानिक शानदास अपने 'एसाइनमेंट' पर बीवी-बच्चों के साथ कैलिफोर्निया के लिए रवाना हो गया। परियोजना के उपकरणों को बनाने में क्या प्रगति हुई, यह तो नहीं मालूम। हां, वैज्ञानिक शानदास की पत्नी ने वहां पोस्ट ग्रैजुएट की डिग्री जरूर ले ली। फिर अच्छी-सी नौकरी भी पकड़ ली। इतना पैसा भी अर्जित कर लिया कि उन्होंने अपना एक अपार्टमेंट भी खरीद लिया।

इधर दो साल छोड़, चार साल बीत गये और परियोजना, परियोजना ही रह गयी।

हाल ही में जब डिफेंस रिसर्च एंड डेवलपमेंट आरगेनाइजेशन की सिल्वर जुबली मनायी जा रही थी, तो यह मामला उठ खड़ा हुआ और एल०आर०डी०ई० के प्रबन्धकों पर प्रश्नचिह्न लगने शुरू हो गये। उन्हें कुछ मालूम ही नहीं था कि अमरीका में बन रहे उपकरणों की क्या प्रगति है?

आनन-फानन उन्होंने वैज्ञानिक शानदास को वापस भारत बुलवाया। अमरीकी फर्म को विशेष प्रलोभन दिये, ताकि वह उपकरणों को जल्दी-से-जल्दी भेज दे।

उपरकण तो नहीं आये, वैज्ञानिक शानदास जरूर बंगलोर आ गया। वह भी अकेले। बीवी-बच्चों को वह कैलिफोर्निया में ही छोड़ता आया। कहते हैं, शानदास किसी भावी आशंका के कारण वही से हवाई जहाज की वापसी टिकट लेता आया था।

और उसे जो आशंका थी, वही हुई। एल०आर०डी०ई० के प्रबन्धकों ने उससे बातचीत के बाद यह निर्णय लिया कि वैज्ञानिक शानदास के बदले किसी अन्य वैज्ञानिक को इस बार भेजा जाये, लेकिन निदेशक शेनोय ने इसका विरोध किया और यह दलील दी कि नये आदमी को भेजने से देर होने की और संभावनाएं हैं इसलिए कि उसे नये सिरे से सबकुछ 'सेट' करना पड़ेगा।

अपनी जगह किसी अन्य वैज्ञानिक को भेजे जाने की बात सुन शायद वैज्ञानिक शानदास घबरा गया। उसने तीन महीने के लिए अवकाश की अर्जी दे दी जो नामंजूर हो गयी। यह १८ सितम्बर की बात है।

उल्लेखनीय है कि राडार-विकास के लिए कोई ५०० इंजीनियर एल०आर०डी०ई० में काम कर रहे हैं और अब तक कोई भी नया तरीका उन्होंने खोज नहीं निकाला है। वे या तो विदेशी पत्रिकाओं के तकनीकी आंकड़ों के माध्यम से या फिर पूरी साझेदारी में या फिर सब-कांट्रैक्ट के जरिये अंत तक चीजों को बनाते-बनवाते रहे हैं और उनपर 'मेड इन इंडिया' की मुहर लगवाते रहे हैं।

इसके बाद वैज्ञानिक शानदास का कहीं अता-पता नहीं चला। न ही वह दफ्तर आया और न ही शहर में उसे देखा गया।

वैज्ञानिक शानदास के अचानक लापता हो जाने से सबसे ज्यादा घबराहट उसके उन दो वैज्ञानिक दोस्तों—क्लीट्स और विश्वनाथन—को हुई जिन्होंने वैज्ञानिक शानदास की तीन-तीन लाख की गारंटी ली थी। उन्होंने पूरे शहर, शानदास के सारे ठिकानों को छान मारा, पर उसका कोई पता नहीं चला।

तब एल०आर०डी०ई० ने वैज्ञानिक क्लीट्स को कैलिफोर्निया भेजा। वहां जाकर पता चला कि शानदास तो अपने बीवी-बच्चों के साथ शान से रह रहा है। लापता होने के बाद से उसने उस अमरीकी फर्म में भी अपनी हाजिरी नहीं दी थी, जहां उपकरण बन रहे थे।

सवाल यह है कि इस परियोजना की अनुमति किसने दी और वैज्ञानिक शानदास को कैलिफोर्निया किसने भेजा?

उल्लेखनीय है कि राडार-विकास के लिए कोई ५०० इंजीनियर एल०आर०डी०ई० में काम कर रहे हैं और अब तक कोई भी नया तरीका उन्होंने खोज नहीं निकाला है। वे या तो विदेशी पत्रिकाओं के तकनीकी आंकड़ों के माध्यम से या फिर पूरी साझेदारी में या फिर सब-कांट्रैक्ट के जरिये अंत तक चीजों को बनाते-बनवाते रहे हैं और उनपर 'मेड इन इंडिया' की मुहर लगवाते रहे हैं।

मजेदार बात यह है कि १८ सितम्बर को वैज्ञानिक शानदास लापता हो गया था और ७ अक्तूबर को एल०आर०डी०ई० के निदेशक शेनोय ने पत्रकारों को बताया कि उनकी वह परियोजना पूरी हो गयी है, जबकि सच्चाई यह थी कि इस राडार-प्रोजेक्ट की निगरानी के लिए जिस व्यक्ति को भेजा गया था, वही लापता था।

इस अमरीकी फर्म में जो उपकरण अभी तैयार किया जा रहा है, वह उन दोनों उपकरणों में से एक है, जिनकी जरूरत इस परियोजना को पूरी करने के लिए है।

एक दूसरी उप-प्रणाली एक अन्य अमरीकी फर्म को निर्माण के लिए दी गयी है, जिसे अभी उपकरण की आपूर्ति भी करनी है। यह परियोजना मूल रूप से १९७४ में स्वीकृत की गयी थी। इस पर आरंभिक पूंजी ५५ लाख लगाने की थी जो इसके फौरन बाद ही ९५ लाख कर दी गयी। इसे १९७६ तक पूरा करना था। इसी बीच परियोजना का खर्च बढ़कर २.५ करोड़ हो गया और इस पर लगभग एक करोड़ रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च की जा चुकी है। इसमें वह खर्च भी शामिल है जो इस परियोजना को जल्दी पूरा करने के लिए बतौर 'इनसेंटिव' फर्म को दिया गया। मगर कुल मिलाकर इसे कांट्रैक्ट में तय राशि के अलावा दिया जाने वाला पेमेंट कहा जायेगा। लेकिन इतना सब होने के बावजूद उपकरण की डिलीवरी में देरी हो चुकी है।

देखना है, एल०आर०डी०ई० अब वैज्ञानिक शानदास के साथ क्या रवैया अपनाता है, क्योंकि अमरीकी नागरिकता प्राप्त करने के लिए अब उसकी पत्नी को सिर्फ एक साल रहना है। और पति के नाते वैज्ञानिक शानदास भी इतमीनान से उसके साथ रह सकता है। —सुरेश चन्द्र सिन्हा

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लारकिंस कांड

क्या हमारा 'प्रति-गुप्तचरी तंत्र' सचमुच काम करता है?

पिछले दिनों भारतीय सेना के तीन अवकाशप्राप्त वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों की गिरफ्तारी के बाद ऐसे रोमांचकारी तथ्य सामने आये हैं कि किस तरह सी०आई०ए० की तीसरी आंख हमारी सेनाओं में घुसपैठ कर चुकी है। स्वतंत्रता के बाद गुप्तचरी का सबसे बड़ा कांड

दो भाई—फ्रैंक लारकिंस, केन लारकिंस। बड़ा भाई फ्रैंक, फौज में मेजर जनरल और अवकाशप्राप्त करने के समय मुख्यालय के शस्त्र व उपकरण विभाग का निदेशक। छोटा भाई केन, अवकाश प्राप्त करने के समय एयर वाइस मार्शल।

दोनों का ही व्यक्तित्व बहुरंगा—दोनों ही दबंग, रोबीले, मगर मिलनसार। यारों के बीच 'शाने महफिल' के नाम से मशहूर! पीने-पिलाने के शौकीन—क्लबों व पार्टियों में बात-ही-बात में हजार-दो-हजार पानी की तरह बहा देने वाले।

बड़े भाई मेजर जनरल फ्रैंक लारकिंस को लगभग १२ साल पहले (१० जनवरी, १९७२) तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति वी०वी० गिरि के हाथों 'परम विशिष्ट सेवा पदक' प्रदान किया गया। प्रशस्ति पत्र में लिखा गया था, "सेना मुख्यालय में शस्त्र व उपकरण विभाग के निदेशक के रूप में मेजर जनरल फ्रैंक डाल्टन लारकिंस ने सेना के लिए साज-सामान के आधुनिकीकरण, भविष्य की आवश्यकताओं को ध्यान में रख कर उसके नियोजन और बहुत ही अल्प समय में सेना में उनके उपयोग को सुनिश्चित करने में असाध्य कार्य पूरा कर दिखाया है...। मेजर जनरल ने समर्पित कार्य का सुंदर व्यक्तिगत उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया है। उन्होंने असाधारण रूप से सर्वाधिक विशिष्ट सेवा की है।"

मगर लोग उस समय चौंक पड़े, जब इतने प्रतिष्ठित दोनों भाइयों को ३ नवम्बर, १९८३ को इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो के अधिकारियों ने दिल्ली पुलिस की विशेष शाखा की मदद से गिरफ्तार कर लिया। फ्रैंक लारकिंस को उनके दिल्ली के वसंत विहार स्थित मकान से और केन लारकिंस को लखनऊ में बहन के मकान से पकड़ा गया।

पुलिस ने उन पर आरोप लगाया था कि वे दोनों अपने साथियों के साथ मिलकर पिछले कई वर्षों से गुप्त सरकारी व फौजी दस्तावेज अमरीकी खुफिया विभाग (सी०आई०ए०) के एजेंटों के हाथों बेच रहे थे। दरअसल, वे खुद भी सी०आई०ए० के लिए स्थानीय एजेंटों का काम कर रहे थे।

उनकी गिरफ्तारी की खबर इतनी गुप्त रखी गयी कि इसके समाचार ४ दिसम्बर, १९८३ से पहले समाचारपत्रों तक नहीं पहुंच सके। उन दोनों भाइयों के साथ ही दो अन्य व्यक्ति भी हिरासत में लिये गये—अवकाशप्राप्त लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल जसबीर सिंह तथा हथियारों का व्यापारी जसपाल सिंह गिल। इनकी गिरफ्तारी की गूंज निश्चय ही सरकार के गुप्तचर तंत्र का मजाक उड़ाती संसद तक जा पहुंची और विपक्ष के एक सांसद ने यहां तक कह डाला कि ऐसा कोई मामला पश्चिम के यूरोपीय देशों में होता, तो सरकार का पतन निश्चित था।

बड़ा भाई : फ्रैंक लारकिंस

भेद कैसे खुला? : कहते हैं कि इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो पिछले दो साल से लारकिंस बंधुओं व उनके सहयोगियों के पीछे लगा था। एक खुफिया अधिकारी ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में बताया कि "हम अभी इन अभियुक्तों को नहीं पकड़ना चाहते थे।" दरअसल भारतीय सेना के तीनों अंगों में पिछले २५ वर्षों से विदेशी खुफिया एजेंटों की दिलचस्पी रही है। भारतीय खुफिया विभाग इन अभियुक्तों को इसलिए गिरफ्तार नहीं करना चाहता था, क्योंकि इनके सभी सूत्रों व सेना के तीनों अंगों में इनकी कितनी पैठ थी, इसकी पूरी जानकारी अभी नहीं हो पायी थी। तभी इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो को

गिरफ्त में : जसपाल सिंह गिल (बायें)

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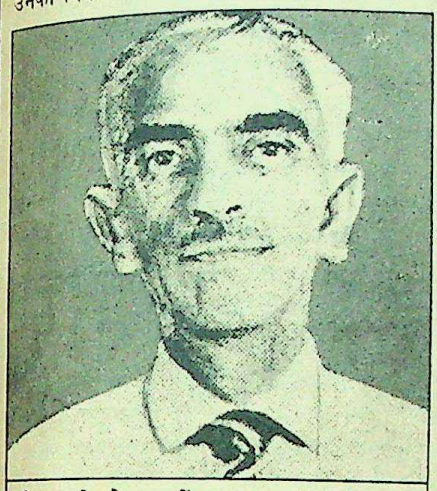
Funding: Tattva Heritage and

चला कि अवकाशप्राप्त एयर वाइस मार्शल केन लारकिंस भारत छोड़ कर जल्दी ही आस्ट्रेलिया जा बसने वाले हैं। चुनांचे, "इस महत्वपूर्ण पंछी के उड़ जाने से पहले ही हमने उसे दबोच लिया।"

इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो को लारकिंस बंधुओं के अमरीकी सम्पर्कों की पूरी जानकारी थी और उन्होंने इस सिलसिले में ठोस प्रमाण एकत्र कर लिये थे। उनकी विदेश यात्राओं व उन यात्राओं के उद्देश्यों,

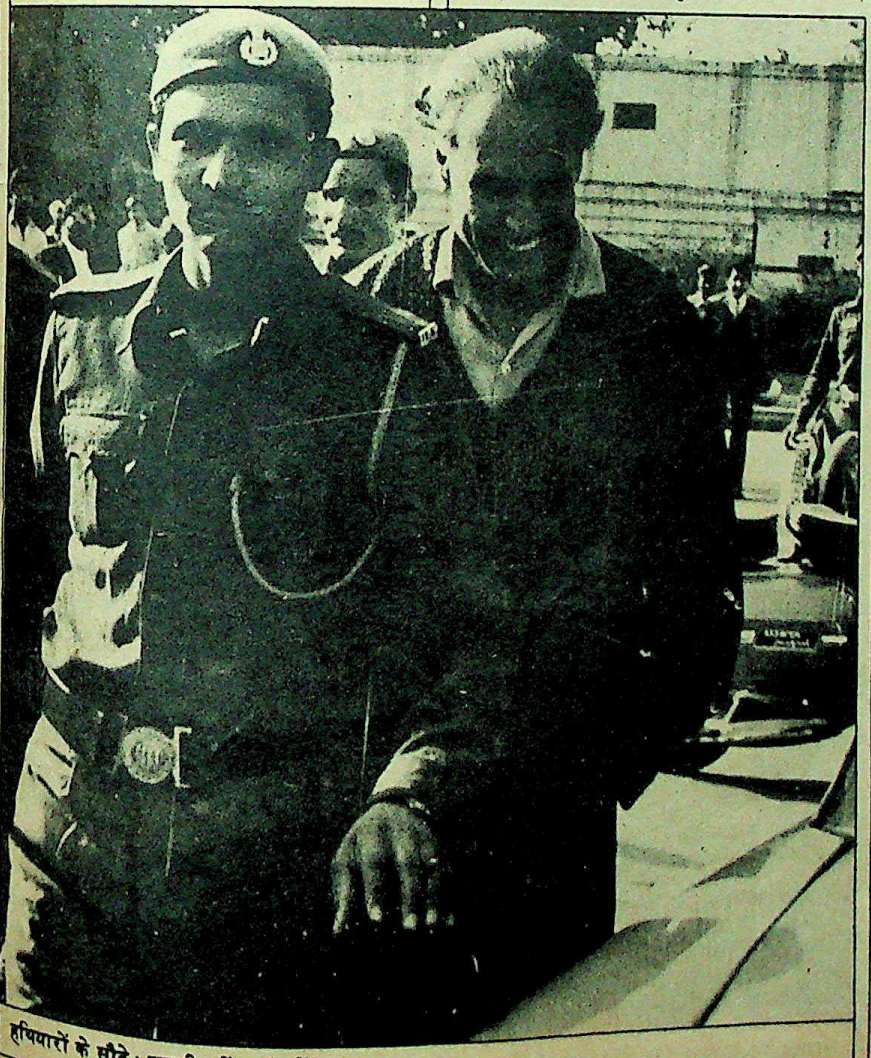


छोटा भाई : केन लारकिंस

आर्थिक संसाधनों आदि की जानकारी भी वे बटोर चुके थे।

लारकिंस बंधुओं को भी इस बात की जानकारी हो चुकी थी कि उनकी निगरानी की जा रही है। अपने ऊपर संदेह के बावजूद उन्होंने सी०आई०ए० के लिए काम करना बंद नहीं किया, तो इसका कारण सिर्फ एक था—लालच! अपना अंतिम काम निपटा देने के बाद दोनों भाई विदेश जाकर बस जाने वाले थे। छोटे भाई केन ने बड़े भाई फ्रैंक को स्पष्ट रूप से बता दिया था कि वह आखिरी बार उसकी मदद कर रहा है और भविष्य में वह आस्ट्रेलिया जाकर बसने का इरादा कर चुका है।

सी०आई०ए० ने जिस आखिरी काम को अंजाम देने की जिम्मेदारी उन्हें सौंपी थी, वह था नये रूसी रक्षा सौदे के बारे में जानकारी देने का। वायुयानों व जलयानों में लगाये जाने वाले इलेक्ट्रानिकों व एवियोनिकों (वैमानिकी), टोही विमानों में इस्तेमाल आने वाले कैमरों व मिग-२५ में फिट किये जाने वाले अन्य उपकरणों के बारे में। टी-७२ टैंकों में काम लाये जाने वाले विशेष नये उपकरणों की भी जानकारी उन्हें चाहिए थी। दरअसल, इन नये उपकरणों व रूसी रक्षा-सौदों की जानकारी अमरीकी खुफिया विभाग को थी, मगर वे लारकिंस बंधुओं व अन्य सूत्रों के माध्यम से उनकी पुष्टि करना चाहते थे।



हथियारों के सौदे : जसबीर सिंह (बायें)

लारकिंस बंधुओं की जासूसी गतिविधियों और सी०आई०ए० से उनके सम्पर्कों के ठोस प्रमाण इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो को पिछले साल मार्च में ही प्राप्त हो गये थे। उन्हें रंगे हाथों पकड़ने के लिए एक तरकीब निकाली गयी। पहले ग्रुप कैप्टन जसजीत सिंह को वायुसेना के उपाध्यक्ष (आपरेशन) के कार्यालय में और बाद में एयर वाइस मार्शल राघवेन्द्रन को तैनात किया गया। राघवेन्द्रन उच्च कोटि के युद्धक विमानों के चालक रहे हैं। जाहिर था, दस्तावेजों की जानकारी भी उनसे मिल सकती थी और उन्हीं के माध्यम से उन्हें हासिल भी किया जा सकता था।

२० मार्च को केन लारकिंस ने जसजीत सिंह से मुलाकात की। केन ने उनसे भारतीय वायुसेना की प्रविष्टियों में सोवियत मिगों की वर्गीकृत पुस्तिका (मैन्यूअल) की मांग की। २४ मार्च को जसजीत सिंह ने इसकी जानकारी राघवेन्द्रन को दी। राघवेन्द्रन के द्वारा सूचना प्रधानमंत्री व मंत्रिमंडलीय सचिव तक पहुंची। लारकिंस ने प्रत्येक मैन्यूअल के लिए जसजीत सिंह को ३०,००० रुपये देने का वायदा किया था। उच्च अधिकारियों के आदेश पर मैन्यूअल केन लारकिंस को सौंप दी गयी। जसजीत सिंह को अग्रिम राशि के रूप में १०,००० रुपये दे दिये गये। इस तरह केन लारकिंस के खिलाफ पहला ठोस सबूत तीन अप्रैल को ही पा लिया गया।

क्या इस भंडाफोड़ में के०जी०बी० ने मदद दी थी? : जैसा कि सभी जानते हैं, भारत सरकार पिछले कई वर्षों से सेना के तीनों अंगों के आधुनिकीकरण के लिए परेशान रही है। फलतः भारत रक्षा-सौदों का सबसे बड़ा बाज़ार बन गया है। अमरीका, ब्रिटेन, फ्रांस, जर्मनी व बेल्जियम आदि देशों के शस्त्र-इजारेदार अपने-अपने हथियार भारत को बेचने के लिए परस्पर प्रतिद्वंद्विता में लग गये। मगर उनकी राह में सबसे बड़ी अड़चन था सोवियत संघ।

पिछले साल सोवियत रक्षामंत्री के भारत आगमन व भारतीय रक्षामंत्री की मास्को यात्रा व आर्थिक आयोगों की बैठकों आदि के दौरान मुख्य बात हथियारों की आपूर्ति की ही रही। कहते हैं, लगभग २०० अरब रुपये के हथियारों का सौदा दोनों देशों के बीच किया गया है।

सोवियत संघ हमेशा से इस बात के प्रति चिंतित रहा है कि वह जो भी हथियार किसी दूसरे मित्र देश को बेचता है, उसकी जानकारी अमरीका व यूरोपीय देशों को हासिल न हो। इसे वह अपनी रक्षा पंक्ति के लिए अनिवार्य मानता है। खासतौर से अत्यधिक सामरिक महत्व के हथियारों की जानकारी वह बिलकुल गुप्त रखना चाहता है और यह बात ठीक भी है, क्योंकि सभी देश ऐसा ही करते हैं।

पिछले साल जब सोवियत रक्षामंत्री भारत आये और यहां से पाकिस्तान गये, तो उनके साथ

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

के०जी०बी० का पूरा अमला भी था। पाकिस्तान में सोवियत रक्षामंत्री को अपनी बातचीत के दौरान और के०जी०बी० के अधिकारियों को अपने खुफिया सूत्रों के जरिये ऐसी सूचना मिली कि पाकिस्तान को लगभग उन सभी सामरिक महत्व के हथियारों की जानकारी हासिल हो चुकी है जो सोवियत संघ ने भारत को दे रखे थे। इस बात से सोवियत अधिकारियों में स्वाभाविक चिंता व्याप्त हो गयी।

कहते हैं, भारत के रिसर्च एण्ड एनालिसिस विंग (रॉ) व सोवियत खुफिया विभाग (के०जी०बी०) में काफी दिनों से सहयोग की परम्परा रही है। दिल्ली स्थित के०जी०बी० एजेंटों ने 'रॉ' को इस बात की सूचना दी कि किसी-न-किसी प्रकार भारतीय रक्षा-सौदों की जानकारी पाकिस्तान, अमरीका व अन्य पश्चिमी देशों तक पहुंच रही है। उन्होंने 'रॉ' को इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ ठोस प्रमाण भी दिये।

कहते हैं, इसके बाद ही 'रॉ' ने कार्रवाई की और इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो को जानकारी हासिल करने की जिम्मेदारी सौंप दी गयी। परिणामतः लारकिंस कांड सामने आया। कुछ अन्य जानकारियां भी हासिल की गयी हैं, मगर उन्हें जानबूझ कर अभी गुप्त रखा जा रहा है।

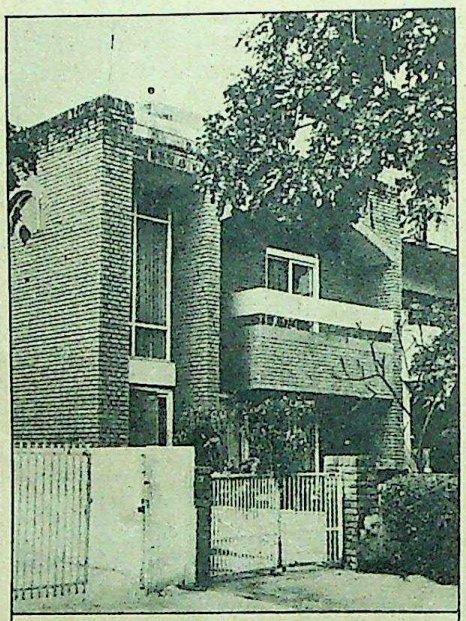
लारकिंस बंधु सी०आई०ए० जाल में कैसे फंसे ? : दिल्ली के पटियाला हाउस कोर्ट में एक बंद कमरे में मेट्रोपोलिटन मजिस्ट्रेट के सामने दिये गये लिखित बयान में लारकिंस बंधुओं व अन्य अभियुक्तों ने अपने कसूर स्वीकार किये हैं। लारकिंस बंधुओं के अनुसार वे सी०आई०ए० के जाल में एक मामूली घटना के बाद फंसे।

एक सुबह मेजर जनरल लारकिंस अपने कुत्तों के साथ बाहर घूमने निकले। पास में ही एक अमरीकी कर्मचारी अपने बेटे के साथ गुजर रहा था। लारकिंस के कुत्तों में से एक ने उसके बेटे को काट लिया।

कुत्ता पागल है या नहीं, यह देखने के लिए वह अमरीकी रोज ही मेजर जनरल लारकिंस के घर आने लगा। इस तरह धीरे-धीरे दोनों में दोस्ती हो गयी। अमरीकी कर्मचारी ने देखा कि मेजर जनरल काफी समझदार व हथियारों की जानकारी में माहिर था।

एक दिन अमरीकी कर्मचारी ने मेजर जनरल को ५००० रुपये नकद दिये। अमरीकी कर्मचारी ने मेजर जनरल को यह कह कर वह राशि लेने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया कि उनकी हथियारों की बेशकीमती जानकारी से अमरीकी कर्मचारी को बहुत लाभ पहुंचा है। और इस तरह वह अमरीकी कर्मचारी मेजर जनरल को हथियारों के बारे में अधिक-से-अधिक जानकारी देने के लिए मजबूर करता गया।

जब अमरीकी कर्मचारी को मालूम हुआ कि मेजर जनरल का छोटा भाई एयर वाइस मार्शल है, तो उसने परिचय कराने की ज़िद शुरू कर दी। मेजर जनरल पहले तो बहुत हिचकिचाया, मगर दोस्ती व पैसे के नाम पर राजी हो गया। इस पहले उस अमरीकी ने मेजर जनरल को भारतीय वायुसेना के बारे में कई जानकारियां हासिल करने को कहा था और मेजर जनरल ने सहीं-सहीं जानकारी हासिल करा दी थी।



फ्रैंक लारकिंस का वसंत विहार स्थित भवन

मेजर जनरल के अमरीकी दोस्त ने भारतीय नौसेना में काम आने वाले 'कैशियन' किस्म के विध्वंसकों की जानकारी मांगी थी। सोवियत संघ ने इस किस्म के दो विध्वंसक 'राजपूत' व 'राणा' भारतीय नौसेना को दिये थे। अमरीकी कर्मचारी इन दोनों विध्वंसकों की 'फायर राडार कंट्रोल सिस्टम' की भी जानकारी चाहता था। इन्हीं विध्वंसकों में उपयोग में आने वाले 'कामोव-२५' हैलीकाप्टरों की जानकारी व उनकी ड्राइंग के लिए भी उसने पैसे दिये।

वह अमरीकी कर्मचारी वास्तव में सी०आई०ए० एजेंट था। वह कुछ अन्य जानकारियां भी चाहता था, जैसे, क्या फ्रांस व इंगलैंड ने अपने द्वारा बेचे गये 'इलेक्ट्रानिक काउंटर मिसाइलों' को सोवियत मिग-२७ में लगाने की इजाज़त दे दी थी ? चूंकि मेजर जनरल को हथियारों की पूरी जानकारी थी और उसका भाई एयर वाइस मार्शल था, उसके लिए किसी विशेषज्ञ की भांति इसके बारे में विस्तृत जानकारी मुहैया करना बहुत आसान था।

मगर कुल मिलाकर मेजर जनरल ने अपने देश के साथ इतनी बड़ी गद्दारी सिर्फ मौज-मस्ती से जीने के लिए की थी। अवकाश प्राप्ति के बाद १४०० रुपये की मासिक पेंशन से वह अपने दैनिक खर्चे तो चला ले सकता था, लेकिन ऐशो-आराम नहीं पा सकता था, जिसकी आदत उसे पड़ चुकी थी।

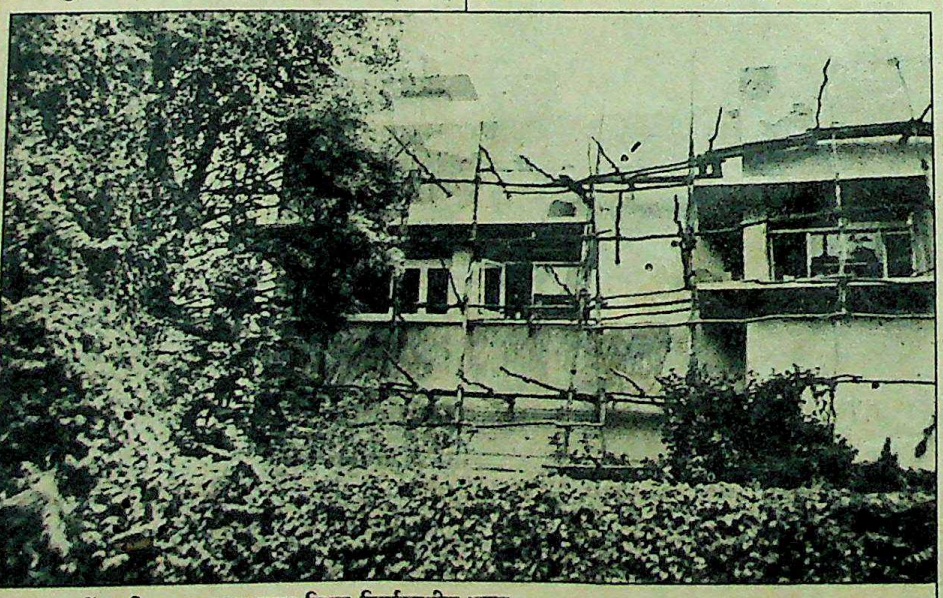
महत्वपूर्ण कड़ियां : लारकिंस बंधुओं के अलावा तीन ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं, जिन्हें इस कांड की महत्वपूर्ण कड़ियां कह सकते हैं,—अवकाशप्राप्त लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल जसबीर सिंह, हथियारों का व्यापारी जसपाल सिंह गिल। साथ ही सेवारत ब्रिगेडियर जे०के० कपूर पर भी शक किया जा रहा है।

ब्रिगेडियर जे०के० कपूर की सिफारिश पर ही अवकाशप्राप्त तीनों अधिकारी प्रतिरक्षा पुस्तकालय में जाया करते थे। यह बात अपने आप में बड़ी संदेहास्पद है कि अवकाशप्राप्त सैनिक अधिकारियों को पुस्तकालय में जाने की क्या जरूरत पड़ गयी ?

ब्रिगेडियर जे०के० कपूर को अभी तक गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया है। जिन दिनों अन्य अभियुक्तों को पकड़ा गया, ब्रिगेडियर कपूर बाहर दौरे पर बाहर गये हुए थे। इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो के एक स्रोत के अनुसार "ब्रिगेडियर को अभी गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जायेगा, मगर सवाल जरूर पूछे जायेंगे।

ब्रिगेडियर कपूर को छोड़कर बाकी सभी ही हथियारों व इसी प्रकार के उपकरणों की देशी-विदेशी कम्पनियों की 'कंसलटेंट सेवाओं' से जुड़े हैं।

'लारकिंस कांड' के सरगना मेजर जनरल फ्रैंक लारकिंस गिरफ्तार होने के पहले तक बेल्जियम की बंदूकें बनाने वाली एक कंपनी 'फ़ेबरिक नेशनल



जसपाल सिंह गिल का सुन्दरनगर स्थित निर्माणाधीन भवन

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage

बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश

सदा सबके लिए सेवनीय

आदर्श आयुर्वेदिक पारिवारिक टानिक

बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश क्यों ?

क्योंकि यह ५० से ज्यादा जड़ी-बूटियों के तत्वों से बना ऐसे प्राकृतिक विटामिनों से भरपूर है जो मानव शरीर के लिए आसानी से पाचन योग्य है। रासायनिक प्रक्रिया से बनाये गये दूसरे टानिकों में यह गुण नहीं होता। इसके अलावा, बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश आपके लिए और आपके परिवार के लिए अति आवश्यक स्वास्थ्यवर्धक टानिक है क्योंकि यह है :

- विटामिन 'सि' से भरपूर
- कफ खांसी, जुकाम नाशक
- कैल्शियम एवं खून की कमी के लिये
- ताजगी और तन्दुरुस्ती के लिये
- यौवन के लिये
- आयु व बलवर्द्धक
- त्रिदोष नाशक

बैद्यनाथ ७०० से अधिक दवाएं पांच आधुनिक कारखानों में तैयार करता है

SHREE BAIDYANATH AYURVED BHAWAN LIMITED CALCUTTA

श्री बैद्यनाथ आयुर्वेद भवन लिमिटेड

कलकत्ता • पटना • झांसी • नागपुर • नैनी इलाहाबाद

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

के लिये एजेन्ट का काम कर रहे थे।

छोटा भाई केन लारकिस दिल्ली में नेहरू प्लेस स्थित 'ऊषा सर्विस कंसलटेंट्स' में ऊंची तनख्वाह पर गिरफ्तारी से कुछ हफ्ते पहले तक काम कर रहा था। अमरीकियों की पहल पर ही मेजर जनरल फ्रैंक लारकिस ने एक यूरोपीय महिला (भारतीय पत्नी के देहांत के बाद) से विवाह किया था।

हथियारों का व्यापारी जसपाल सिंह गिल ऊंची पहुंच का आदमी है। जिस 'ऊषा कंसलटेंट्स' से वह जुड़ा है, उसके अध्यक्ष हैं कुलवंत राय, जो राजनीति व व्यापार दोनों करते हैं और इंगलैंड में बसे भारतीय पूंजीपति स्वराज पाल व उनके भाई जित पाल से निकट रूप में सम्बद्ध हैं।

जसपाल सिंह गिल का काम अवकाशप्राप्त ऊंचे फौजी अधिकारियों को 'कंसलटेंट' कम्पनियों में काम दिलाना और रात्रि भोजों का आयोजन करना था। इन्हीं भोजों में कार्यक्रम निश्चित किये जाते थे और सभी की योग्यताओं का मूल्यांकन भी किया जाता था।

संसद में बहस : २० दिसम्बर, १९८३ को जब 'लारकिस कांड' के बारे में संसद में चर्चा चली, तो रक्षामंत्री वेंकटरमन व गृहमंत्री पी०सी० सेठी ने बड़े सहज भाव से उत्तर दिये मानो कुछ हुआ ही नहीं था।

जासूसों पर नजर : एयर वाइस मार्शल राघवेन्द्रन

रक्षामंत्री वेंकटरमन ने कहा कि "सुरक्षा के सभी ऐसे कदम उठाये गये हैं, जिनसे कि गुप्त सरकारी दस्तावेजों व संवेदनशील रक्षा रहस्य पूरी तरह सुरक्षित रह सकें।" गृहमंत्री पी०सी० सेठी ने भी कुछ ऐसा ही आश्वासन दिया।

मगर रक्षामंत्री वेंकटरमन का यह बयान कि हमारा "प्रति-गुप्तचरी तंत्र' बहुत ही सक्षम है बड़ा ही खोखला लगा। सी०आई०ए० की गति विधियों के बारे में मंत्रियों ने अधिकांशतः खामोशी से ही काम लिया। कहते हैं, जिन छः अमरीकी राजनयिकों व कर्मचारियों पर जासूसी के आरोप हैं (फ्रांसिस शेफर, हैरी एल० वेदरबी राजदूत बार्नेस, जेम्स एल० क्युलपेपर, डेविड बर्टन लैगहाग और हैलाक आर० लूसियस) उनमें से जो पहले जा चुके हैं (फ्रांसिस शेफर) उनको छोड़कर सिर्फ दो को ही निष्कासित किया जा सका है। लगता है, भारत सरकार कोई ठोस कार्रवाई करने में निरीह है।

दूसरी ओर 'रॉ' व 'इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो' के अधिक तर्कसंगत गठन पर भी विचार करना जरूरी है। आपातकाल व मोरारजी शासन के दौरान दोनों ही अपने असली लक्ष्यों से भटक गये हैं।

रक्षामंत्री व गृहमंत्री ने पहले आश्वासन दिया था कि अवकाशप्राप्त सैनिक अधिकारियों के पुस्तकालय या अन्य संवेदनशील स्थानों पर जाने पर रोक लगा दी जायेगी। मगर शायद ऐसा नहीं हो पायेगा, क्योंकि अवकाशप्राप्त अधिकारियों के एक प्रतिनिधिमंडल ने उनसे मुलाकात की और कहा कि कुछ लोगों की गलतियों की सजा सबको नहीं दी जा सकती है।

—राय गणेश चन्द्र

और ये हथियारों के सौदागर

प्राप्त सूचनाओं के अनुसार इस समय देश में ८५ भारतीय हैं जो विदेशी हथियार विक्रेता कंपनियों के एजेंटों का काम कर रहे हैं। इनमें से लगभग तीन-चौथाई लोग भारतीय फौजी सेवाओं या फौजी उत्पादन संस्थानों के भूतपूर्व अधिकारी हैं। इन्हीं में थे मेजर जनरल फ्रैंक लारकिस, जिन्हें अन्तरराष्ट्रीय अस्त्र-शस्त्र कम्पनी 'फेबरिक इण्टरनेशनल' ने अपना प्रतिनिधि बना रखा था और एयर वाइस मार्शल केन लारकिस जो प्रसिद्ध औद्योगिक घराने ए०पी०जे० के स्वराज पाल आदि बन्धुओं के एक नजदीकी रिश्तेदार कुलवंत राय तथा उनके पुत्रों की कम्पनी, 'ऊषा कंसलटेंट' के वरिष्ठ विक्रय अफसर थे। बताया जाता है कि जो भूतपूर्व फौजी अफसर अस्त्र-शस्त्र व्यापार में लगे हुए हैं, उनमें तीन लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल, दो भूतपूर्व नौ सेना प्रधान, कोई एक दर्जन ब्रिगेडियर और विंग कमाण्डर तथा ५० अन्य वरिष्ठ अफसर हैं।

करोड़ों के सौदे : उदाहरण के लिए, ललित मोहन थापर की कम्पनी ग्रीव्ज काटन में आधे दर्जन पेंशनयाफ्ता फौजी अफसर हैं, जिनमें ग्रूप कैप्टन नीति बुधवार भी हैं। बुधवार उनकी सबसे अधिक सफल शाखा—विमान विभाग के प्रधान हैं। यह कम्पनी भारत में २९ अन्तरराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है, जिनमें वह ब्रिस्टल कम्पनी भी थी जिसके 'आरफियस इंजिनों' को लेकर हिन्दुस्तान एयरनाटिक्स लि० नामक भारतीय सरकारी कम्पनी ने १९६५-७७ के बीच १६० मारुति विमान और १९८० में ८० अजीत विमानों का निर्माण किया था। इस फर्म ने भारतीय थल सेना को १००० टैंकों और ४००० मिसाइलों तथा राडार व्यवस्था जैसे अन्य रक्षा उपकरणों के लिए पुर्जे सप्लाई किये। १९७९ में इस फर्म ने जगुआर विमानों की खरीद में बिचौलिये का काम किया और उनके लिए एवियोनिक तथा इलेक्ट्रोनिक उपकरण खरीदने में सहायता की। बताया जाता है कि १९७० से १९८० तक इस कंपनी ने ५०० करोड़ रुपये का व्यापार किया।

जगुआर विमानों के १२०० करोड़ रुपये के सौदे में इण्डियन एविट्रोनिक्स नामक कम्पनी का हाथ भी बताया जाता है, जिसके प्रधान हैं ब्रज मोहन गुप्ता। इस कम्पनी में तीन उच्च फौजी अफसर (अवकाशप्राप्त) हैं और उसका दावा है कि उसने वायुसेना और भारतीय विमान सेवाओं को लगभग २०० इंजिन सप्लाई किये हैं। यह कम्पनी १०४ चीजें सप्लाई कर सकती है। कम्पनी का कहना है कि वह अपने १२ वर्षों के कार्यकाल में ३०० करोड़ रुपये का व्यापार कर चुकी है।

एक और गुप्ता, विश्वबंधु गुप्ता, जो दिल्ली के एक अखबार के मालिक और दिल्ली प्रदेश कांग्रेस-इ के प्रधान हैं, बन्धु एयरोस्पेस के मालिक हैं। यह कम्पनी अमरीकी एयरोस्पेस जनरल की एजेंसी लिये हुए है और हर प्रकार के विमानों का साज सामान और उपकरण सप्लाई कर सकती है। गुप्ता बन्धुओं के उच्च सरकारी अफसरों से और शासक पार्टी के उच्चतम स्तर पर सम्पर्कों के कारण अन्य अन्तरराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियां भी इसे तरजीह देने के लिए तैयार रहती हैं।

एक बड़े पूंजीपति घराने जाजोदिया की रोबर्ट कम्पनी इतालवी और पश्चिम जर्मन फर्मों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। यह कम्पनी नौ सेना के लिए उपकरण तथा हथियार सप्लाई करने में विशेषज्ञ समझी जाती है। पिछले दिनों इसी कम्पनी के माध्यम से पश्चिम जर्मनी की पनडुब्बियां खरीदने की बातचीत चल रही थी। यह सौदा लगभग पक्का हो गया है।

मशीन गनों, राइफलों, गोला-बारूद और टैंकों के साज-सामान तथा उपकरणों के लिए मेसर्स शमशेर सिंह की प्रेसको कम्पनी १९७५ से सक्रिय है। बताया जाता है कि यह कम्पनी २५ करोड़ रुपये के सौदे पटा चुकी है।

सरकारी सूत्रों का अनुमान है कि १९६२ के बाद गत दो दशकों में विभिन्न एजेंसियों के जरिये ४००० करोड़ रुपये के सौदे हो चुके हैं। इन पर भारतीय एजेंटों को २.५ से लेकर ५ प्रतिशत

[फरवरी, '८

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

चिरंजीव टॉवर : यहीं ऊषा कंसलटेंट का कार्यालय है

का कमीशन हासिल होता है। कमीशन की मात्रा इस बात पर निर्भर करती है कि राजनेताओं और अफसरों को प्रभावित करने के लिए किसकी मुट्ठी कितनी गरम करनी पड़ती है। अगर इस मद में दो-ढाई प्रतिशत चला जाता है, तो एजेंट का कमीशन दो-ढाई प्रतिशत ही रह जाता है।

भूतपूर्व फौजी अफसर के लाभ : विदेशी कम्पनियों को भारतीय एजेंटों के माध्यम से काम करने के कई फायदे हैं। एक तो भारतीय रक्षा तथा मंत्रिमंडलीय स्तर पर फैसले होने में काफी देर लगती है, उस सूरत में अगर विदेशी प्रतिनिधि भारत में रहे तो उन पर बहुत अधिक खर्चा करना पड़ सकता है। दूसरे, भारतीय प्रतिनिधि के अपने राजनीतिक सम्पर्क होते हैं, और वह जानता है कि किस समय किसे और कहां प्रभावित किया जा सकता है। इसी तरह भारतीय प्रतिनिधि यह भी जानता है कि फौजी अधिकारियों में किसकी उंगली पकड़ कर पहुंचा पकड़ा जा सकता है और समय-समय पर विभिन्न कमेटियों में किस अधिकारी की चल रही होती है।

मसलन, जगुआर सौदे की बातचीत के दौरान ब्रिटिश एयरोस्पेस ने नयी दिल्ली में अपना बड़ा शानदार दफ्तर कायम किया, किन्तु अन्ततः उसको यही किफायती दिखायी दिया कि तीन पेंशनयाफ्ता एयर वाइस मार्शल अफसरों को नौकर रख लिया जाये। रक्षा मंत्रालय के एक उच्च अफसर ने बताया, "अगर किसी अफसर ने वर्षों तक हमारे साथ काम किया है, तो इसमें शक नहीं कि हम उससे किसी भी समय मिलने के लिए तैयार हो जाते हैं। इस तरह उसको एक ऐसी सुविधा हासिल हो जाती है जो किसी गैरफौजी व्यक्ति को आसानी से नहीं मिल सकती।" पेंशनयाफ्ता गैरफौजी अफसरों को अन्य प्राइवेट कम्पनियां नौकर रख लेती हैं, क्योंकि वे अपने भूतपूर्व सहयोगी या मातहत अफसरों से जल्दी सम्पर्क स्थापित करने तथा साफ-साफ बात कर सौदा पटाने में बड़े सफल होते हैं।

फौजी अफसरों को अब तक रिटायर होने के बाद भी अपना आइडेंटिटी कार्ड अपने पास रखने का अधिकार है, जिसके कारण उन्हें रक्षा मंत्रालय के किसी भी विभाग में आने-जाने की स्थायी सुविधा बनी रहती है। यह सुविधा अन्य गैरफौजी अफसर आसानी से नहीं प्राप्त कर पाते।

इन फौजी अफसरों को कम्पनियां उच्च वेतन के अलावा तमाम प्रकार की सुविधाएं देती हैं। मसलन, वे गोल्फ क्लब, जीमखाना क्लब, जैसे संगठनों की सदस्यता और वहां खान-पान और पार्टियों का खर्च देती हैं। इन क्लबों में उच्च अफसर आते हैं, इसलिए वे उसमें सम्पर्क करने, गपशप के दौरान अनेक जानकारियां हासिल करने तथा सौदे तक पटा लेने के स्थल बन गये हैं।

गुप्तचरी इस कारोबार का एक हिस्सा है। यों तो खुद अन्तरराष्ट्रीय हथियार कम्पनियां यह जानकारी पहले से हासिल करने की कोशिश करती हैं कि उनके सम्भावित ग्राहक देश में कब और किस तरह के हथियारों की आवश्यकता होगी, किन्तु यह जानकारी उनके देशों के जासूसी विभागों के लिए भी आवश्यक होती है जो यह जानना चाहते हैं कि उस देश विशेष के पास किस सूत्र से कितनी क्षमतावाले हथियार हैं और उसके शत्रु देश में क्या स्थिति है।

इस तरह की सूचना पड़ोसी शत्रु देश को देकर वहां भी अपने हथियार बेचने का बाजार गरम किया जा सकता है।

कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि इस मामले में अमरीका, चीन और पाकिस्तान जासूसी संगठन एक-दूसरे का हाथ बंटा रहे हैं। कुछ वर्ष पहले जब दिल्ली के राजनयिक जासूसी के केन्द्र वसंत विहार में एक वकील पकड़ा गया था, तो उसके पास पाकिस्तान के साथ ही अमरीका तथा चीन के लिए भी जासूसी करने के सूत्र बरामद हुए थे।

ये जासूसी केन्द्र भारतीय अस्त्र-शस्त्र एजेंटों के पास दुहरे साधन हो जाते हैं, जिनके जरिये वे भारतीय रक्षा मंत्रालय की अत्यन्त गुप्त तहों तक घुसपैठ करने की कोशिश करते हैं।

शस्त्रों का साम्राज्य : इस घुसपैठ के पीछे अमरीकी शासकों की यह समझ है कि हथियारों को हासिल करने वाले देश में उसका राजनीतिक प्रभाव बढ़ता है और वह उसको पड़ोसियों से लड़ाकर उसके शासकों को अपनी मुट्ठी में रख सकता है। इसके विपरीत अगर वह इन देशों को आर्थिक-तकनीकी-औद्योगिक सहायता देगा, तो वे देश स्वयं अमरीकी उद्योग-धंधों से होड़ करने लगेंगे और अन्तरराष्ट्रीय खपत में उसका हिस्सा कम हो जायेगा। इसके जवाब में सोवियत संघ ने अन्तरराष्ट्रीय हथियार-बाजार में प्रवेश किया। किन्तु उसका प्रयत्न यह रहा है कि वह हथियार बेचने के बजाय उन देशों को किसी प्रकार अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने में मदद करे, ताकि वे साम्राज्यवादी दबाव का मुकाबला कर सकें। परिणामस्वरूप रूस द्वारा वे देश अमरीका-प्रतिकार की एक कड़ी बन सकें।

इस नीति के शिकार हैं नव-स्वतंत्र, विकासशील देश, जिन्हें अपने सीमित साधनों को आर्थिक विकास के बजाय हथियारों की खरीद की मद में खर्च करने के लिए मजबूर कर पिछड़ा बनाये रखने का

मिग दुर्घटनाओं में सी०आई०ए० का हाथ था ?

ला फोंटेन समिति ने यद्यपि विमानों की दुर्घटनाओं की विस्तृत जांच की है, मगर उसका विवरण अभी तक गोपनीय बना हुआ है। लेकिन यह सच है कि इन दुर्घटनाओं में 'मिग' दुर्घटनाएं अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं। इधर यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा रहा है कि मिग दुर्घटनाओं में सी०आई०ए० का हाथ हो सकता है। अनुमान लगाया गया है कि लारकिंस बन्धुओं की गिरफ्तारी के बाद यह पता चला है कि इस गिरोह ने भारत में मिग विमानों की राडार व्यवस्था की फ्रीक्वेंसी आदि की सूचनाएं अमरीकी जासूसी एजेंसी सी०आई०ए० तक पहुंचा दी थीं। इन सूचनाओं के बल पर अमरीकी और पाकिस्तानी टोही विमान मिग विमानों की इलेक्ट्रोनिक राडार फ्रीक्वेंसी को जाम कर देते थे, जिससे विमान दुर्घटनाग्रस्त हो जाते थे।

मिग दुर्घटनाओं के बाद ला फोंटेन जांच समिति बनायी गयी थी जो इस नतीजे पर पहुंची थी कि फ्रीक्वेंसी जाम की जा रही थी। उस रिपोर्ट के बाद सुरक्षा के कुछ कदम उठाये गये और मिग बचा लिये गये। खयाल किया जाता है कि लारकिंस बन्धुओं के बयानों से यह पता चल रहा है कि उन्होंने भारतीय वायुसेना के बारे में और क्या सूचनाएं दी हैं। इससे सुरक्षा के उपाय और सुदृढ़ किये जा सकेंगे।

सी०आई०ए० की इस कार्रवाई का मुख्य उद्देश्य यह बताया जाता है कि इस तरह अमरीकी शासक सोवियत विमानों की साख मिटाना चाह रहे थे, ताकि अन्ततः भारत में अमरीकी या अन्य पश्चिमी देशों के विमान खरीदे जायें। अगर ऐसा होता, तो हथियारों के मामले में भारत पश्चिम का मोहताज और अन्ततः उनके हाथ में कठपुतली बन जाता।

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प्रयत्न चल रहा है। अमरीकी हथियार कम्पनियों के लिये यह बड़े मुनाफे की चीज है। इसके लिए शोर किया जाता है कि सोवियत संघ हथियार बेचकर अमरीका के लिए 'खतरा' पैदा कर रहा है, इसलिये अमरीका को हथियारों की बिक्री तेज करनी चाहिए। १९८२ में अमरीका ने १५३० करोड़ डालर के हथियार बेचे, तो सोवियत संघ ने १०२० करोड़ डालर के।

किन्तु, जैसा कि अमरीकी संसदीय शोध केन्द्र की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है, कि अमरीका, ब्रिटेन, फ्रांस, इटली तथा अन्य पश्चिमी देशों ने (जहां अमरीकी हथियार निर्माण कम्पनियों की भी साझेदारी है) १९८२ में २९२० करोड़ डालर के हथियार सप्लाई किये, वहां सोवियत संघ तथा अन्य समाजवादी देशों ने कुल मिलाकर १३९० करोड़ डालर के हथियार भेजे। इसका अर्थ है कि तीसरी दुनिया (विकासशील) में अमरीकी गुट के हथियारों की बिक्री सोवियत खेमे की तुलना में कम-से-कम दो गुनी है।

इतने पर भी अमरीकी राष्ट्रपति रेगन ने पिछले राष्ट्रपति कार्टर के मई १९७७ के अस्त्र सप्लाई निर्देश में और संशोधन किया है और विदेशों को हथियारों की सप्लाई की हदबंदी समाप्त कर दी है। उन्होंने हिदायत दी है कि निर्यात के लिए हथियारों का उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाये। उन्होंने १९८३ में संसद से २५३० करोड़ डालर के शस्त्र-निर्यात की स्वीकृति ली, जिसमें सऊदी अरब को अवाक्स विमान तथा नौ सेना और थल सेना के अत्यन्त उन्नत उपकरण, और पाकिस्तान को ४० एफ-१६ लड़ाकू विमान, १७९ हाविट्जर, १०० एम-४९ टैंक और १० ए०एच०-१५ हैलीकाप्टर शामिल हैं, जिनकी कुल कीमत १५३० करोड़ डालर बैठती है। इसी में रेगन के दक्षिण कोरिया, जापान, आस्ट्रेलिया संयुक्त अरब अमीरात, स्पेन, बेनेज्युएला, नारवे और आस्ट्रिया को हथियारों की बिक्री के प्रस्ताव भी शामिल हैं।

इसके लिए अमरीका फौजी मदद देने के लिए भी तैयार रहता है। विदेशों को फौजी मदद का बजट १९८१ तक ११० करोड़ डालर था, मगर १९८२ में राष्ट्रपति रेगन ने उसको ४७० करोड़ डालर तक बढ़वा लिया। १९८३ में इस मद में ४४ प्रतिशत और वृद्धि हुई, जबकि विदेशों को आर्थिक सहायता की मद में मात्र ८ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि की गयी।

इसके अतिरिक्त रेगन ने १९८३ में अपने समर्थक अनेक देशों के फौजी कर्जों में भी माफी दी। मसलन, इसरायल का ५० करोड़ डालर, मिस्र का ४० करोड़ डालर, और सूडान का ३५ करोड़ डालर कर्जा माफ कर दिया। पर्यवेक्षकों का कहना है कि प्राइवेट अमरीकी कम्पनियां हथियारों की बिक्री पर भारी मुनाफा कमाती हैं।

अमरीकी फौजी हथियार व्यवसाय पिछले एक दशक में दस गुना बढ़ गया है। इस व्यवसाय को बढ़ाने के लिए अमरीकी शासकों ने राष्ट्रों की प्रभुसत्ता और स्वतंत्रता तथा आम जनता के मानव-अधिकारों को ताक पर रख दिया है। स्टाकहोम में स्थापित अन्तरराष्ट्रीय शांति शोध संस्थान ने (जो अंग्रेजी में अपने संक्षिप्त नाम 'सिपटी' के नाम से मशहूर है) नोट किया है कि राष्ट्रपति रेगन का प्रशासन १९८३ में एल सल्वाडोर, ग्वाटेमाला और होंडूरास जैसे देशों में घोर दमनकारी प्रशासन की सहायता कर रहा है। 'सिपटी' पाकिस्तान की चर्चा करना कैसे भूल गया, यह आश्चर्य है।

भारत में स्थिति थोड़ी जटिल है। अपनी गुटनिरपेक्षता की नीति के अनुसार वह किसी एक खेमे से बंधे नहीं रहना चाहता। मगर साथ ही, यह भी सच है कि भारत को सोवियत संघ ने न सिर्फ हथियार दिये हैं, बल्कि उनमें से कुछ, मसलन मिग जैसे आधुनिकतम विमानों, का उत्पादन स्वयं भारत में किये जाने के लिए तकनीकी सहायता भी दी है। अतः भारत एक ऐसा केन्द्र बन गया है जहां महाशक्तियां प्रतिपक्षी महाशक्ति द्वारा भारत को दिये गये हथियारों के तकनीकी स्तर और गोपनीय उपकरणों की जानकारी हासिल कर एक दूसरे की शक्ति का मूल्यांकन करते हैं। इसलिए जासूसी के व्यापारिक महत्व के अलावा उसका शीतयुद्धीय महत्व भी है।

सरकारी सावधानियां : ऐसी स्थिति में हथियार-विक्रेता एजेंटों से सावधान रहने और उनकी जासूसी की रोकथाम के लिए उचित कदम उठाने के प्रश्न पर बार-बार विचार किया जाता रहा है। दिसम्बर १९७६ में इस प्रश्न पर सिफारिश करने के लिए एक पांच सदस्यीय समिति बनी थी, जिसमें वित्त-विभाग के संयुक्त सचिव जी०सी० कटोच, रक्षा विभाग के संयुक्त सचिव विनय व्यास, न्याय विभाग के संयुक्त सचिव पी०बी० मेनन और विदेश विभाग के सह-सचिव के०सी० सोंधी थे।

इस कमेटी ने सिफारिश की कि ऐसे अवकाशप्राप्त फौजी अफसरों से आइडेंटिटी कार्ड वापस ले लिये जाये, जो किसी अस्त्र-शस्त्र कम्पनी में नौकरी करलें। जब किसी विदेशी कम्पनी से हथियारों का सौदा हो रहा हो, तो इसमें भारतीय एजेंटों को बीच में न डाला जाये, और जिन भारतीय एजेंटों को कम्पनी से पुराने सम्बन्ध होने के कारण हटाया न जा सके, उनके लिए कमीशन निश्चित किया जाये और भारतीय रुपयों में अदा किया जाये। एक लाख रु० तक के सौदे पर ३ प्रतिशत, १० लाख रु० तक १० प्रतिशत, १० से २५ लाख रु० तक ३ प्रतिशत, २५ लाख रु० तक २ प्रतिशत।

किन्तु जब १९८० में श्रीमती गांधी सत्ता में वापस लौटीं, तो नये रक्षामंत्री श्री पी०एन० सिंह ने उपरोक्त सिफारिशों पर एक हद तक अमल करने की कोशिश की। उनके हुकुम के बावजूद एक विदेशी कम्पनी के प्रतिनिधि के रक्षा मंत्रालय में प्रवेश की पाबंदी हटा ली गयी। उनकी हिदायतों के बावजूद मार्कोनी कम्पनी के भारतीय एजेंट को ५ प्रतिशत कमीशन देने की फाइल भी उनके सामने आयी। और कहा जाता है कि शस्त्र कम्पनियों की बातचीत से, अन्ततः सी०पी०एन० सिंह का मंत्रीपद चला गया।

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय शस्त्र कम्पनियों और उनके भारतीय एजेंटों के हाथ बहुत लम्बे हैं और अब वे भारत सरकार के सभी नियमों का सफलता उल्लंघन करते आये हैं।

—राजीव सक्सेना

[फरवरी

कढ़ाई व क्रोशिया विशेषांक

१५ फरवरी अंक

मनोरमा

कढ़ाई–क्रोशिया की डिजाइनें

विशेषज्ञों द्वारा विशेष रूप से तैयार कराए गये कढ़ाई–क्रोशिया के नूतन आकर्षक नमूने।

अन्य विशेष आकर्षण :

गर्भपात व उसके बाद गर्भपात के सम्बन्ध में वैज्ञानिक और आशावादी दृष्टिकोण की प्रेरणा देने वाला लेख

कुछ ऐसे प्रश्नों के उत्तर जिन्हें आप डॉक्टर से पूछना नहीं चाहतीं नारी जीवन की कुछ ऐसी समस्याएं, जिन्हें अनेक कुमारी लड़कियां व महिलाएं डॉक्टर को बताने में शर्म का अनुभव करती हैं।

दक्षिण भारतीय व्यंजन दक्षिण भारत के व्यंजन उत्तर भारत में भी लोकप्रिय हैं। इस रचना में कुछ एकदम नये व स्वादिष्ट दक्षिण भारतीय व्यंजन बनाने की आसान विधियां दी गई हैं।

और ढेरों पठनीय सामग्री तथा सभी स्थायी स्तंभ

अखबार विक्रेता को शीघ्र आर्डर दीजिये ५ फरवरी तक प्रकाश्य

मूल्य ४·००

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वाह! अमजद का है कुछ अंदाज़े बयाँ और...
मन झूमे और तन भी झूमे दिल होवे बेकाबू
और उसके साथ?

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हरदम साथ, मनपसन्द स्वाद

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वैधानिक चेतावनी: सिगरेट पीना स्वास्थ्य के लिए हानिकारक है

STATUTORY WARNING: CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH

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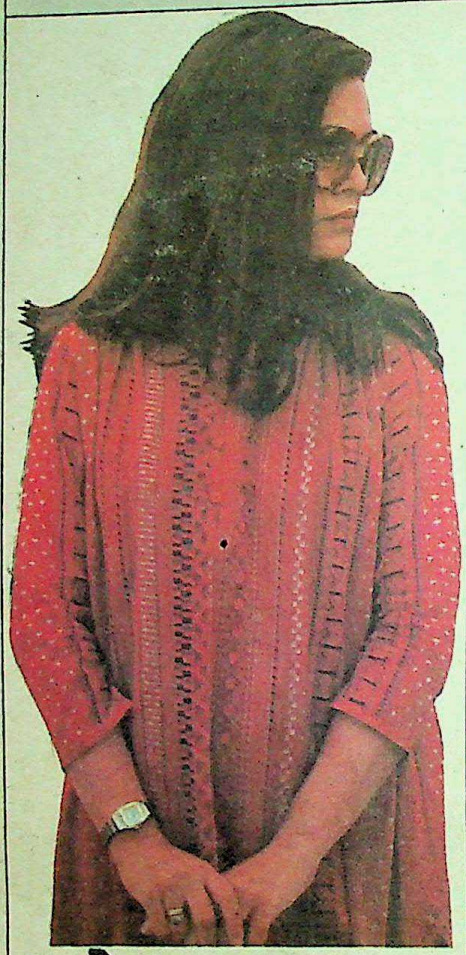

सोनिया : एक बहू और !

"सोनिया के नाम को किसी-न-किसी विवाद से जोड़ने की कोशिश की जाती रही है, मगर हर बार वह बड़ी खूबसूरती से उसमें से बाहर निकल आती रही हैं," यह कथन है एक राजनीतिक पर्यवेक्षक का जो दिल्ली दरबार और उससे जुड़े प्रसंगों पर गहरी नजर रखता आ रहा है।

बात सही भी है। जब से सोनिया का विवाह राजीव से हुआ, उनकी छवि को किसी-न-किसी रूप में अतिरंजित करने की चेष्टा होती रही है। मगर सोनिया सार्वजनिक व्यक्तित्व होकर भी सार्वजनिक छवि बनने से कतराती रहीं।

राजीव जब तक पायलट थे, तो सोनिया थीं मात्र एक पायलट की पत्नी, यों उनका नाम प्रसंगवश यदा-कदा उभरता रहा। मगर सार्वजनिक विवाद का केन्द्र बनी 'थाल वैशेत' और फिर अपनी इतालवी नागरिकता के कारण।

इतालवी नागरिकता : सोनिया के इतालवी सम्बन्धों, विशेषकर उनकी इतालवी नागरिकता पर पिछले कुछ वर्षों से काफी ले-दे होती रही है। सितम्बर, १९८२ में दिल्ली के विनोद कुमार त्रिपाठी नामक एक व्यक्ति ने दिल्ली उच्च-न्यायालय में यह याचिका दायर की कि प्रधानमंत्री निवास में विदेशी (सोनिया गांधी) के रहने से भारत की सुरक्षा को खतरा पैदा हो गया है। उच्च न्यायालय ने दावा ठुकरा दिया। लेकिन जनता के मन में शंकाएं तो पैदा होती ही रहीं।

अक्तूबर में फिर विवाद उठ खड़ा हुआ कि सोनिया गांधी का नाम दिल्ली की मतदाता-सूची

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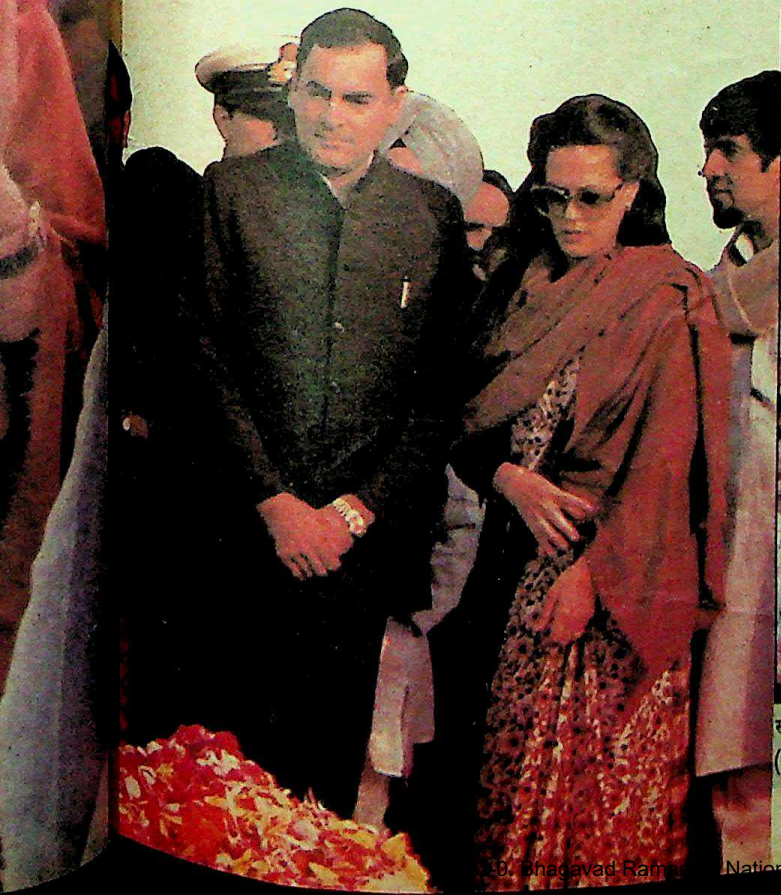
Funding: Tattva Heritage

प्रधानमंत्री की बहू : सोन्या, श्रीमती गांधी और राजीव

मैं अब विदेशी नहीं, भारतीय हूं: सोनिया

में कैसे शामिल हो गया, जबकि वह भारतीय नागरिक नहीं हैं? इस समय भेद खुला कि वास्तव में सोनिया का नाम १९७६ में ही १, सफदरजंग रोड (प्रधानमंत्री निवास) के मतदाताओं की सूची में शामिल कर लिया गया था। १९७९ में, यानी जनता पार्टी के शासन में नाम कट गया, क्योंकि सोनिया अपनी सास श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, आदि के साथ १२, विलिंगडन क्रीसेंट के बंगले में रहने लगी थीं। १९८० में मतदाता-सूची में फिर संशोधन हुए। इस समय तक श्रीमती गांधी प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में १, सफदरजंग रोड में फिर वापस आ गयी थीं। इस क्षेत्र के मतगणना अधिकारी ने मतदाता-सूची में सोनिया का नाम शामिल कर लिया। इस सम्बन्ध में जब एक अधिकारी से पूछा गया कि यह कैसे सम्भव हुआ, तो उसका सहज उत्तर था—"हमारे किसी कर्मचारी की क्या हिम्मत कि प्रधानमंत्री निवास में उसको जिन मतदाताओं के नाम बताये जायें, उनके नाम छोड़ दे?"

अंततः, १४ अक्तूबर, १९८२ को दिल्ली के डिप्टी कमिश्नर ने एक विज्ञप्ति में बताया कि सोनिया का नाम मतदाता-सूची से काट दिया



समारोहों में सक्रियता : 'एशियाड' में सोनिया और राजीव। पीछे डा० बच्चन, तेजी और अमिताभ (बायें) 'भावी प्रधानमंत्री' की पत्नी की भूमिका : शांतिवन में राजीव, सोनिया

CC-0. Bhagavad Ram[illegible] National P[illegible]

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

गया है। साथ ही यह भी दावा किया गया कि इस गलती की ओर स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री निवास ने ध्यान दिलाया था। मगर अन्य सूत्रों का कहना है कि अखबारों में जब इस मामले ने तूल पकड़ा, तो अधिकारियों का ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ और तब शायद प्रधानमंत्री निवास से इशारा मिला कि नाम काट दिया जाये।

इस घटना से यह नतीजा निकालना गलत नहीं था कि इस समय तक श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी अपनी जन्मभूमि इटली की नागरिकता बनाये रखने के लिए मोह पाले हुए थीं।

इतालवी नागरिकता बनाये रखने के लिए सोनिया ने इसके पहले कई 'त्याग' किये। मसलन, संजय गांधी ने 'मारुति टेक्नीकल सर्विसेज़' नाम से एक कम्पनी बनायी और १९७३ में सोनिया को उसका मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर बना दिया। १९७५ में 'फेरा' (विदेशी मुद्रा विनिमय नियामक कानून) कानून लागू किया गया, जिससे इस देश में कम्पनियों पर विदेशियों के नियंत्रण पर कुछ पाबंदियां लगायी गयीं। इसके बारे में मारुति जांच आयोग की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया था :

"सोनिया गांधी को २५ जनवरी, १९७३ को साझीदारों की बैठक में 'मारुति टेक्नीकल सर्विसेज़ प्राइवेट लिमिटेड' का मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर नियुक्त कर दिया गया। उस समय कम्पनी के दो डायरेक्टर—संजय गांधी और सोनिया गांधी—ही केवल साझीदार थे। २६ फरवरी, १९७३ को बाज़ाब्ता एक दस्तावेज़ तैयार किया गया, जिससे सोनिया को २५ जनवरी, १९७३ से पांच वर्ष के लिए डायरेक्टर बनाया गया। उन्हें उतना ही समय देना था, जितना कि समय-समय पर उनसे 'आवश्यक होगा।' ...उनका वेतन था २,५०० रुपये प्रतिमाह और कम्पनी के मुनाफों का एक प्रतिशत मिलना था, जिसकी सीमा वेतन तथा अन्य भत्तों समेत कुल आय का पांच प्रतिशत रखी गयी।"

काफी लम्बी-चौड़ी तनख्वाह थी और वक्त की कोई पाबंदी नहीं थी। फिर भी सोनिया ने उससे इस्तीफा दे दिया, क्योंकि 'फेरा' कानून के तहत कोई विदेशी किसी भारतीय कम्पनी में न साझीदार हो सकता था और न किसी पद पर बने रह सकता था। सोनिया गांधी ने इन सुविधाओं को त्याग कर अपनी इतालवी नागरिकता बनाये रखना पसंद किया। तनख्वाह छोड़ी और शेयर भी छोड़े।

इससे पहले राज्य सभा में सोनिया गांधी के जीवन बीमा निगम की एजेंसी लेने की खासी चर्चा हो चुकी थी। राजीव गांधी उन दिनों इंडियन एयर लाइंस में पायलट थे। विरोधी पक्ष का आरोप था कि एक सरकारी मुलाज़िम की पत्नी मुनाफा कमाने वाली एजेंसी कैसे ले सकती है? मामले ने जब आगे तूल पकड़ा, तो सोनिया गांधी ने

सोनिया गांधी : कल और आज

सोनिया गांधी का जन्म ९ दिसम्बर, १९४६ को इटली में हुआ था। उसके पिता स्तियानो इटली के डिक्टेटर मुसोलिनी के समर्थक थे। दूसरे विश्व युद्ध में फासिस्टों की हार के बाद इटली की सरकार ने प्रमुख फासिस्टों की जायदाद जब्त कर ली। पिता पर निर्धनता का पहाड़ टूट पड़ा। वह इमारती ठेकेदार के रूप में ट्यूरिन नगर में जा बसे। युद्ध से क्षत-विक्षत देश में इमारती काम बहुत था और वह शीघ्र ही फिर अमीर बन गये। आज वह अनेक पांच सितारों वाले (फाइव स्टार) होटलों के मालिक बताये जाते हैं और अनेक उद्योगों में साझीदार भी।

सोनिया और राजीव गांधी की पहली भेंट इंग्लैंड में शिक्षा के सुप्रसिद्ध केन्द्र कैम्ब्रिज में हुई। सोनिया वहां अंग्रेजी भाषा का अध्ययन कर रही थीं (वह फ्रेंच और स्पेनी भाषा पहले से ही जानती थीं)। और तब शायद वह अपने पिता के होटल व्यवसाय में पर्यटकों के लिए दुभाषिये का काम करने के लिए अपने को तैयार कर रही थीं। राजीव से भेंट के बाद बिलकुल उनकी नियति ही बदल जायेगी, इसका शायद उनको आभास भी न था। राजीव स्वयं पायलट बनने की तैयारी कर रहे थे।

इस प्रेम-कथा की सूचना श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को शायद संजय ने दी। पहले तो उन्हें बड़ा 'शॉक' लगा, मगर उन्होंने राजीव को थोड़े समय तक इंतजार करने को कहा। शायद वह उन दोनों के प्रेम की परीक्षा लेना चाहती थीं। उन्होंने दोनों से तीन वर्षों तक प्रतीक्षा करायी और जब दोनों अडिग रहे, तो १९६८ में विवाह की अनुमति दे दी।

श्रीमती विजय लक्ष्मी पण्डित ने अपने संस्मरणों में बताया है कि एक दिन श्रीमती गांधी ने उनसे फोन पर कहा कि "मैं आपको हल्का-सा 'शॉक' देना चाहती हूं, क्या आप तैयार हैं?" श्रीमती पण्डित ने कहा, "अब तक तो हम 'शॉक' सहते-सहते उनको महसूस करना भूल गये हैं। हां, कहों।" श्रीमती गांधी हंसीं और बोलीं, "तो सुनो, राजीव एक इतालवी लड़की से प्रेम-बंधन में बंध गया है।" श्रीमती पण्डित ने कहा, "इससे क्या 'शॉक' लगेगा। मेरा खयाल है कि अब तो इस खबर से हमारी सुन्दर लड़कियों को भी कोई 'शॉक' नहीं लगेगा।"

अप्रतिम सौन्दर्य : सोनिया

बताया जाता है कि उस समय श्रीमती गांधी लंदन गयीं, तो अपनी भावी बहू से मिलीं और पहली ही भेंट में वह बहुत प्रभावित हुईं।

सोनिया के कोई भाई है या नहीं, इसकी जानकारी नहीं। दो बहनें अवश्य हैं। एक बहन अनुश्का इटली के एक व्यापारी वाल्टर विसी की पत्नी हैं। विसी अकसर अपनी व्यापारिक यात्राओं पर भारत आते रहते हैं।

दूसरी बहन नादिया ने स्पेन के एक राजनयिक जोसे वाल्डेमोरो से विवाह किया। राजीव गांधी के राजनीति में प्रवेश के बाद स्पेन सरकार ने वाल्डेमोरो को अपने दिल्ली राजदूतावास में नियुक्त कर दिया। वाल्डेमोरो काफी जूनियर राजनयिक हैं, मगर श्रीमती गांधी के परिवार से सम्बन्ध होने के कारण उनका काफी महत्व हो गया है। दिल्ली में आम अफवाह है कि स्वामी धीरेन्द्र ब्रह्मचारी की शिव गन फैक्टरी में जो स्पेनिश बन्दूकें बरामद हुई हैं, उनकी 'टिप' नादिया के पति जोसे ने राजीव गांधी को दी थी।

सोनिया का पुत्र राहुल देहरादून के 'दून' स्कूल में पढ़ रहा है। कहते हैं, जिस दिन उसको वहां दाखिल किया गया, उसी दिन वहां तीन नये कर्मचारी (एक रसोइया, एक संतरी और एक चपरासी) भरती किये गये। वहां के अध्यापकों का खयाल है कि वे 'रॉ' के लोग हैं और प्रधानमंत्री के पौत्र राहुल की देखभाल के लिए तैनात किये गये हैं। उन्हीं दिनों देहरादून को 'वायुदूत' सेवा द्वारा दिल्ली से जोड़ दिया गया।

राजीव गांधी की तरह सोनिया के अपने सलाहकार हैं। उनमें अरुण सिंह और वी०एस० त्रिपाठी की पत्नियां प्रमुख हैं। हाल के दिनों में श्रीमती गांधी की ममेरी बहन शीला कौल की पुत्री दीपा ने भी इस कोटर में प्रवेश पा लिया है। दूसरी तरफ तीन सामन्ती राजनीतिज्ञ शिवेन्द्र बहादुर सिंह, अमरेन्द्र सिंह और नटेन्द्र सिंह भाटी भी निकट बताये जाते हैं। जयपुर घराने के 'बल्स' (महारानी गायत्री देवी के पुत्र) भी इस दरबार में जगह पाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इन दरबारी राजनेताओं से सोनिया कितनी दूरी रख पाती हैं, यह भविष्य ही बतायेगा।

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

जीवन बीमा निगम की एजेंसी का भी त्याग कर दिया।

थाल वैशेत के सौदे पर : श्रीमती गांधी के १९८० में सत्तारूढ़ होने के बाद थाल वैशेत उर्वरक कारखानों के ठेके का मामला उभर कर सामने आया। 'माया' (जून, १९८१) ने इस मामले की विस्तार से छानबीन की थी कि किस प्रकार से अमरीकी कम्पनी से छीन कर यह ठेका एक डेनिश फर्म (हॉल्डोर टोपसो) को दे दिया गया, जिसको विशेषज्ञों की समितियों ने किसी भी स्तर पर योग्य नहीं समझा था। इस कथित सौदे के सम्बन्ध में ऐसे आरोप थे कि 'हॉल्डोर टोपसो' नामक फर्म केवल नाम की ही डेनिश है, वस्तुतः उसके अधिकांश शेयर इटली की फर्म 'सनम प्रोगेत्ती' के हाथ में हैं, जिसके दिल्ली स्थित प्रतिनिधि कुओत्रोची के सोनिया गांधी के माता-पिता से इतने अच्छे सम्बन्ध हैं कि जब वह भारत आते हैं, तो इसी प्रतिनिधि के मेहमान होते हैं।

यहां स्मरणीय है कि 'सनम प्रोगेत्ती' की साख कोई बहुत अच्छी नहीं थी। वित्त विधेयक पर भाषण देते हुए सांसद स्व० ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने कहा था—"आपको बरौनी पाइप लाइन घोटाले में नाम कमाने वाले श्री कुओत्रोची का नाम तो पता ही होगा। वह एक वी०आई०पी० इतालवी महिला (संकेत सोनिया गांधी की ओर था) के घनिष्ठ मित्र हैं। मैं कोई और विस्तार में नही जाना चाहता। यह स्वाभाविक ही था कि सेठी साहब (तत्कालीन पेट्रोलियम मंत्री प्रकाश चंद्र सेठी) ने 'सनम प्रोगेत्ती' के हक में फैसला किया।"

सांसद के०पी० उन्नीकृष्णन ने 'थाल वैशेत' सौदे का पर्दाफाश करते हुए शाह कमीशन का उद्धरण देकर बताया कि 'सनम प्रोगेत्ती' इतनी महत्वपूर्ण कम्पनी है कि सेठी साहब ने इमरजेंसी के दौरान गुजरात नर्मदा फर्टिलाइजर के अध्यक्ष को धमकी दी कि अगर उन्होंने निर्माण-कार्य का प्रारंभिक पत्र जापान की तोयो कम्पनी से वापस लेकर 'सनम प्रोगेत्ती' को नहीं दिया, तो उन्हें मीसा के अन्दर जेल में बंद कर दिया जाएगा। उन्होंने बताया कि यह कम्पनी सात यूरिया कारखानों के निर्माण का ठेका प्राप्त कर चुकी है।

तब से अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी इटली की कम्पनियां प्रवेश कर चुकी हैं। इन सबको देखते हुए राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जाता रहा है कि सोनिया गांधी की इन व्यापारिक सौदों में कोई भूमिका अवश्य है।

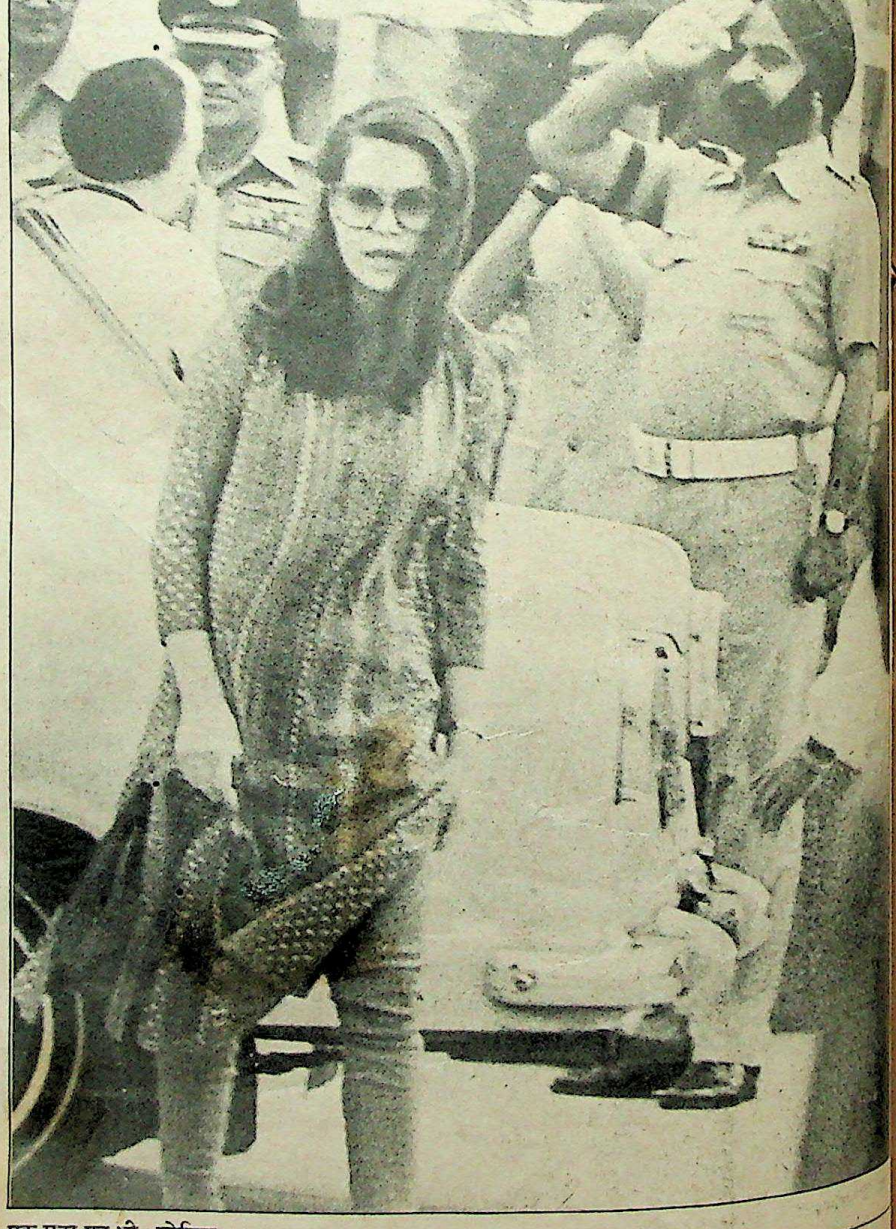
श्रीमती गांधी के विरोधियों को इन व्यापारिक गतिविधियों में सोनिया का समस्त परिवार उलझा हुआ दिखायी देता है। इन लोगों का कहना है कि सोनिया के पिता मियानो की तेल-पेट्रोल उद्योग में एकाएक दिलचस्पी पैदा हो गयी है और जब वह १९८२ में भारत आये, तो उन्हें पर्यटक की हैसियत से 'बम्बई हाई' के वैमानिक निरीक्षण की छूट दी गयी।

राजनीतिक विवाद : जब तक सिर्फ किन्हीं इतालवी व्यापारिक हितों का सवाल था, तब तक सोनिया की इतालवी नागरिकता के आड़े आने का कोई प्रश्न नहीं था। मगर राजीव गांधी के राजनीति में कूद पड़ने के बाद इस स्थिति को सुलझाना आवश्यक हो गया। अब यह कल्पना करना मुश्किल था कि भारत के 'भावी प्रधानमंत्री' की पत्नी विदेशी नागरिक हो। इससे राजीव गांधी की राजनीतिक प्रगति में बाधा पड़ जाने की पूरी आशंका थी।

दूसरे, मेनका गांधी के विद्रोह के बाद कई रूपों में सोनिया का नाम आने लगा। मुहम्मद यूनुस ने अपने चर्चित लेख 'दो भाइयों की दास्तान' में सोनिया के बारे में कहा—"अगर मेनका गर्व करती है कि उसने (जनता पार्टी के राज में) अपनी सास की हिमायत में काफी कुछ लिखा, तो क्या वह अपने पति और अपनी खोयी हुई हैसियत की हिफाजत नहीं कर रही थी? और तब क्या सोनिया उस समय उन सबकी देखभाल नहीं कर रही थी? अगर वह (सोनिया) १ विलिंगडन क्रीसेंट के रसोईघर में तथा सारे घ बार की देखभाल में अधिक समय न बितातीं, सारा घर अव्यवस्थित हो जाता। एक बार उसको कई दिन तक सारे परिवार के लिए खा तैयार करना पड़ा। जब संजय ५ मई, १९ को पहली बार जेल भेजे गये, तब उनके लि खाना तैयार करने और पैक करने का काम उ ने किया था..."

और तब मेनका क्या कर रही थीं? मुहम्म यूनुस कहते हैं कि उन्होंने (मेनका) कहा कि "उस 'हरामी' (संजय) के जेल में होने से कितनी शांति है।"

लेकिन जब मेनका ने कहा कि "जनता पार्टी की जीत के बाद सारा परिवार सामान बांध कर विदेश भाग जाने की तैयारी कर रहा था" और केवल वही (मेनका) अपने पति के साथ श्रीमती



एक मुद्रा यह भी : सोनिया

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गांधी के साथ बनी रही, तो स्पष्ट ही इशारा राजीव और सोनिया की ही ओर था। इस बात को विश्वसनीय बनाने के लिए यह जोड़ा जा रहा था कि सोनिया गांधी ने अपनी इतालवी नागरिकता इसी कारण कायम रख छोड़ी है।

भारतीय नागरिकता : १९८० में सत्ता में आने के बाद पहली बार श्रीमती गांधी को यह महसूस हुआ कि उनकी इतालवी बहू के इटली से सम्बन्ध कुछ महंगे पड़ सकते हैं। बाद में राजीव के राजनीति में पदार्पण के पश्चात् यह और भी आवश्यक हो गया कि कम-से-कम सोनिया को लेकर कोई मुद्दा सार्वजनिक विवाद न बने। मेनका के विद्रोह के बाद तो यह और भी आवश्यक हो गया कि सोनिया की छवि कहीं बदरंग न हो पाये। अत: यह आवश्यक था कि सोनिया इतालवी नागरिकता छोड़ कर भारतीय नागरिक बनती और अंतत: विवादों से बचने और गलतफहमियां दूर करने के लिए सोनिया ने भारतीय पासपोर्ट के लिए आवेदन दिया और पासपोर्ट नम्बर यू० १२१५७८ प्राप्त कर लिया। इसकी सबसे पहली घोषणा उन्होंने रायबरेली के 'रेबहरा' कस्बे में कांग्रेस सेवा दल के स्वयंसेवकों के बीच २१ अप्रैल, १९८३ को की, "विवाह के बाद मैं भारत में ही रह रही हूं और भारतीय पासपोर्ट प्राप्त कर चुकी हूं।" सोनिया के इस कथन पर यह पूछा गया कि अभी तक उन्होंने भारतीय नागरिकता क्यों नहीं ली थी, तो जवाब मिला कि उन्हें इसकी आवश्यकता महसूस नहीं हुई थी। "मेरा खयाल है कि किसी व्यक्ति की जाति या रंग से उसके चरित्र का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं होता और ये बातें उसके द्वारा गरीबों और दलितों की सेवा में आड़े नहीं आतीं।"

किंतु वह यह समझती हैं कि जिनको विरोध करना ही है, उनके लिए उनकी भारतीय नागरिकता से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा। उन्होंने कहा, "मेरे पास भारतीय पासपोर्ट है या नहीं, विरोधी दल मेरे भारत के बाहर किसी अन्य देश में पैदा होने के तथ्य का हमेशा राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश कर सकते हैं।"

और हुआ भी यही। दिल्ली में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के एक नेता पी०एन० लेखी ने (२४ अप्रैल) मांग कर डाली थी कि 'विदेशी' को भारतीय पासपोर्ट देना गलत था, उसको वापस लिया जाये। लेखी ने आरोप लगाया कि सोनिया ने अमेठी में स्वीकार किया कि वह भारतीय नागरिक नहीं हैं। प्राप्त रिपोर्टों से स्पष्ट होता है कि सोनिया ने ऐसी कोई बात नहीं कही।

दिल्ली दरबार के निकटवर्ती एक सूत्र के अनुसार राजीव गांधी ने सोनिया को समझाया था कि अगर उसकी राय में विदेशी पासपोर्ट में कोई बुराई नहीं है, तो भारतीय पासपोर्ट में ही क्या बुराई है, जबकि इससे जनता की गलतफहमियां दूर करने में मदद मिल सकती है।

सोनिया को यह बात समझ में आ गयी और अन्तत: उन्होंने भारतीय नागरिकता ग्रहण कर ली।

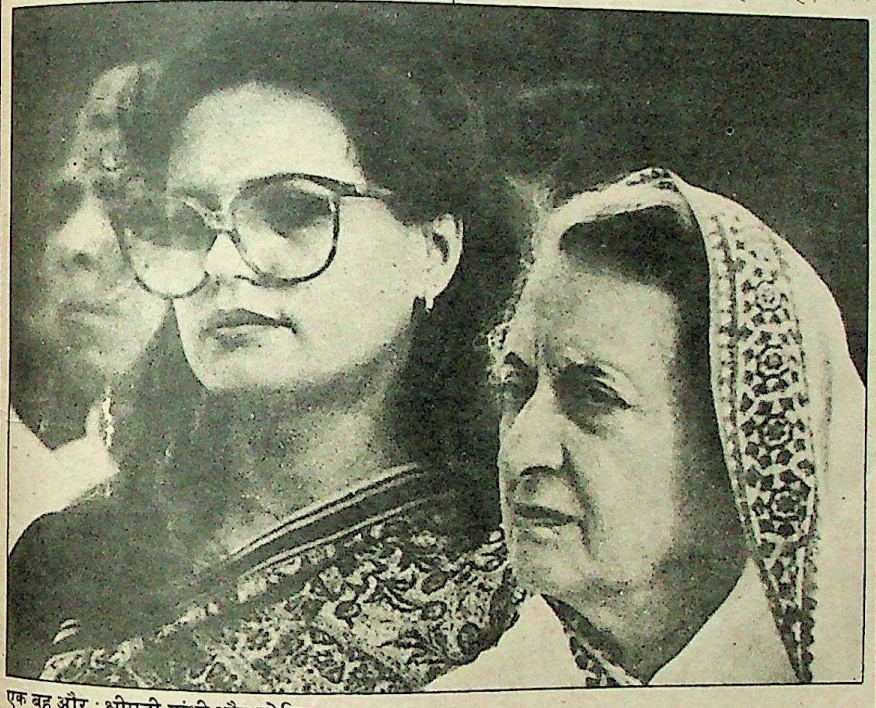
और जून, १९८३ के पहले पखवाड़े में श्रीमती गांधी के साथ उन्होंने भारतीय पासपोर्ट पर यूरोपीय देशों की यात्रा की। पासपोर्ट में उनके दो बच्चों, पुत्र राहुल और पुत्री प्रियंका के नाम भी दर्ज हैं।

१९८३ में ही जब वह श्रीमती गांधी के साथ एथेंस की यात्रा पर गयीं, तो कुछ एथेंसवासियों ने अनौपचारिक बातचीत करते हुए सोनिया की ओर इशारा किया कि वह देखो भारतीय प्रधानमंत्री की विदेशी बहू। इस पर सोनिया ने बड़े सहज आत्मविश्वास से कहा कि मैं अब विदेशी नहीं, भारतीय हू।

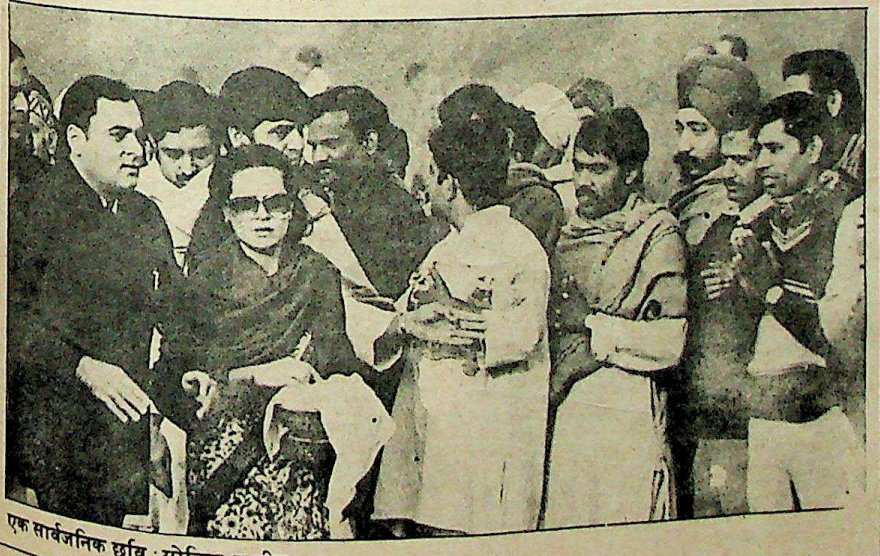
इस तरह सोनिया अपने साथ जुड़े हुए इतालवी नागरिकता के विवाद से बड़े सहज ढंग से अलग हट गयीं।

अमेठी के दौरे के बाद : राजीव गांधी का चुनाव क्षेत्र अमेठी मेनका के विद्रोह के बाद पिछले दो वर्षों से सुर्खियों में है। विशेष रूप से मेनका की इस सार्वजनिक घोषणा के बाद कि वह आगामी चुनाव अमेठी से लड़ेंगी। इतलब कि वह राजीव गांधी का सीधा मुकाबला करेंगी। मेनका के अमेठी दौरे के बाद राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में इस सम्बन्ध में काफी चटखारे लिये जाते रहे हैं। राजनीतिक पर्यवेक्षकों का खयाल था कि मेनका के दौरे के बाद इस महत्वपूर्ण चुनाव क्षेत्र की महिला मतदाताओं में मेनका की लोकप्रियता बढ़ती जा रही है। इसकी काट के रूप में सोनिया को मैदान में उतारना आवश्यक था और इसके लिए अनिवार्य था कि सोनिया एक भारतीय बहू के रूप में जनता के सामने आयें।

दौरा देशी बहू की तरह : निश्चय ही इस फैसले में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका है मेनका गांधी के अमेठी चुनाव क्षेत्र में बार-बार दौरे की। इसलिए जब राजीव गांधी के साथ सोनिया अमेठी के सात गांवों



एक बहू और : श्रीमती गांधी और सोनिया



एक सार्वजनिक छवि : सोनिया-राजीव

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

की पदयात्रा करने गयीं, तो उन्होंने भारतीय बहू का बाना पहना। सफेद साड़ी, पूरी बांहों वाली कुरती (ब्लाउज), बालों के बीचोंबीच मांग में सिंदूर, पांव में बिछिया, हाथों में लाल चूड़ियां, आंखों पर कोई चश्मा नहीं और सिर सदा पल्लू से ढका हुआ। इस देशभूषा में आने वाली 'विलायती' बहू को देखने के लिए लगभग सभी जगह महिलाएं उमड़ पड़ीं। सोनिया उन्हें हाथ जोड़ कर नमस्ते करतीं और टूटी-फूटी, 'विलायती' उच्चारण वाली हिन्दी में उनसे हालचाल पूछतीं। महिलाएं जो बात अपनी बैसवाड़ी अवधी में कहतीं वह सोनिया की समझ के बाहर थी। उसका भाषांतर करतीं राजीव गांधी के सलाहकार और 'दून स्कूल' के दिनों के मित्र अरुण सिंह की पत्नी नीना। अंत में सोनिया कहतीं, "मैं फिर आऊंगी।"

एक गांव से दूसरे गांव ले जाने का काम कर रहे थे उत्तर प्रदेश के योजना राज्यमंत्री प्रवीण कुमार जो रास्ते में समझाते जाते कि कैसे गांव में घुसते ही, जो भी मिले उसकी तरफ हाथ जोड़कर मुस्कुराना चाहिए, गांव से विदा लेते समय हाथ हिलाना चाहिए, आदि।

एक गांव में उन्होंने पालथी मारे हुए बैठ कर पत्तल पर भोजन भी किया।

कुछ महिला डाक्टर भी साथ गयी थीं, जिन्होंने गांव वालों को सफाई और नीरोग रहने के लिए कुछ हिदायतें दीं। सोनिया ने दवाएं बांटने की कोशिश की, मगर कुछ महिलाओं ने स्वीकार किया, कुछ ने नहीं किया।

उस समय स्थानीय कांग्रेसी कार्यकर्ता बहुत खुश थे कि उन्हें मेनका के नहले पर दहला मारने को मिल गया है।

मगर एक ग्रामवासी युवक ने कहा, "हमारे गांव वालों के पास यह तमाशा देखने के अलावा और क्या मनोरंजन है। इस दौरे का एक फल यही हुआ है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के छोटी बहू से झगड़े की जो बातें अभी तक शहरों तक सीमित थीं, अब वे गांव के चौपालों पर भी होने लगी हैं।

यात्रा के साथ गये एक संवाददाता का कहना था कि पद-यात्रा के दौरान जो आधे दर्जन मंत्री वहां मौजूद थे, वे सोनिया की सराहना करते नहीं थक रहे थे। वह राजीव गांधी को आश्वस्त कर रहे थे कि मेनका गांधी के खिलाफ आधा मैदान तो अभी ही मार लिया गया है। बस दो-एक ऐसी यात्राएं और हो जायें तो सब ठीक हो जायेगा।

मगर क्या सब ठीक हो सका?

सोनिया की इस अमेठी यात्रा के बाद से राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में यह अटकल लगाया जाना स्वाभाविक था कि श्रीमती गांधी की सहमति और राजीव गांधी के सहयोग से सोनिया को मेनका के विरुद्ध राजनीतिक तौर पर तैयार किया जा रहा है।

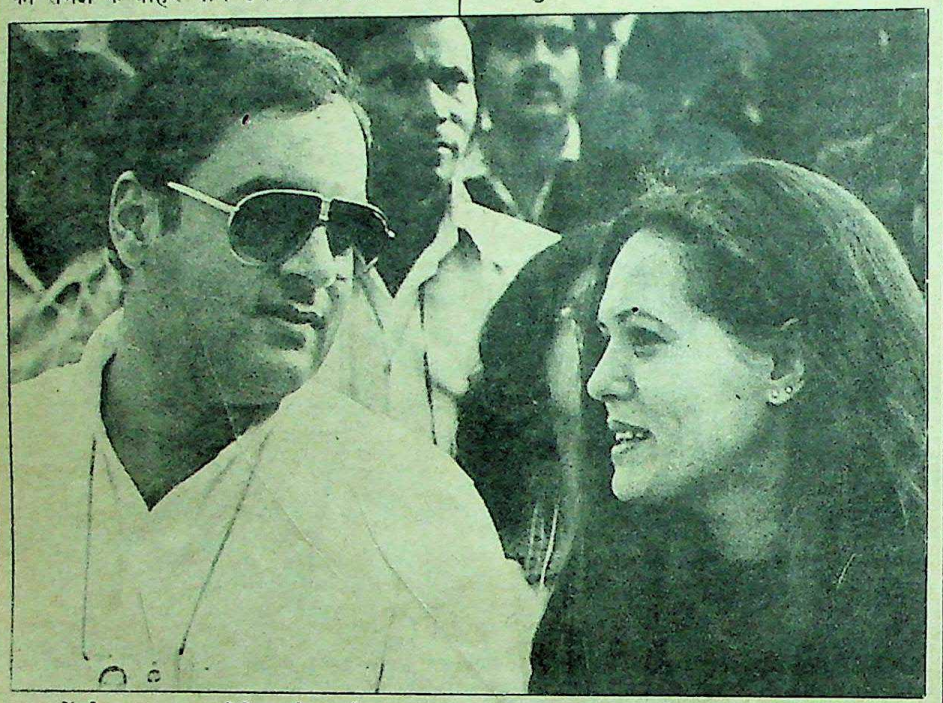
मगर फिर वज्रपात हुआ। पिछले वर्ष के खत्म होने से पहले ही राजीव गांधी ने बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में घोषणा कर दी कि वह आगामी चुनाव अमेठी से ही लड़ेंगे। मतलब यह भी था कि जो लोग सोनिया को एक और भावी राजनीतिज्ञ के तौर पर ताक रहे थे, वे फिजूल की अटकलें लगाना बंद कर दें। सोनिया की राजनीतिक छवि को लेकर जो किस्से-कहानियां प्रचलित थीं, वे फिलहाल रुक गयी हैं और सोनिया राजनीतिक चर्चा के केन्द्र-बिन्दु से एक बार फिर बड़ी सफाई से अलग हट गयी हैं।

सोनिया कोई महत्वाकांक्षी महिला नहीं हैं मेनका की तरह। उन्होंने जब राजीव से विवाह का फैसला किया था, तब वह 'भावी प्रधानमंत्री' नहीं थे। वह एक पायलट थे, जिसके साथ उनको सारी दुनिया देखने का सुख प्राप्त हो सकता था। शायद इससे अधिक उन्होंने कुछ सपना नहीं देखा होगा।

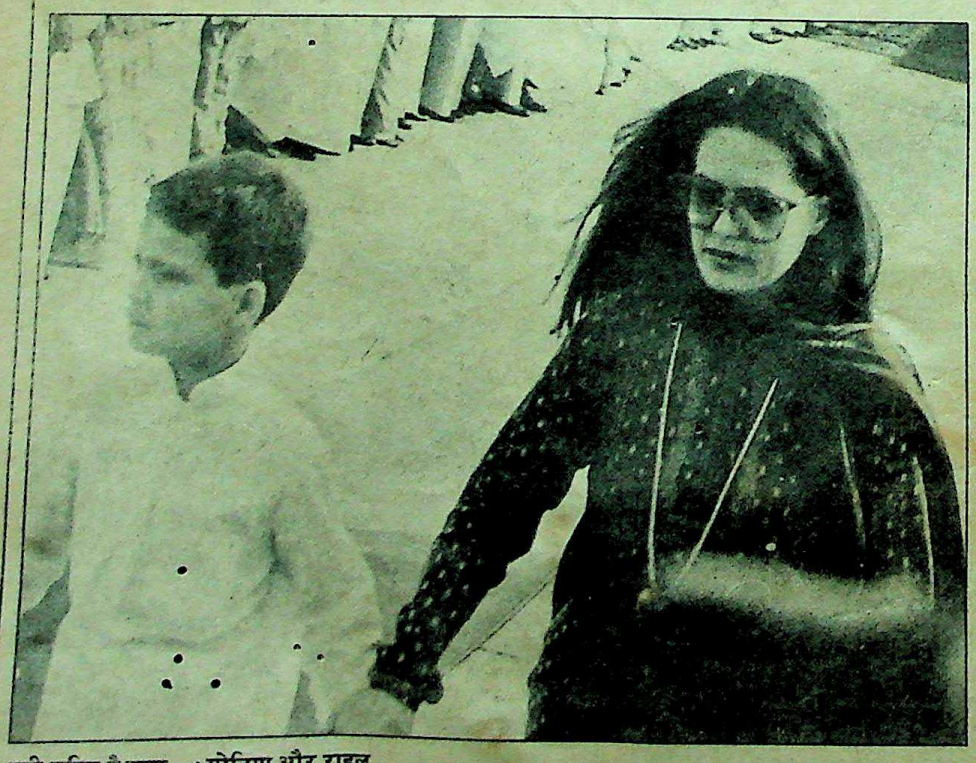
लेकिन आज उन्हें एक भिन्न भूमिका निभानी पड़ रही है। वर्तमान प्रधानमंत्री की एक बहू के तौर पर और एक भावी प्रधानमंत्री की पत्नी की भूमिका में, दो बच्चों की मां की शक्ल में या फिर एक सरकारी 'एस्कार्ट' के रूप में—साथ ही एक ऐसी भूमिका जो सार्वजनिक विवादों से अभिन्न जनकि व्यक्तित्व की पहचान बन गयी। जाहिर है सोनिया ने इस भूमिका की कभी कल्पना न की होगी।

—भूपेन्द्र कुमार स्नेही

छाया चित्रित अ



सम्बन्धों की रागात्मकता : सोनिया और राजीव



बड़ी कठिन है डगर... : सोनिया और राहुल

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

कांग्रेस-इ का कलकत्ता पूर्णाधिवेशन

न वामपंथ, न दक्षिणपंथ, सिर्फ चुनाव पंथ

सिर्फ मां-बेटे चिंतित, बाकी निश्चिंत : पूर्णाधिवेशन की एक बैठक में (बायें से) पं० कमलापति त्रिपाठी, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी तथा राजीव गांधी

कांग्रेस-इ के कलकत्ता पूर्णाधिवेशन में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का यह वक्तव्य कि कांग्रेस कोई पार्टी नहीं, एक आन्दोलन है, क्या उनकी इस निराश भावना की ओर संकेत नहीं कि पार्टी को अनुशासित करना असंभव है ?

कांग्रेस-इ के कलकत्ता पूर्णाधिवेशन (२७-३० दिसम्बर) में फिर समाजवाद, धर्म-निरपेक्षता, राष्ट्रीय एकता और विश्व-युद्ध-विरोधी नारे सुनायी दिये और किन्हीं वामपंथी क्षेत्रों में इस पर काफी प्रसन्नता प्रकट की गयी। क्योंकि ये नारे संजय गांधी के राज में आयोजित चंडीगढ़ अधिवेशन में दफना दिये गये थे। पर ये नारे महज़ आने वाले चुनावों की तैयारी का हिस्सा हैं या सचमुच श्रीमती गांधी की नीतियों में फेर-बदल हो रहा है, इसकी परीक्षा तो अमल में होगी। शक इसलिए होता है कि श्रीमती गांधी चुनाव जीतने के लिए नारे गढ़ने में होशियार हैं। १९७१ में नारा था 'गरीबी हटाओ', १९८० में नारा था 'काम कर सकने वाली सरकार बनाओ।' और अब नारा उठाया गया है 'देश बचाओ।'

वामपंथी झुकाव : अधिवेशन में जो राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और अंतरराष्ट्रीय विषयों पर तीन प्रस्ताव पास किये गये, उनके वामपंथी झुकाव से सभी राजनीतिक पर्यवेक्षकों ने यह नतीजा निकाला है कि श्रीमती गांधी और विशेषकर उनके उत्तराधिकारी राजीव गांधी (जिनको इन प्रस्तावों की रूपरेखा का श्रेय दिया जा रहा है) इस नतीजे पर पहुंच गये हैं कि जनता को स्थिति 'जैसी की तैसी' रखने के रूढ़िवादी नारे से नहीं, परिवर्तन के नारे से कांग्रेस-इ के पीछे गोलबंद किया जा सकता है। इसलिए आर्थिक प्रस्ताव और उस पर भाषणों में कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोकने, भूमि सुधार, उद्योगों के प्रबंध में मज़दूरों की भागीदारी, आदि की बात के साथ बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम की चर्चा की गयी है। राजनीतिक प्रस्ताव में नये प्रकार के साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ चेतावनी दी गयी है, मगर आर्थिक प्रस्ताव में विश्व बैंक आदि संस्थाओं के कर्ज़ों के जाल से बचने की आवश्यकता नहीं बतायी गयी जो आज नव-साम्राज्यवाद का सबसे बड़ा हथियार है।

राजनीतिक प्रस्ताव में यह प्रयत्न साफ झलकता है कि वामपंथी दलों को भारतीय जनता पार्टी-लोकदल जैसे दक्षिणपंथी गठबंधन से अलहदा किया जाये और उन्हें कांग्रेस-इ के समर्थन के लिए प्रेरित किया जाये। भारतीय जनता पार्टी-लोकदल गठबंधन की निंदा में सबसे सख्त शब्द इस्तेमाल किये गये, "भारतीय जनता पार्टी-लोकदल गठबंधन अपने सामाजिक-राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण में पूरी तरह प्रतिक्रियावादी है और जातिवाद तथा सम्प्रदायवाद उनके मुख्य हथियार हैं।" प्रस्ताव में दक्षिणपंथी पार्टियों पर आरोप लगाया गया है कि, "नव-उपनिवेशवाद से अपने सम्बन्धों के कारण वे बार-बार राष्ट्र की पीठ में छुरा घोंपती रही हैं।"

साम्प्रदायिकता और अल्पसंख्यकों के हितों के बारे में कहा गया है, "राष्ट्रीय जीवन के प्रत्येक पहलू में और हर एक क्षेत्र में बहुसंख्यक समुदाय के साथ विश्वास और समान प्रयत्नों की भावना से मुसलमानों, ईसाइयों, सिखों तथा अन्य अल्पसंख्यक समूहों द्वारा भाग लिये बिना भारत प्रगति नहीं कर सकता।" प्रस्ताव में बुद्धिजीवियों से अपील की गयी है कि वे जीवन-मूल्यों को फिर से ढालें और साथ ही, शिक्षा-व्यवस्था में आवश्यक सुधारों की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया गया।

इसके विपरीत जनता पार्टी के नेतृत्व में संगठित संयुक्त मोर्चे पर 'राजनीतिक विभ्रम' और 'राजनीतिक अवसरवाद' में फंसे होने मात्र का आरोप लगाया गया है। वामपंथी पार्टियों की कोई खास आलोचना नहीं की गयी, सिवाय इसके कि पश्चिमी बंगाल सरकार 'वित्तीय व्यवस्था' बुद्धिमानी से नहीं कर रही है और अपव्यय कर रही है। उनसे अपील की गयी है कि वे 'सामाजिक और राजनीतिक परिवर्तनों की गतिशीलता' को समझें। उनसे अंतरराष्ट्रीय वातावरण को समझने की आशा भी की गयी है, जिसका साफ मतलब है कि वे दुनिया में एटमी युद्ध के और भारत पर संभावित हमले के खतरों को देखें और सरकार को विघटनकारी तत्वों से लड़ने में मदद दें।

किंतु इसी प्रस्ताव में ऐसी बातें हैं जो राष्ट्रीय हितों के लिए कांग्रेस-इ को अन्य विचारों के प्रगतिशील तत्वों का समर्थन प्राप्त करने में बाधक होंगी। पहली बात तो यह कि प्रस्ताव में दावा किया गया है कि 'राष्ट्रीय आम सहमति का बुनियादी ढांचा' स्वयं कांग्रेस-इ की नीतियों और कार्यक्रमों में निहित है। इसका अर्थ है कि श्रीमती गांधी राष्ट्रीय सहमति हासिल करने के लिए जनवादी और

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वामपंथी पार्टियों के साथ वार्ता की आवश्यकता नहीं समझतीं। सोचने की बात है कि अगर इन पार्टियों का कांग्रेस-इ से किन्हीं जीवंत मुद्दों पर मतभेद न होता, तो उनका अलग अस्तित्व ही क्यों आवश्यक होता? कांग्रेस-इ ने यह रुख लेकर जनवादी एकता का रास्ता रोक दिया है। श्रीमती गांधी की यह अपील कि 'प्रतिपक्ष के दल सहयोग दें' इस स्थिति में बेमतलब हो जाती है।

दूसरे, राजनीतिक प्रस्ताव में राष्ट्रीय एकता की रक्षा की आवश्यकता पर बल देते समय यह ध्यान नहीं दिया गया कि केन्द्र और प्रदेशों की सरकारों के बीच कार्य और अधिकार-क्षेत्र की उपयुक्त व्याख्या किये बिना राष्ट्रीय एकता सुदृढ़ नहीं की जा सकती। प्रस्ताव से लगता है कि केन्द्र और प्रदेशो के बीच सम्बन्धों में सुधारों की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। तब फिर 'सरकारिया आयोग' क्यों बिठाया गया है?

यह ज्ञातव्य है कि उक्त कारणवश कश्मीर सरकार से कांग्रेस-इ के मतभेदों को भी सही संदर्भ में नहीं देखा गया। डा० फारूख अब्दुल्ला पर कड़ा प्रहार करते हुए उन पर आरोप लगाया गया है कि वह "अलगाववादी और राष्ट्र-विरोधी तत्वों से मिलकर वहां भिन्न मत रखने वालों का दमन कर रहे हैं।"

केवल अतरराष्ट्रीय प्रस्ताव ऐसा है, जिससे किसी पार्टी से विशेष मतभेद नहीं होगा। नाभिकीय युद्ध के खतरे और विश्व शांति की रक्षा के प्रश्नों पर राष्ट्रीय आम सहमति पहले ही देश में मौजूद है।

राजीव गांधी के तेवर : फिर भी ऐसा लगता है कि बंगाल के दो उप-चुनावों में कांग्रेस-इ नेता, विशेषकर राजीव गांधी बंगाल सरकार पर हमले का लोभ नहीं छोड़ सके। उन्हें लगा हो कि शायद वह इस तरह वामपंथी मोर्चे के पांवों तले से ज़मीन खिसका लेंगे। राजीव गांधी के हाथों एक प्रकाशन का विमोचन भी किया गया था, जिसमें मार्क्सवादी पार्टी के कार्यकर्ताओं (गुंडों) के हाथों कांग्रेस-इ कार्यकर्ताओं की हत्याओं का ब्योरा था। राजीव गाधी ने पश्चिम बंगाल के प्रश्न पर वामपंथी मोर्चे पर हमले के लिए दो मुद्दे चुने : एक, कांग्रेसजनों की हत्या का प्रश्न और दूसरा आर्थिक कुप्रबंध का प्रश्न। उन्होंने कहा कि उपचुनावों ने बंगाल की जनता की भावनाओं की सही दिशा इंगित कर दी है।

राजीव गांधी ने जो स्वर अख्तियार किया उसको आगे बढ़ाया रेलमंत्री गनी खान चौधरी ने जो गरजे, "अगर मेरे बस में होता, तो मैं वामपंथी सरकार को बंगाल की खाड़ी में फेंक देता।"

राजनीतिक पर्यवेक्षकों का कहना है कि राजीव गांधी के इस हमले से माकपा नेताओं ने चैन की सांस ली, क्योंकि पिछले बयानों से खासकर ज्योति बसु और ई०एम०एस० नम्बूरीपाद के बयानों से ऐसा लग रहा था कि माकपा कांग्रेस-इ से सहयोग करने जा रही है। राजीव गांधी के हमले के बाद ज्योति बसु ने राजीव गांधी पर आरोप लगाया कि "वह ज़मींदार-जागीरदार की तरह बोलते हैं। और रुपया राजीव गांधी का नहीं, जनता का है।" गनी खान चौधरी के बयान को उन्होंने 'अभद्र और असभ्य' बताया, "हमने यह कभी नहीं कहा कि हम जनता द्वारा चुनी किसी सरकार को मझ में फेंक देंगे। हम उन्हें हराने की कोशिश करेंगे जैसे वे हमें हराने की कोशिश करते हैं।"

पूंजी की राजनीति : पूर्णाधिवेशन में विशेष अतिथि भारतीय मूल के ब्रिटिश उद्योगपति स्वराजपाल

बंगाल के वित्तमंत्री और प्रसिद्ध अर्थशास्त्री डा० अशोक मित्र का जवाब और भी सख्त था। उन्होंने कहा कि हम एक ऐसे पायलट से अर्थशास्त्र नहीं सीखेंगे, जिनकी विशेष योग्यता यह है कि वह

कांग्रेस को उठाओ ! : कांग्रेस-इ के कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष पं० कमलापति त्रिपाठी

क्या कांग्रेस-इ १०० वर्ष पुरानी कांग्रेस है?

किस्सा है एक नाई का। उसने दावा किया कि, "मैं अकबर के ज़माने के उस्तरे से पुश्तैनी काम करता आ रहा हूं। बस, एक बार इसका फल टूटा था और एक बार इसकी डंडी।" वही किस्सा है कांग्रेस-इ का, जो अगले वर्ष अपनी स्थापना की सौवीं वर्षगांठ मनाने जा रही है।

यह फैसला हुआ कलकत्ता में कांग्रेस-इ के पूर्णाधिवेशन में (२७-३० दिसम्बर) जो पिछले क्रम से ७७वां पूर्णाधिवेशन माना गया। मगर क्या यह वही कांग्रेस है, जिसकी सौ वर्ष पहले बम्बई में स्थापना हुई थी? कलकत्ता में यह पूर्णाधिवेशन एक और सम्मेलन के सौ वर्षों का स्मरण दिला रहा था जो बाद में राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस में शामिल हो गया था। यह संगठन था 'इंडियन ऐसोसिएशन', जिसका पहला अखिल भारतीय सम्मेलन २८ दिसम्बर, १८८३ को कलकत्ता के अल्बर्ट हाल में आयोजित किया गया था, जहां आजकल काफी हाउस है। इसके महासचिव थे सुरेन्द्रनाथ बैनर्जी, जिनके नाम पर कांग्रेस-इ ने नेताजी सुभाष स्टेडियम में आयोजित अपने पूर्णाधिवेशन के स्थल को 'सुरेन्द्र नगर' नाम दिया।

कांग्रेस सौ वर्षों में कई पीढ़ियों से गुजर चुकी है और उसके रास्ते में कई मोड़ आये। कांग्रेस की स्थापना कुछ अंग्रेजों और भारतीय बुद्धिजीवियों ने की थी जो उसको क्रमशः भारतीयों के हाथ में कुछ अधिक प्रशासन सौंपे जाने की मांगों तक सीमित रख रहे थे। इस सदी के पहले दशक में लाल-बाल-पाल (लाला लाजपत राय बाल गंगाधर तिलक और विपिन चन्द्र पाल) का उग्रपंथी नेतृत्व उभरा, जिसने कांग्रेस से छूट अंग्रेजपरस्त उग्रपंथियों को उखाड़ फेंका। फिर दूसरे दशक के अंत तक गांधीजी के उदय के बाद भी कांग्रेस अंग्रेज सम्राट के प्रति वफादारी की शपथ खाती रही। गांधीजी और मोतीलाल नेहरू चित्तरंजन दास ग्रुप का स्वराज पार्टी के बीच तीसरे दशक में संघर्ष हुआ, किन्तु १९२४ की बेलगांव कांग्रेस में दोनों पक्षों में समझौता हो गया।

मजदूर किसान आन्दोलन और समाजवादी दलों के उदय के साथ कांग्रेस में एक बार फिर टकराव हुआ। गांधीजी इस प्रवृत्ति के दो नेताओं जवाहरलाल नेहरू और सुभाष चंद्र बोस को अलग करने में सफल हुए और अन्ततः १९३९ में सुभाष बोस को कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष पद से इस्तीफा देने तथा कांग्रेस के बाहर जाने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया गया।

आजादी के बाद तमाम समाजवादी ग्रुप

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व्यक्ति पूजा : भारी तादाद में श्रीमती गांधी के पोस्टर बेचे गये

प्रधानमंत्री के बेटे हैं। जो लोग राष्ट्रमंडलीय नेताओं को गोआ में मौज-मस्ती मनाने की सुविधा देने के लिए ४० करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर सकते हैं, उन्हें किसी को किफायत करने का उपदेश नही देना चाहिए।

वित्तमंत्री ने कहा कि केन्द्र सरकार ने १९७६ के बाद से छह वर्षों में आयकर, उत्पादन कर और कम्पनी कर के रूप में बंगाल से ६,९३२ करोड़ रुपये वसूल किये हैं और राज्य को मात्र १,५३३ करोड़ रुपया दिया है। उन्होंने कहा कि यह कोई न्याय नहीं है।

प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती गांधी ने सार्वजनिक सभा में वामपंथी मोर्चे की आलोचना करते हुए कहा कि "भारत प्राचीन देश है और हमारे पास एक हजार से अधिक वर्ष पुरानी सांस्कृतिक विरासत है। मगर यहां बंगाल में उसकी आत्मा ही खतरे में है।"

इतने सबके बावजूद यह नोट किये बिना नहीं रहा जा सकता कि श्रीमती गांधी और राजीव गांधी की आलोचना के मुद्दे वे नहीं हैं जो संजय गांधी के समय में हुआ करते थे। उस समय कम्युनिस्टो को 'विदेशों से प्रेरित' और 'राष्ट्रद्रोही' कहा जाता था। आज वह रुख न होना कोई कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। विरोध तो जनतंत्र का मूल तंत्र है और बंगाल में वामपंथी मोर्चे को हराने के लिए कांग्रेस-इ प्रयत्न छोड़ देगी, इसकी आशा किसी ने नहीं की थी।

बातें बड़ी-बड़ी, कार्यपद्धति वही पुरानी: यों प्रस्तावों में बदलाव जरूर है, मगर कलकत्ता अधिवेशन में कांग्रेस-इ की कार्यपद्धति में बदलाव आने का कोई संकेत नहीं मिलता। अधिवेशन में श्रीमती गांधी और राजीव गांधी की व्यक्ति-पूजा का बोलबाला साफ दिखायी देता था।

वहां "इंदिरा ने कहा था" (सो सेड इंदिरा) शीर्षक से एक पुस्तिका बिक रही थी, जिसको एक नये कांग्रेसी प्रफुल्ल गोरडिया ने प्रकाशित किया था। इसमें इंदिराजी के वक्तव्यों से कुछ सूक्तियां थीं, जिन्हें तैयार करने में प्रसिद्ध विद्वान डा० लोकेशचन्द्र ने सहयोग दिया था। पुस्तक को देखकर माओ की 'लाल किताब' स्मरण हो आती है।

राजीव गांधी के उद्धरणों की भी एक पुस्तिका वहां उपलब्ध थी। इस ३६ पृष्ठीय पुस्तिका का शीर्षक है "कम एण्ड ज्वाइन मी" (आइए, मेरा साथ दीजिए), जिसको सुभाष राजकुमार ने तैयार किया है। युवक कांग्रेस-इ के प्रधान तारिक अनवर के हाथों इस पुस्तिका का विमोचन कराया गया।

श्रीमती गांधी और राजीव गांधी के चित्र भी बिक रहे थे (क्रमशः ५ रु० और ३ रु० में), जबकि कांग्रेस के संस्थापकों और निर्माताओं के, यहां तक कि गांधीजी के चित्र भी वहां उपलब्ध नहीं थे।

कांग्रेसजनों की जीवन शैली कितनी बदल चुकी है और आम आदमी की तरह रहने का पुराना व्रत कहां तक तोड़ा जा चुका है, इसका एक अंदाज नेताओं तथा आम कार्यकर्ताओं के बीच भारी खाई से लगाया जा सकता है। प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती गांधी को सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से राजभवन में ठहराया गया और राजीव गांधी को निज़ाम के महल में। मुख्यमंत्रीगण ईस्टर्न होटल में ठहराये गये।

मगर इससे भी बड़ी चौंकाने वाली बात यह है कि स्वागत समिति ने किन्हीं नेताओं को ठहराने की जो व्यवस्था की थी, वह हालांकि कोई कम आरामदेह नहीं थी, फिर भी उन्होंने खुद अपना प्रबंध करने का 'कष्ट' किया था। वे 'ओबेराय' और 'ग्रांड होटल' जैसे पांच-सितारा होटलों में

कम्युनिस्ट और गैर-कम्युनिस्ट, कांग्रेस से अलग हो गये। शीघ्र ही कांग्रेस के अन्दर नेहरू के नेतृत्व वाले मध्यमार्गियों और दक्षिणपंथियों के बीच टकराव शुरू हो गया। १९५१ में नासिक कांग्रेस में पुरुषोत्तम दास टण्डन अध्यक्ष चुने गये और नेहरू ने उनसे सहयोग करने से इनकार कर दिया। फलतः उन्हें इस्तीफा देना पड़ा और नेहरूजी ने कांग्रेस पर शिकंजा मजबूत कर लिया।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने १९६६ में प्रधानमंत्री बनते ही उन पुराने नेताओं पर नजर रखनी शुरू कर दी जो उनके नेतृत्व के लिए खतरनाक बन सकते थे। १९६९ में उन्होंने वामपंथी नारों के साथ कांग्रेस में विभाजन पैदा कर दिया और कांग्रेस (संगठन) तथा कांग्रेस नाम से दो संगठन बन गये। दोनों अपने को असली कांग्रेस के उत्तराधिकारी बता रहे थे। किन्तु १९७१ में जनता ने चुनावों में भारी बहुमत देकर श्रीमती गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस को असली कांग्रेस सिद्ध कर दिया।

इस दौर तक कांग्रेस अपने आम सदस्यों और आम जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करती थी। १९७२ में कांग्रेस के अंदर अंतिम चुनाव हुए और अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का चुनाव हुआ। इस समय कांग्रेस के अंदर 'नेता' बनने के लिए जनता में प्रभाव बनाना आवश्यक था। किन्तु अब श्रीमती गांधी ने व्यक्तिगत वफादारी को सच्चे कांग्रेसी होने और उच्च पद के योग्य होने की कसौटी बना दिया। कांग्रेस के फैसले अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी और कार्यसमिति के अंदर नहीं, प्रधानमंत्री निवास में चुने हुए सलाहकारों के परामर्श से होने लगे। १९७५ में श्रीमती गांधी ने इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट के फैसले के अनुसार प्रधानमंत्री पद से इस्तीफा देने के बजाय अपनी गद्दी की रक्षा के लिए इमरजेंसी लागू कर दी और पुत्र संजय गांधी को जो न कांग्रेस के कभी सदस्य या पदाधिकारी थे और न संसद सदस्य, तानाशाह बना दिया। जनता ने इमरजेंसी के बाद चुनाव में उनको हराकर इसका जवाब दिया।

किन्तु इससे जो सबक सीखा जा सकता था, वह श्रीमती गांधी ने पूरी तरह नहीं सीखा। वह यह तो समझीं कि इमरजेंसी और दमन जनता को दूर करता है, मगर कांग्रेस में अपने नेतृत्व का व्यक्तिवादी स्वरूप ज्यों का त्यों बनाये रखा। उन्होंने अपनी अध्यक्षता में नयी कांग्रेस का गठन किया जो कांग्रेस-इ कहलायी और हालांकि चुनाव आयोग ने उसको असली कांग्रेस मान लिया है, फिर भी कांग्रेस के आगे से 'इ' नहीं हटाया गया।

पिछले वर्ष कांग्रेस-इ में आन्तरिक चुनाव का नाटक किया गया, मगर वह भी पूरा नहीं हुआ और कलकत्ता में जिस अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक की गयी, उसकी सूची १९७२ के सदस्यों को लेकर बनायी गयी। इसको पूर्णाधिवेशन का नाम देने के लिए प्रदेशों से पदाधिकारियों को निमंत्रित किया गया जो सदस्यों द्वारा चुने हुए नहीं, श्रीमती गांधी और राजीव गांधी तथा उनके सलाहकारों द्वारा नियुक्त लोग हैं।

कोई आश्चर्य नहीं, कलकत्ता अधिवेशन की स्वागत समिति की सदस्यता की फीस १,००० रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति थी, एक करोड़ रुपये से अधिक का उसका बजट था और उसके प्रतिनिधि पुरानी कांग्रेस की परम्परा के अनुसार झोपड़ियों, टैंटों और धर्मशालाओं में ठहरने के बजाय अपनी-अपनी हैसियत के अनुसार पांच सितारा होटलों से लेकर आरामदेह स्थानों में ठहरे हुए थे।

यह कांग्रेस का नहीं, इंदिरा कांग्रेस यानी कांग्रेस-इ का अधिवेशन था। इंदिराजी या राजीवजी जब भी कुछ कहते, जबर्दस्त तालियां पिटतीं। यहां तक कि जब श्रीमती गांधी ने स्वर्गवासियों को श्रद्धांजलि देने का प्रस्ताव पढ़ना शुरू किया, तब भी तालियां पिटीं और श्रीमती गांधी को कहना पड़ा : यह तालियां पीटने का अवसर नहीं है।...

—रा०व०

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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ठहरे। इनमें राजसी ठाठ-बाट से रहने वाले नेता—अभिनेता शिवाजी गणेशन, अब्दुर्रहमान अंतुले, गुंडू राव और राजा दिनेश सिंह तो थे ही, विद्याचरण शुक्ल, टी० अंजैया, चन्द्रशेखर सिंह (बिहार के मुख्यमंत्री), वसंतराव पाटिल (महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री), यशवंत राव चव्हाण, एस०बी० चव्हाण, वीरेन्द्र पाटिल जैसे नेता भी थे, जिन्हें पुरानी कांग्रेसी शैली का नेता समझा जाता है।

यों तो राजीव गांधी ने 'सेकिंड क्लास' में सफर किया। किंतु उस पूरी विशेष ट्रेन को रेलवे मंत्रालय ने 'फर्स्ट क्लास' की सुविधाओं से लैस कर दिया था। प्याले-तश्तरियां कहीं टूटी-फूटी न दिखायी दे जायें, इसलिए तुरत-फुरत खाने की ५०० थालियां, ५०० फ्लास्क और १०० स्टेनलेस स्टील के टी-सैट्स खरीदे गये। २००० बिस्तर भी खरीदने का सुझाव था, मगर संगठनकर्ताओं ने रेलवे को सूचित किया कि हर व्यक्ति स्वयं अपना बिस्तर लायेगा, इसलिए यह ज़हमत बच गयी। ट्रेन में बढ़िया डाइनिंग कार लगायी गयी और उसमें हर चीज़ बढ़िया किस्म की उपलब्ध की गयी। पूरी ट्रेन 'रिज़र्व्ड' तो थी ही।

बंगाल में वामपंथी सरकार होने के कारण स्थानीय सरकारी मशीनरी का दुरुपयोग तो संभव नहीं था, मगर अन्यत्र इसमें कोई कसर बाकी नहीं छोड़ी गयी। बम्बई में फैक्टरी इंस्पेक्टर लोग अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी और बंगला में प्रकाशित 'स्मारिकाओं' के लिए विज्ञापन के फार्म और 'रेट कार्ड' लिये घूमते देखे गये। विज्ञापन पत्र में लिखा था, "प्रकाशन के लिए विज्ञापन सामग्री के रूप में आपका समर्थन और सहयोग हमारे आपसी हितों के लिए लाभकारी होगा।" इशारा साफ था—आप हमें विज्ञापन देंगे, तो हम भी आपका काम बनायेंगे। अधिवेशन के समय लंदन से स्वराज पाल आये हुए थे, जिनके परिवार (ए०पी०जे०) के पार्क होटल में पत्रकारों की सेवा की जा रही थी। विरोधियों का कहना है कि पाल कलकत्ता के पूंजीपतियों से धन बटोरने में सहयोग देने के लिए आये थे।

पूंजीपतियों से पैसा बटोरने का एक और साधन माना गया 'भारत के बढ़ते चरण' प्रदर्शनी, जिसमें १,००० वर्ग फुट के मंडप का किराया १५,००० रुपये, ५०० वर्गफुट का ६,५०० रुपये, १२ × १५ के स्टॉल का ३,५०० रुपये और उसी आकार के दूसरे स्टॉल का सारा खर्चा जिन राम चौधरी नामक सज्जन के हाथ में था, उनका नाम स्वागत समिति के अध्यक्ष तक ने नहीं सुना था, क्योंकि वह कभी कोई नेता तो क्या, कांग्रेस-इ के सदस्य तक नहीं रहे।

गुटबाजी जारी है: आज कांग्रेस-इ का हर कार्यकर्ता जानता है कि सत्ता पाने या सत्ता के करीब पहुंचने के लिए जिन गुणों की आवश्यकता है, वे हैं—ऊपर के नेताओं की चापलूसी करने, खुद अपना गुट बनाने और अनाप-शनाप पैसा जुटाने की योग्यता। जिस गुटबाजी के कारण बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में कांग्रेस-इ को हाल के उपचुनावों में कुछ पराजय का मुंह देखना पड़ा, वह कलकत्ता में मौजूद थी। बंगाल के गुटों में कई बार पंडाल के अंदर हाथापाई हुई। बिहार के डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र और चन्द्रशेखर सिंह अपने प्रदेश के प्रतिनिधियों में अपनी शक्ति का प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे, जिसका अंत मारपीट में हुआ। तमिलनाडु के अभिनेता-नेता शिवाजी गणेशन असंतुष्ट भाव से अधिवेशन अधबीच छोड़कर चले गये, आदि।

तब यह कैसे आशा की जा सकती है कि कलकत्ता अधिवेशन में जो बड़े 'समाजवादी' प्रस्ताव पास किये गये हैं, उन पर कांग्रेस-इ अमल भी कर सकती है? श्रीमती गांधी के इस वक्तव्य में कि 'कांग्रेस कोई पार्टी नहीं, एक आंदोलन है' यह निराशा का भाव झलकता है कि उसको अनुशासित पार्टी बनाना असंभव है।

कलकत्ता अधिवेशन में पास किये गये प्रस्तावों को विश्वसनीय बनाने का काम वास्तव में कांग्रेस-इ को स्वार्थी-व्यापारिक जाल से निकाल कर जनसेवा के लिए प्रेरित करने का दुष्कर काम है। क्या राजीव गांधी इन समस्याओं से वाकिफ हैं? या केवल वह चुनावी मुहिम में कलकत्ता प्रस्तावों को एक हथियार मात्र बनाना चाहते हैं? आगे जनता इन प्रश्नों का जवाब मांगेगी।

—राजेन्द्र वर्मा

हज़ारों परिवार सदियों से आज़माये
लौंग के तेल के गुणों को प्रॉमिस में पा रहे हैं-

प्रॉमिस
लौंग तेल युक्त एक अनोखा टूथ पेस्ट

क्या आप भी
इसका लाभ
उठाना नहीं चाहेंगे?

प्रॉमिस
दाँतों का क्षय रोकने में सहायक है,
मुँह में ताज़गी लाता है और
सांस की दुर्गंध रोकता है।

Winner of two Monde Selection Gold Medals

स्वस्थ दाँत और मसूढ़े,
सांसों में ताज़गी! यही तो प्रॉमिस है!

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CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage

चुनाव आयोग की सिफारिशें

क्या विधानसभा चुनावों से पहले राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होना चाहिए ?

चुनाव आयोग ने सुझाव दिया है कि निष्पक्ष चुनावों के लिए विधानसभा चुनावों से पहले राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाना चाहिए। चुनाव आयोग के इस सुझाव का औचित्य क्या है ? इस सुझाव ने कौन-से संवैधानिक प्रश्न खड़े किये हैं ? विपक्ष इस सुझाव से क्यों भयभीत है ?

चुनाव आयोग ने १६३ पृष्ठों की अपनी नवीनतम रिपोर्ट में एक महत्वपूर्ण मगर विवादास्पद सिफारिश की है। इस सिफारिश के अनुसार विधानसभा के हर आम चुनाव से पहले सम्बद्ध राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाये। आयोग ने यह सिफारिश इसलिए की है, ताकि शासक दल द्वारा चुनावों में सरकारी तंत्र का दुरुपयोग न हो सके। यह रिपोर्ट हाल ही में संसद के समक्ष प्रस्तुत की गयी। आयोग की यह रिपोर्ट १९८२ में हुए राष्ट्रपति चुनाव तथा १९८२-८३ में विधानसभाओं, दिल्ली महानगर परिषद के चुनावों एवं जम्मू-कश्मीर में हुए विधानसभा के चुनाव के अनुभवों से प्रेरित है। आयोग ने यह भी सुझाव दिया है कि जम्मू और कश्मीर लोक प्रतिनिधित्व कानून में ऐसे संशोधन किये जायें, ताकि उनका स्वरूप भी बाकी देश में लागू कानूनों जैसा ही हो।

राष्ट्रपति शासन संबंधी सिफारिश के अन्तर्गत आयोग ने कहा है कि हर आम चुनाव से सम्बद्ध राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन या फिर राज्यपाल शासन लागू करने से राज्यों में होने वाली गड़बड़ियों या समस्याओं का आदर्श हल मिल जायेगा। आयोग का सुझाव है कि किसी भी राज्य में चुनाव घोषित होने के साथ ही वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर देना चाहिए। चूंकि इस समय संविधान में कोई ऐसा प्रावधान नहीं है, इसलिए आयोग का सुझाव संविधान में संशोधन का भी है। आयोग का कहना है कि यदि ऐसा संशोधन संभव नहीं हो, तो एक परम्परा बना ली जाये कि चुनाव घोषित होने के पैंतीस दिन पूर्व सम्बद्ध राज्य का मुख्यमंत्री त्याग-पत्र दे और राज्यपाल राष्ट्रपति को राज्य विधानसभा भंग करके शासन अपने हाथों में लेने का अनुरोध करे।

चुनाव आयुक्त त्रिवेदी के साथ विपक्षी नेता विचार-विमर्श करते हुए छाया क्रिएटिव आई

इसके साथ ही चुनाव प्रक्रिया को अधिक प्रभावकारी बनाने के लिए चुनाव आयोग ने क्षेत्रीय चुनाव आयुक्तों की नियुक्ति का भी सुझाव दिया है। प्रथम आम चुनाव के दौरान दो क्षेत्रीय चुनाव आयुक्त नियुक्त किये गये थे, पर बाद के आम चुनावों में ऐसी नियुक्तियां नहीं की गयीं। आयोग की राय है कि क्षेत्रीय चुनाव आयुक्त की नियुक्ति से चुनावों के स्वतंत्र और निष्पक्ष संचालन में सहायता मिल सकेगी। राज्य सरकारों के लिए यह जरूरी होगा कि वे केन्द्रीय व राज्य पुलिस को तैनात करने से पूर्व क्षेत्रीय चुनाव आयुक्त से सलाह लें।

आयोग ने यह भी सुझाव दिया है कि चुनाव में अनियमितताओं के लिए उत्तरदायी अधिकारियों या कर्मचारियों के विरुद्ध कड़ी कानूनी कार्रवाई की जानी चाहिए। साथ ही ऐसे लोगों के विरुद्ध भी प्रशासनिक कदम उठाये जाने चाहिए जो आयोग के निर्देशों की अवज्ञा करते हैं। कार्रवाई की अनुमति देने का अधिकार सरकार को नहीं, बल्कि आयोग को होना चाहिए। इसे कारगर बनाने के लिए आयोग ने यह भी सुझाव दिया है कि चुनाव संबंधी आरोपों की जांच किसी निष्पक्ष संगठन द्वारा करायी जानी चाहिए और यदि आवश्यक हो, तो मुकदमे के लिए विशेष अदालतों का गठन किया जाये। चुनाव आयोग के निर्देश के उल्लंघन को सम्पूर्ण चुनाव क्षेत्र में मतदान को रद्द करने के लिए पर्याप्त आधार माना जाना चाहिए। यह भी सुझाव दिया गया है कि आयोग के चुनाव पर्यवेक्षकों के अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों को संहिताबद्ध किया जाये। आयोग ने हरिजनों तथा कमजोर वर्गों के लिए चलते-फिरते मतदान केन्द्रों की व्यवस्था और 'इलेक्ट्रोनिक मतदान मशीनों' के उपयोग का भी सुझाव दिया है।

विपक्ष की प्रतिक्रिया : चुनाव प्रणाली में सुधार के बारे में विचार-विमर्श के लिए चुनाव आयुक्त ने पिछले साल तीन दिसम्बर को राजनीतिक दलों के प्रतिनिधियों की बैठक बुलायी थी, जिसमें राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के सुझाव को विरोधी दलों ने अस्वीकार कर दिया था। कांग्रेस-इ के हंसराज भारद्वाज ने इस सुझाव पर कोई स्पष्ट विचार व्यक्त नहीं किया। संसद में भी विरोध पक्ष ने इस सुझाव पर अपना रोष व्यक्त किया। जनता पार्टी के प्रो० मधु दण्डवते ने एक वक्तव्य में कहा कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किये जाने का सुझाव तीन दिसम्बर की बैठक में प्रकट उनकी सहमति के विपरीत है। उन्होंने कहा कि राज्यों में जहां चुनाव घोषित हुए हैं, वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना उस सुझाव से सर्वथा भिन्न है, जिसके अन्तर्गत वहां सरकारें कामचलाऊ सरकारों की तरह कार्य करें और वे नयी योजनाओं, करों में राहत देने या फिर कोई और छूट संबंधी कोई घोषणा न करें। प्रो० दण्डवते ने कहा कि चुनाव आयोग के राष्ट्रपति शासन के सुझाव का मतलब होगा, सम्बद्ध राज्यों में केन्द्र में सत्तारूढ़ दल द्वारा प्रशासनिक ढांचे पर पूरा नियंत्रण। कहा जाता है कि तीन दिसम्बर की बैठक में विपक्षी दलों ने यह स्पष्ट कर दिया था कि जब केन्द्र में सत्तारूढ़ दल चुनावों में सरकारी साधनों का दुरुपयोग करता है, तब आयोग के सुझाव के कार्यान्वित होने से उसका दायरा राज्यों तक में फैल जायेगा। ऐसी स्थिति में इसका एकतरफा लाभ केन्द्र में सत्तारूढ़ दल को ही होगा।

विपक्षी दलों की राय तारकुण्डे समिति की सिफारिशों के पक्ष में है, जिसके अनुसार राज्यों में चुनावों से पूर्व राष्ट्रपति शासन के स्थान पर 'कामचलाऊ' सरकारों के सुझाव को लागू करने की बात कही गयी है, ताकि वे चुनावों को प्रभावित करने वाली घोषणाएं न कर सकें और न ही निर्णय ले सकें। प्रो० दण्डवते का वक्तव्य भी इसी पर आधारित है।

औचित्य क्या है ? : क्या चुनाव आयोग की राष्ट्रपति शासन सम्बंधी

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सिफारिश वास्तव में एक 'आदर्श' हल है ? कई राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति शासन के बावजूद चुनाव हुए हैं। असम में भी ऐसी ही स्थिति में चुनाव हुए थे, पर क्या यह कहा जा सकता है कि वहां निष्पक्ष चुनाव हुए थे ? ऐसा लगता है कि चुनाव आयोग ने जम्मू और कश्मीर में अपने कटु अनुभवों के कारण ऐसा सुझाव दिया है। व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से भी देखा जाये, तो यह संभव नहीं है, क्योंकि केवल वे मुख्यमंत्री ही त्यागपत्र देंगे जो केन्द्र के अनुयायी हैं या केन्द्र के आदेशों का पालन करते हैं। यदि संविधान में संशोधन कर इस सुझाव को ले भी लिया जाये, तो यह एक भेदभावपूर्ण कानून होगा, क्योंकि केन्द्र में संसदीय चुनाव के दौरान तो सरकार रहेगी, पर राज्यों में नहीं। दूसरी ओर संविधान में केन्द्र में राष्ट्रपति शासन का प्रावधान नहीं है।

इधर केन्द्र और राज्यों के संबंधों को लेकर जो चर्चा चल रही है (सरकारिया आयोग के समक्ष यह विषय है ही), उस सन्दर्भ में भी चुनाव आयोग की सिफारिश उचित नहीं कही जा सकती। इसका कारण यह है कि केन्द्र की प्रतिक्रिया उभरती क्षेत्रीय शक्तियों के विरुद्ध ही रही है, क्योंकि ये शक्तियां केन्द्र के समक्ष क्षेत्रीय स्तर पर विकल्प के रूप में खड़ी हैं—जैसे बंगाल-त्रिपुरा में मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, जम्मू और कश्मीर में नेशनल कांफ्रेंस, आंध्र प्रदेश में तेलुगूदेशम तथा तमिलनाडु में अन्ना द्रमुक। ऐसी स्थिति में यह सुझाव और भी अव्यावहारिक हो जाता है, क्योंकि इससे राज्यों की केन्द्र के प्रति शिकायतें बढ़ेंगी। यह सही है कि चुनाव के दौरान सरकारी तंत्र का दुरुपयोग होता रहा है और इस समस्या का समाधान खोजना चाहिए, मगर यह बड़ा ही अटपटा लगता है कि राज्यों में तो सत्तारूढ़ दल यह दुरुपयोग कर सकता है, पर केन्द्र में नहीं। संभव नहीं है। इसीलिए विरोधी दलों की यह आशंका स्वाभाविक लगती है कि केन्द्र में सत्तारूढ़ दल राष्ट्रपति शासन की स्थिति में शासन तंत्र का दुरुपयोग अपने स्वार्थ या हित के लिए कर सकता है।

धन की भूमिका : जहां तक चुनावों में धन की शक्ति कम करने का प्रश्न है, यह सही है कि आज चुनाव में धन प्रमुख भूमिका अदा करता है। मोटे का अनुमान है कि आज एक लोकसभा चुनाव में बीस से पचास लाख रुपये तक खर्च होते हैं। भले ही आयोग ने अधिकतम खर्च की सीमा डेढ़ लाख रुपये निर्धारित करने का सुझाव दिया है। इस बढ़ते खर्च पर आयोग और उम्मीदवार दोनों असहाय हैं। इस तरह धन की शक्ति ने आज देश के राजनीतिक जीवन का मुख्य अंग बन कर, उसे अपना गुलाम बना लिया है। काला धन राजनीतिक जीवन के लिए आक्सीजन बन गया है। चुनाव आयोग की बाकी सिफारिशों को स्वीकार करने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए। जम्मू और कश्मीर के चुनाव संबंधी सुझाव को भी सरकार को स्वीकार करने में कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए। हां, वहां की राज्य सरकार की प्रतिक्रिया अवश्य विपरीत होगी। क्षेत्रीय चुनाव आयुक्त की नियुक्ति चुनाव अधिकारियों को चुनाव आयोग के अनुशासन व नियंत्रण में रखना, अनियमितताओं के लिए दोषी अधिकारियों के विरुद्ध कड़ी कार्रवाई (जिसके लिए आयोग अनुमति दे) और चुनाव पर्यवेक्षक

"मैं कोई भी सुझाव व्यक्तिगत 'मोटिव' से नहीं देता हूं" —आर०के० त्रिवेदी, चुनाव आयुक्त

चुनाव आयोग १९७० से सुधारों के बारे में सुझाव देता रहा है। सरकार को दी गयी अपनी हाल की रिपोर्ट में मैंने पिछले सभी सुझावों को अपने अनुभव के आधार पर परख कर पेश किया है। सुझावों को तीन हिस्सों में मैंने बांट दिया है। पहले हिस्से में वे सुझाव हैं, जिन्हें मैं तस्दीक करता हूं। दूसरे में वे हैं, जिन्हें मैं तस्दीक नहीं करता। तीसरे वे हैं, जिन पर विचार करने की जरूरत है। जिन सुझावों पर विचार करने की जरूरत है, उन्हें मैंने इस तरह हिस्सों में बांटा है: (१) जिन सुझावों से मैं पूर्ण सहमत हूं और सरकार को चाहिए कि उन पर जल्दी अमल करें, (२) ऐसे सुझाव जिन पर विचार होना जरूरी है, (३) ऐसे सुझाव, जिनके बारे में 'प्रेस' करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं।

क्या राष्ट्रपति शासन कोई इलाज है ?

जिन सुझावों को अमल में लाने में शीघ्रता की बात कही गयी है, उनमें संवैधानिक परिवर्तनों तथा कानूनी परिवर्तनों को शामिल किया गया है। नियमों और धाराओं को भी बदलने की बात है। कुछ सुझाव ऐसे भी हैं, जिनमें आयोग खुद परिवर्तन ला सकता है।

सुझावों का मुख्य मुद्दा है चुनावों में 'बल' और 'धन की शक्ति' के प्रयोग को किस तरह रोका जाये। बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, हरियाणा व देश के अन्य हिस्सों में तो 'बल' का प्रयोग इस हद तक किया जाता है कि कुछ लोग मतदान के अधिकार का उपयोग नहीं कर सकते। कमजोर तबके व हरिजन तो पिटाई भी खाते हैं। विपक्ष के नेताओं की हाल की एक बैठक में एक सज्जन ने बताया कि आंध्र में एक सीट के दो उम्मीदवारों ने क्रमशः ८० और ८५ लाख रुपये खर्च किये। भारत जैसे देश के लिए यह बड़े कलंक की बात है।

'मीडिया पावर' के दुरुपयोग को रोकने के सुझाव भी रिपोर्ट में दिये गये हैं। सरकारी मीडिया जैसे रेडियो, टी०वी० आदि का दुरुपयोग नहीं होना चाहिए। भारत में स्थिति ऐसी नहीं कि सरकार चुनाव का खर्च वहन करे। पश्चिम जर्मनी को छोड़कर कहीं भी ऐसा रिवाज नहीं, जहां चुनाव की 'फंडिंग' सरकार करे। मगर सुनने में आता है कि वहां इसका दुरुपयोग होने लगा है। भारत में सरकारी तौर पर आंशिक खर्च वहन करने की बात ही की जा सकती है। मेरा मत है कि मतदाता-पत्रों की सुविधा या 'स्लिप' की निःशुल्क व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए।

कम्पनी द्वारा दी जाने वाली राशि पर रोक लगनी चाहिए। पार्टी, जो राशि किसी उम्मीदवार पर खर्च करती है, उसे भी उसके व्यक्तिगत खर्च में जोड़ा जाना चाहिए। इससे भ्रष्टाचार रुकेगा।

विधानसभाओं के चुनावों से पहले राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किये जाने के बारे में मेरे सुझाव की तीखी आलोचना हुई है, मगर यह गलत है, उसे ठीक से समझा नहीं गया है। यह सही है कि मैं जब जुलाई-अगस्त में यह सुझाव सरकार को भेजा था, तो मेरे सामने जम्मू-कश्मीर और असम के चुनाव के अनुभव थे और मैंने केन्द्र व राज्य के सम्बन्धों के नाजुक सवाल पर तब ध्यान नहीं दिया था। मैं तो समझता था कि स्वच्छ चुनाव के लिए इससे सही स्थितियां पैदा होंगी। यदि विपक्ष की पार्टियां इसे स्वीकार करना नहीं चाहती हैं, तो इस पर अमल नहीं किया जायेगा। मैंने तो सिर्फ सुझाव ही दिया है।

हां, यह सही है कि सुझाव देने से पहले विस्तार से इस सवाल पर बातचीत नहीं हो पायी थी। मैंने रिपोर्ट भेज दी, तब बैठक की।

दल-बदल की राजनीति बड़ी घटिया चीज है और मैं तो शुरू से कहता रहा हूं कि इसके खिलाफ कानून बनाना चाहिए। मेरी राय में नामांकन के समय उम्मीदवार जिस पार्टी का उल्लेख करता है, अगर वह 'अन्तरात्मा की आवाज' के नाम पर उस पार्टी को छोड़ देता है, तो चुनाव आयोग को यह अधिकार दिया जाये कि उस उम्मीदवार को वह 'डिसक्वालिफाई' (अयोग्य) कर दे और इस प्रकार वह 'सीट' खाली हो जायेगी।

मैंने यह भी सुझाव दिया है कि संविधान में चुनाव आयोग के बारे में विशेष परिभाषा या उल्लेख का इस्तेमाल किया जाये। इसके अधिकार की स्पष्ट चर्चा होनी चाहिए, जबकि इस समय संविधान में सिर्फ इतना ही कहा गया है कि 'आयोग चुनावों का आयोजन, नियंत्रण व निरीक्षण' करेगा। आयोग का बजट भी 'चार्टर्ड' होना चाहिए जैसा 'आडिटर जनरल' व 'सुप्रीम कोर्ट' आदि का है।

मुझे सबसे ज्यादा दुःख यह है कि लोग हर सुझावों को संस्थागत मानने के बदले, उन्हें व्यक्तिगत 'मोटिव' देखने लगते हैं।

—प्रस्तुति : राय गणेश

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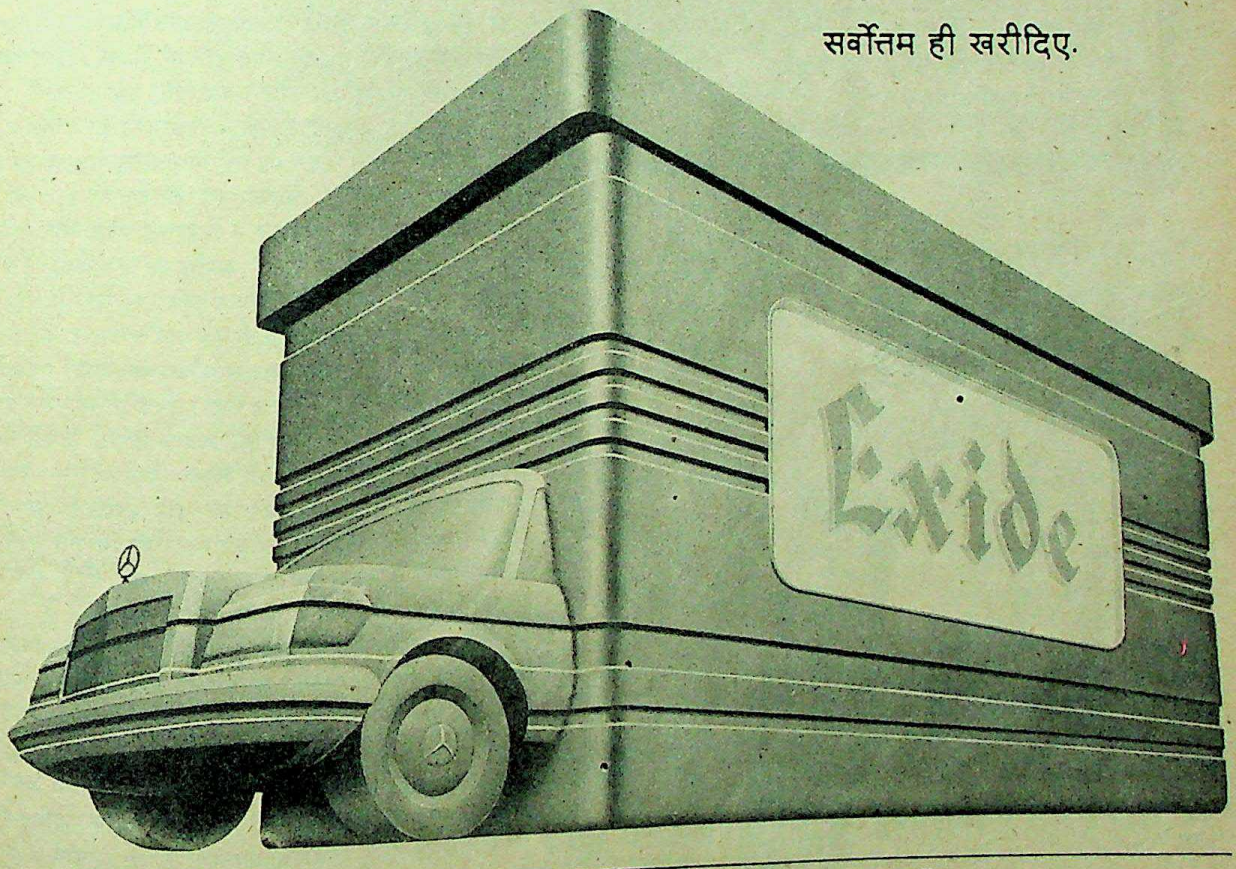
Funding: Tattva Heritage and

एक्साइड स्टार्ट

एक्साइड—टेक्नालॉजी का
कमाल आपके लिए. क्योंकि
एक्साइड बैट्रियों की डिज़ाइन
और निर्माण ख़ासतौर पर
भारतीय परिस्थितियों और
दशाओं को ध्यान में रखकर
ही किया जाता है. तभी तो
आप हरदम पाते हैं—तुरंत
स्टार्ट, लगातार एक सी शक्ति,
कम से कम रखरखाव,
भरपूर विश्वसनीयता
और ज़्यादा टिकाऊपन.
सर्वोत्तम ही खरीदिए.



आप चलते रहें हरदम... चाहे हर कोई जाए थम!

एक्साइड

क्लोराइड इंडिया लिमिटेड का उत्पादन.

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CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National R

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

सत्यकथा

मार्च अंक

विशेष आकर्षण

सोने की मटरमाला

श्रीकान्त सिनकर द्वारा लिखित सोना पीतल में बदल जाने की एक विचित्र ठगी-कथा

ऐसी होती है पुलिस

लखनऊ पुलिस के एक दरोगा द्वारा बेगुनाह और मेहनतकश युवकों पर जुल्म तोड़े जाने की कथा

शर्मिला

तस्कर-पति द्वारा पतिपरायण पत्नी को घर से निकाल कर हत्या कर दिए जाने की कथा

रेखारानी की प्रेम कथा

रेखारानी की हत्या के अभियोग का मुकद्दमा पति पर कायम था, लेकिन रेखा रानी तो मरी ही नहीं थी ?

कमला की काया में कमलेश की आत्मा

दो मृत लड़कियों में से एक की काया में दूसरी लड़की की आत्मा के प्रवेश कर जाने की अजीबोगरीब कथा

१४ फरवरी तक प्रकाश्य

रहस्य-रोमांच से भरपूर १७ सत्यकथाओं का अभूतपूर्व संकलन

मधुर सुगन्ध से भरी

पुष्पा

अगरबत्ती

हर उत्सव में साथी

सर्वाधिक पसन्द की जानेवाली **ग्रीन चम्पा** और **ग्रीन मोगरा**

पुष्पा की नई देन **उपहार** एवं **रोमान्स**

पुष्पा परफ्यूमरी प्रोडक्ट्स लि०

कलकत्ता-७०००७३, बम्बई-४००००६
बंगलोर-५६००१०

Phoenix-PP-1183

२५ वर्षों से फूलों की मनमोहक सुगन्ध बिखेर रही है

के अधिकारों तथा कर्तव्यों को संहिताबद्ध करना—ऐसे सुझाव हैं, जिन्हें कार्यान्वित किया जा सकता है। साथ ही राजनीतिक दलों संबंधी नियमों को भी संहिताबद्ध किया जा सकता है। पर क्या यह जरूरी नहीं है कि यह सब कदम उठाने से पहले चुनाव आयोग स्वयं अपनी निष्पक्षता बनाये रखने के लिए अतिरिक्त चुनाव आयुक्तों की नियुक्ति करे, जिसके लिए संविधान में प्रावधान है? कई निष्पक्ष पर्यवेक्षकों की राय है कि एक व्यक्ति-विशेष (मुख्य चुनाव आयुक्त) की व्यक्तिगत राय से सामूहिक सूझबूझ कहीं बेहतर है जो आज के राजनीतिक वातावरण में विवादास्पद विषयों में कारगर सिद्ध हो सकती है।

दलबदल : दूसरी कुप्रथा दल बदलने की है। इसको लेकर समय-समय पर विवाद उठे हैं और चर्चा होती रही है। जब केन्द्र में जनता सरकार थी, तो संसद में दल बदलने पर रोक लगाने के लिए एक विधेयक लाया गया था, जो मधु लिमये की आपत्ति के कारण वह वापस ले लिया गया था। शायद लिमये को जनता से लोकदल में जाने का पूर्वाभास था। १९८० में इंदिरा गांधी पुनः सत्तारूढ़ होने के बाद केन्द्रीय सरकार ने चुनाव कानून में सुधार लाने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण प्रयास किये हैं। वर्तमान विधि और न्यायमंत्री जगन्नाथ कौशल ने हाल ही में संसद को बताया कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमण्डल की एक उपसमिति चुनाव कानून संशोधित करने के लिए कुछ निष्कर्ष पर पहुंची भी है। दल बदल की समस्या को लेकर भी विचार हुआ है। इस मंत्रिमण्डलीय उपसमिति के अध्यक्ष कौशल नहीं, बल्कि विदेशमंत्री नरसिम्हा राव हैं। शायद यही कारण है कि इस दिशा में कुछ प्रगति नहीं हो पायी है। पहले विधि तथा न्यायमंत्रालय से संबद्ध संसदीय सलाहकार समिति को यह आश्वासन दिया गया था कि उपसमिति की सिफारिशें १९८२ के अन्त तक आ जायेंगी। फिर कहा गया कि अप्रैल, १९८३ तक यह संभव हो सकेगा। अन्त में सरकार ने कहा कि सिफारिशें शीघ्र ही पेश की जायेंगी। इस उपसमिति की बैठक पिछले साल छह दिसम्बर को होने वाली थी, पर उसे स्थगित कर दिया गया।

इधर कर्नाटक में सरकारी पक्ष के विधायकों को कांग्रेस-इ में लाने का जो प्रयास किया जा रहा है, उससे यह नहीं लगता कि केन्द्र चुनाव कानून में कुछ लाने के लिए चिन्तित है। 'मोइली टेप' की कहानी इसी का प्रमाण है। या शायद लोग भूल गये कि कांग्रेस-इ ने हिमाचल प्रदेश और हरियाणा में अपनी सरकार अल्पमत के बावजूद बनायी, क्योंकि वह विधायकों को खरीद कर विरोधी पक्ष से अपनी गोद में लेने में कामयाब रही। कर्नाटक में यही कहानी दुहराने का प्रयास चल रहा है, हालांकि अभी तक वहां कांग्रेस-इ की दाल नहीं गल पायी है। हाल ही में कांग्रेस-इ के सांसद मुरलीधर चन्द्रकान्त भण्डारे ने राज्यसभा में इस विषय में एक महत्वपूर्ण बात कही। उनके अनुसार दल बदलने की कुप्रथा का विवेचन करने पर अन्तरात्मा की आवाज के पक्ष को भी समझना चाहिए। भण्डारे ने कहा कि अन्तरात्मा को स्वतंत्र होना चाहिए। जिस तरह केन्द्र में 'मोइली टेप' काण्ड की लीपापोती की और कांग्रेस-इ महासचिव सी०एम० स्टीफन ने कहा कि कर्नाटक में हेगड़े सरकार को गिराना उनके दल का कर्तव्य है, उससे तो नहीं लगता कि वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली में सुधार किया जायेगा और दल बदलने की कुप्रथा पर कभी रोक भी लगेगी।

चुनाव आयोग कुछ भी सोचे, कुछ भी सुझाव दे और विरोधी दल कुछ भी शोर मचाये, तब तक कुछ भी संभव नहीं, जब तक केन्द्र सरकार इस विषय पर अपनी राय नही बनाती। कभी-कभी लगता है कि वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली में ही सत्तारूढ़ दल का स्वार्थ निहित है और इसी कारण कानून में किसी प्रकार का संशोधन करने में देर की जा रही है। यहां यह बताना जरूरी है कि भाजपा नेता लालकृष्ण आडवाणी पश्चिमी जर्मनी की चुनाव पद्धति—लिस्ट प्रणाली की बात उठाते रहे हैं, जिसमें बहुमत नहीं, बल्कि अनुपात के आधार पर चुनाव होता है। पर यह प्रणाली विवादास्पद कही जाती है। जिस देश में बहुमत प्रथा चलती रही हो और सत्तारूढ़ दल महज ३२ से ३५ प्रतिशत मत पर सरकार बनाने में कामयाब हो जाये, वहां 'लिस्ट' प्रणाली को स्वीकार करने में राजनीतिक दलों को कठिनाई हो सकती है। आज की स्थिति में चुनाव आयोग की ही सिफारिशों को स्वीकार कर सरकार वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली को ही चलायेगी। दल बदलने पर रोक लगाने के प्रस्तावित कानून भी तभी लाये जायेंगे जब सत्तारूढ़ दल को इसकी आवश्यकता होगी।

पुनीत

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage

डाबर च्यवनप्राश

यह सिद्ध करता है कि प्राकृतिक टॉनिक आपके परिवार के लिए उत्तम है

डाबर च्यवनप्राश से आप के परिवार को विटामिन और खनिज पदार्थ प्राकृतिक रूप में मिलते है, जिन को आपका शरीर आसानी से ग्रहण कर लेता है। इस में किसी प्रकार के बनावटी रसायन नहीं होते, इसी कारण इसके सेवन से किसी हानि का भय नहीं। इसका प्रयोग लाभदायक और हर तरह से सुरक्षित है।

च्यवनप्राश—३००० वर्ष पुराना स्वास्थ्यवर्धक टॉनिक

च्यवनप्राश के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि ३००० वर्ष पहले देवताओं के वैद्यों ने च्यवन ऋषि के लिए यह शक्तिदायक अरोग्य आहार बनाया था।

इसके लाभ इतने आश्चर्यजनक थे कि ऋषियों ने च्यवनप्राश को "जीवन अमृत" का नाम दे दिया। उनको विश्वास था कि यह बीमारियों से बचाव की शक्ति को बढ़ाता है, शरीर के तन्तुओं को मजबूत रखता है, दिल और दिमाग की क्रियता को उभारता है।

डाबर ने ऋषियों के रहस्यमय नुस्खे का पुनर्निर्माण किया

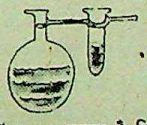
सैकड़ों वर्ष तक च्यवनप्राश ऋषियों का रहस्य बना रहा। यह जन-साधारण को तब उपलब्ध हुआ जब डाबर ने कई वर्ष पहले अपना आयुर्वेदिक कारखाना स्थापित किया।

आज डाबर च्यवनप्राश आधुनिक सुचलित मशीनों द्वारा बनाया जाता है। इस में ४० से अधिक जड़ी-बूटियाँ पड़ती हैं। इसका सबसे महत्वपूर्ण अंश है—आंवला। इसमें दशमूल, अष्टवर्ग आदि भी शामिल हैं।

आंवले के रस में सन्तरे के रस से २० गुना अधिक विटामिन सी पाया जाता है।

आंवला जो डाबर च्यवनप्राश का मुख्य अंश है, विटामिन सी का सर्वोत्तम ज्ञात स्रोत है।

डा०. लाइनस पॉलिंग, जिन को दो बार नोबल पुरस्कार मिल चुका है, उनके शोध अनुसार यह सिद्ध हुआ कि विटामिन सी केवल सर्दी-जुकाम से बचाव ही नहीं करता है बल्कि यह शरीर को नई शक्ति प्रदान करता है। बुढ़ापे की प्रक्रिया को धीमा करता है तथा खांसी जुकाम जैसी बीमारियों का प्रतिरोध करने में मदद करता है।



डा० पॉलिंग का कहना है कि हमारा शरीर बीमारियों का मुकाबला तभी कर सकता है जब कि इसमें विटामिन सी का संचालन ठीक ढंग से होता रहे। विटामिन सी हमारे शरीर की रचना और सक्रियता को बनाये रखता है।

आप स्वस्थ हैं तो भी आपको प्राकृतिक टॉनिक की आवश्यकता है।

बहुत से लोग यह समझते हैं कि टॉनिक केवल बीमारों को दिया जाना चाहिए, परन्तु ऐसा सोचना उचित नहीं। आयुर्वेद ने सदा सूचित किया है कि समरक्षण इलाज से बेहतर है। इसी कारण आपका परिवार तन्दुरुस्त हो भी तो उसे डाबर च्यवनप्राश का सेवन करना चाहिए।

डाबर च्यवनप्राश आपके परिवार की तन्दुरुस्ती को बढ़ाता है और अनेक बीमारियों से बचाए रखता है।

डाबर
च्यवनप्राश
आपके परिवार का प्राकृतिक स्वास्थ्य टॉनिक

डाबर द्वारा सौ वर्ष के उपलक्ष में विशेष उपहार

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डाबर के सौवें वर्ष के उपलक्ष में इसके कुछ विशेष उत्पादनों पर आपके लिए खूबसूरत योजना। जब भी आप डाबर के इन उत्पादनों में से कुछ भी खरीदें, इनके ढक्कनों को विशेष सुरक्षा में रखें। उन ढक्कनों पर आप एक नारा व एक चिन्ह छपा हुआ पाएंगे जैसा कि साथ में दिखाया गया है। ढक्कनों पर यह चिह्न/नारे तीन रंगों में होंगे। काले रंग के ढक्कन ५० पैसे के मूल्य के बराबर हैं। नीले रंग के ढक्कनों का मान एक रुपए तथा लाल रंग के ढक्कनों का मान दो रुपए के समान है। डाबर च्यवनप्राश के लिए ढक्कन के अन्दर ही छपे हुए फॉइल सील दूसरे ढक्कनों के मूल्य के समान होंगे। याद रहे! चिह्नों के रंग ही आपको उसकी कीमत का ध्यान दिलाते रहेंगे। डाबर के सौ वर्ष के उपलक्ष में बने इस चिह्न व नारे छपे हुए ढक्कन/फॉइल सील ही इस योजना में उचित माने जाएंगे।

जब आपके पास पर्याप्त ढक्कन/फॉइल सील इकट्ठा हो जाएं तो आप किसी भी डाबर डीलर के यहां जाकर उन ढक्कनों के बदले उनकी ही कीमत के बराबर कीमत वाले डाबर का ही कोई उत्पादन मुफ्त प्राप्त कर सकते है। तो लीजिए—अभी से सौ वर्ष के उपलक्ष में जारी किए गए ढक्कन व फॉइल सील इकट्ठे करना शुरू कीजिए और मुफ्त उपहार पाइए। इस अद्भुत उपहार योजना के बारे में अधिक जानकारी के लिए अपने निकटतम डीलर से मिलिए।

जल्दी कीजिए! उपहार योजना ३१ मार्च १९८४ तक बढ़ा दी गई है।

OBM 6410/B

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

आपरेशन फ्लड: झगड़ा दूध का या तेल का?

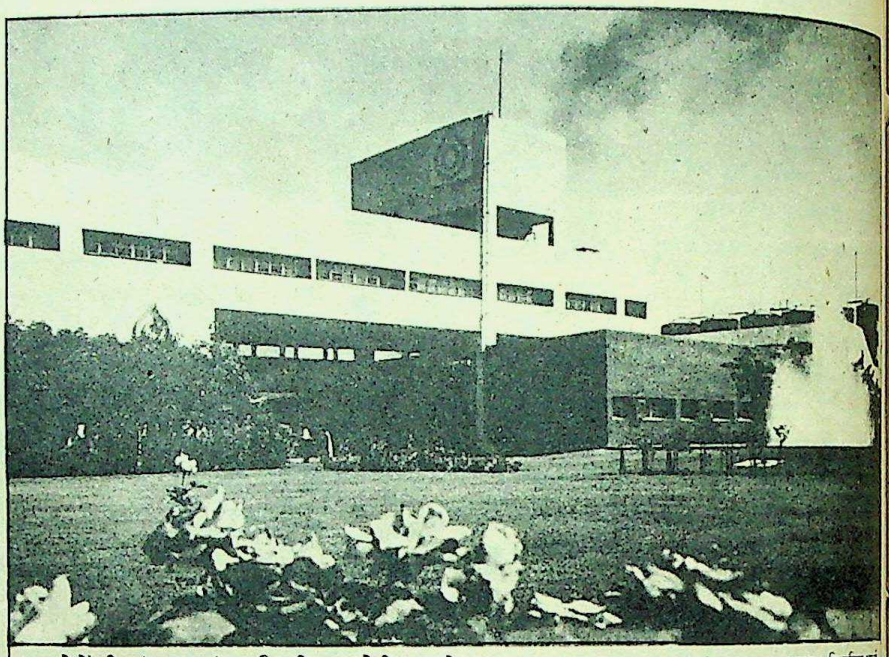
'राष्ट्रीय दूधवाला' के नाम से मशहूर, मदर डेरी व श्वेत क्रांति का पर्याय डा० वरगीज़ कुरियन क्या वास्तव में अपनी सफलताओं की नकली मीनार खड़ी करते रहे या अपनी महत्वाकांक्षाओं के कारण ऊंची पहुंच की किसी निहित स्वार्थ वाली 'लॉबी' से जा टकराये?

'आपरेशन फ्लड' यानी देश में दूध की नदियां बहा देने की योजना—कोई भी घर ऐसा न हो, जहां दूध न पहुंचे, कोई भी ऐसा बच्चा न हो, जिसे कम-से-कम प्याला भर दूध न मिले और इस योजना को पूरा करने की ज़िम्मेदारी सौंपी गयी राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड व भारतीय डेरी निगम को। इस योजना के जन्मदाता डा० वरगीज़ कुरियन इन दोनों संगठनों के अध्यक्ष हैं।

१९७० से लगातार नित नयी सफलताओं का दावा कर रहे डा० कुरियन उस समय एक राष्ट्रीय स्तर के विवाद में घिर गये, जब उन पर पिछले दिनों भ्रष्टाचार, बोर्ड व निगम की धनराशि के दुरुपयोग और झूठी सफलताओं का प्रचार व असफलताओं को छिपाने के आरोप लगाये गये।

केन्द्रीय कृषि राज्यमंत्री योगेन्द्र मकवाना ने संसद के शीतकालीन अधिवेशन में अपने 'बॉस' कृषिमंत्री राव बीरेन्द्र सिंह की ओर से घोषणा की कि राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड व भारतीय डेरी निगम के कार्यकलाप की जांच करायी जायेगी। मगर इस रहस्य को कृषिमंत्री के अलावा ठीक-ठीक कोई नहीं जानता कि इस घोषणा के कुछ ही दिनों बाद उन्होंने उपरोक्त संगठनों के कार्यों की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा क्यों की? मानो उन्हें इसके लिए ऊपर से 'धमकाया' या 'मजबूर' किया गया हो। हालांकि जानकार सूत्रों का कहना है कि राव बीरेन्द्र सिंह के मन में 'सरकारी' और 'व्यक्तिगत' स्वार्थों का द्वंद्व निरंतर चलता रहता है। यही कारण है कि उन्हें अपने बयान बदलने पड़ते हैं।

लगभग दो साल पहले राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड द्वारा आयोजित एक सेमिनार में भी उन्होंने ऐसा ही किया था। अपने पूर्व वितरित भाषण के विपरीत उन्होंने 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की तीखी आलोचना कर दी थी। कहते हैं कि डा० कुरियन ने इस बात की शिकायत प्रधानमंत्री से की कि कृषिमंत्री ने जानबूझ कर व्यक्तिगत नाराज़गी के कारण पूर्व वितरित लिखित भाषण के विपरीत 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की आलोचना की। यह कोई नहीं जानता कि प्रधानमंत्री ने क्या कार्रवाई की, मगर कृषिमंत्री उसके बाद से एकदम 'शांत' पड़ गये। हालांकि उनके मन में गांठ ज़रूर पैदा हो गयी और कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि डा० कुरियन को देखते ही उनकी मनःस्थिति बिगड़ जाती है।



दूध-सेठों की आंख का कांटा : दिल्ली मदर डेरी काम्पलेक्स

छाया : त्रिलोचन जी

विवाद की शुरुआत व प्रतिक्रिया : डा० कुरियन व कृषिमंत्री राव बीरेन्द्र सिंह का पारस्परिक मनमुटाव चाहे जितना भी पुराना रहा हो, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि दोनों ही 'दिल्ली दरबार' में अपना-अपना प्रभाव रखते हैं। इसका सबसे बड़ा सबूत यह है कि कृषिमंत्री को अपना बयान बदलना पड़ा, तो दूसरी ओर डा० कुरियन को फिलहाल खामोश रहने का सुझाव दिया गया है।

कहते हैं कि जब बम्बई से प्रकाशित अंग्रेज़ी के एक साप्ताहिक में 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की कटु आलोचना प्रकाशित हुई और बाद में संसद में इस आलोचना की आड़ लेकर राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड व भारतीय डेरी निगम तथा इनके अध्यक्ष डा० कुरियन के कार्यकलाप की जांच की बात कही गयी, तो दोनों संगठनों के लगभग ७०० पदाधिकारियों ने अध्यक्ष के पास अपने त्यागपत्र भेज दिये। यह भी कहते हैं कि डा० कुरियन ने प्रधानमंत्री से मुलाकात की और उन्हें फिलहाल त्यागपत्रों का यह तमाशा बंद करने के लिए कहा गया।

डा० कुरियन ने अपने सभी वैज्ञानिकों व पदाधिकारियों से त्यागपत्र वापस लेने के लिए कहा है और उन्हें यह समझाने की कोशिश की है कि जो आरोप लगाये गये हैं, वे बोर्ड, निगम या 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के नहीं, उनके खिलाफ हैं, इसलिए त्यागपत्र सिर्फ उन्हें ही देना चाहिए।

कुरियन-विरोधी लॉबी : इसमें शक नहीं कि डा० कुरियन दूरद्रष्टा व मेहनती रहे हैं और उन्हें काफी यश व मान मिला है। कोई भी व्यक्ति उनकी इस प्रतिष्ठा से ईर्ष्या कर सकता है। राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर चर्चित व प्रशंसित हरित क्रांति, नीली क्रांति आदि की भांति उन्होंने 'श्वेत क्रांति' का मसीहा बनने की योजना चलायी। इस योजना के कारण दूध के बड़े इजारेदार व्यापारी या तथाकथित दूध सेठों की 'लॉबी' शुरू से ही उनसे नाराज़ रही। कहते हैं कि अपनी 'आपरेशन फ्लड' योजना की सफलता से वह महत्वाकांक्षा के वशीभूत हो देश में 'तेल क्रांति' भी लाना चाहते थे। 'आपरेशन फ्लड' का विस्तार वह खाद्य तेल, फल और सब्ज़ी के व्यापार तक करना चाहते थे। स्वाभाविक है कि गुजरात के व्यापारियों की 'तेल लॉबी', जिसका कार्यक्षेत्र, प्रभावक्षेत्र इन प्रदेशों में भी है, चौंक उठी। गुजरात मूंगफली सबसे अधिक पैदा करता है। इन व्यापारियों को ऐसा लगा कि अगर कुरियन पर जवाबी हमला न किया गया, तो वह उनकी तेल की इजारेदारी को खत्म करा देंगे, जैसाकि 'आपरेशन फ्लड' द्वारा दूध के इजारेदारों के साथ हुआ था। इन व्यापारियों व धन्नासेठों के राजनेताओं से भी घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध हैं।

कुरियन-विरोधी लॉबी में कुछ बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के लोग भी शामिल हों, तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं। ग्लैक्सो, कैडबरी व पोल्सन जैसी बहुराष्ट्रीय

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Heritage

कम्पनियों को 'आपरेशन फ्लड' से सबसे ज्यादा घाटा लगा। एक समय था कि 'कैडबरीज चॉकलेट' की बाजार में भरमार रहती थी, मगर अब सब कहीं 'अमूल' बिकता नजर आता है। 'पोल्सन' के मक्खन व दूध के अन्य उत्पादनों को तो लोग लगभग भूल ही गये हैं। 'ग्लैक्सो' दूध से तैयार वस्तुओं का सबसे बड़ा उत्पादक रहा है, मगर उसके व्यापार को भी 'आपरेशन फ्लड' ने अपने में समेट लिया।

दूध के क्षेत्र में उत्तर भारत की कुछ जातियों के लोग ही संलग्न हैं। 'मदर डेरी' ने इनके व्यापार पर बड़ा ही प्रतिकूल प्रभाव डाला था। वर्तमान कृषिमंत्री इसी जाति के प्रधान नेता हैं। अलीगढ़ से राज्यसभा में एक सांसद दूध व्यापारियों की यूनियन के अध्यक्ष हैं। तो क्या इसकी संभावना नहीं कि दूध व्यापारियों की पहले से खफा 'लॉबी' और अब 'तेल लॉबी' में कोई मिलीभगत हुई हो? शायद दोनों 'लॉबियों' ने मिलकर डा० कुरियन के खिलाफ राजनेताओं को भड़काने की कोशिश की। इस काम में उन अधिकारियों से भी उन्हें मदद मिली होगी जो डा० कुरियन से किन्हीं कारणों से नाराज रहे हों। कुछ लोग ऐसे वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों में डा० दूधानी, एल०सी० सिक्का, एन०एन० दस्तूर, डा० मजूमदार, आई०जे०के० नायडू, यू०पी० गुलाटी और डा० डी०एन० खुरौदी के नाम प्रमुख रूप से लेते हैं जो कभी-न-कभी डा० कुरियन का कोप-भाजन बने थे।

आरोप व जांच के मुद्दे : 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के बारे में अंग्रेजी साप्ताहिक में छपे लेख में इसे पूरी तरह असफल और उपलब्धियों के दावों को सफेद झूठ बताते हुए लगभग ३० आरोप डा० कुरियन के खिलाफ लगाये गये हैं। जब साप्ताहिक में उपरोक्त लेख छपा और इसके बारे में चर्चाएं शुरू हो गयीं, तो डा० कुरियन को लगा कि संसद में भी इस पर सवाल उठ सकते हैं। अत: कृषिमंत्री व मंत्रालय को उन आरोपों और उनके जवाबों के बारे में सही तौर पर आगाह करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड की ओर से एक २३ पृष्ठों की 'साइक्लोस्टाइल्ड' पुस्तिका भेजी गयी। पुस्तिका मंत्रालय को संसद में कृषि राज्यमंत्री के विवादास्पद बयान से पहले मिल गयी थी, मगर आश्चर्य है इसका उपयोग तो क्या, इसे उलट-पलट कर देखने का कष्ट भी नहीं किया गया।

सबसे पहली बात पुस्तिका में लेखक की जानकारी के स्रोत के बारे में कही गयी है। मेज पर बैठकर तैयार किये गये इस तथाकथित लेख में 'फील्ड वर्क' किया ही नहीं गया है। लेखक न तो 'आनंद' गया, न ही राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड। पुस्तिका के अनुसार लेखक का आधार एक अंग्रेजी दैनिक में प्रकाशित २२ अगस्त, १९८२ का एक लेख है। यह लेख भी ऐसे तथाकथित शोधकर्ताओं के निष्कर्ष पर लिखा गया था, जिन्होंने 'आनंद' या राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड से कभी भी सम्पर्क करने का कष्ट नहीं किया था।

फिर भी, डा० कुरियन या उनके राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड व भारतीय डेरी निगम तथा 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के बारे में लगाये गये प्रमुख आरोप इस प्रकार हैं:

* 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की शुरुआत इसलिए की गयी, क्योंकि यूरोपीय आर्थिक समुदाय के पास सातवें दशक में दूध का पाउडर बहुत अधिक जमा हो गया था यानी सम्बद्ध निहित स्वार्थ वाले तत्वों ने 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की शुरुआत के लिए दबाव डाला था।

* दूध के उत्पादन में बढ़ोतरी के दावे झूठे और सिर्फ कागजी हैं। 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के कारण ग्रामीण आबादी को दूध से वंचित होना पड़ा,

बयान बदलने के लिए मजबूर : कृषिमंत्री राव बीरेन्द्र सिंह

क्योंकि सारा दूध वहां से शहरों में ले आया जाता है।

* जबकि देश भर में दूध उपलब्ध कराये जाने का दावा किया जा रहा है, डेरी के वे संयंत्र जो 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के तहत विदेश से मंगाये गये थे, बेकार पड़े हैं।

* कमरे के तापमान में कई दिनों तक ठीक बने रहने वाले विशेष 'तेत्रा पाक' दूध के लिए संयंत्र लगाने का ठेका निजी क्षेत्र की इकाई को सौंप दिया गया।

* दूध के उपभोक्ता मूल्यों में वृद्धि के कारण राजधानी में सस्ते दूध के उपभोक्ता १,००,००० परिवार इस सुविधा से वंचित हो गये।

* बोर्ड व निगम के दूध उत्पादकों की आय काट कर पशु-चारा व खली के निर्यात पर बल दिया गया।

* 'आपरेशन फ्लड' में सबसे ज्यादा तरजीह गुजरात को दी गयी, क्योंकि डा० कुरियन उससे सम्बद्ध हैं।

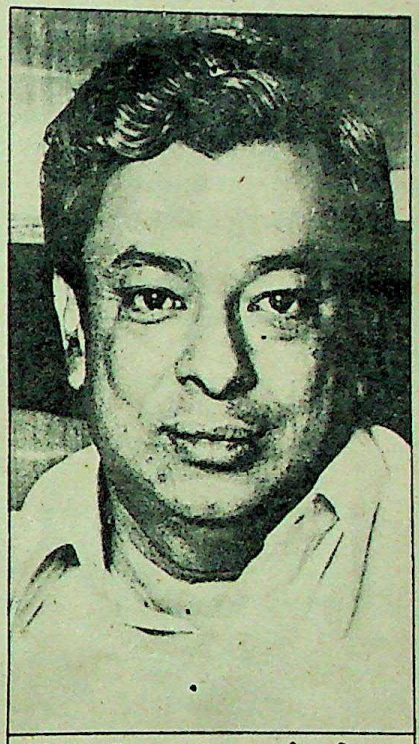
* 'आपरेशन फ्लड' ने 'अमूल' के लाभ के लिए कई पहलकदमियां कीं।

* दिल्ली मदर डेरी को उत्तर प्रदेश, हरियाणा और पंजाब की तुलना में गुजरात से खरीदे गये दूध के लिए अधिक पैसे देने पड़ते हैं।

* दिल्ली मदर डेरी ने पनीर व दूध की अन्य सामग्री तैयार करने के लिए यहां की स्थानीय आशीष डेरी को क्रेडिट पर माल (स्किम मिल्क प्रोडक्ट्स) दिया।

* डेरी से सम्बन्धित सभी संस्थान व संगठन गुजरात में जानबूझ कर सकेन्द्रित किये गये।

* राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड ने जो संगणक मंगाये, वे उनके काम के नहीं थे।



निहित स्वार्थों का धावा : डा० वरगीज कुरियन

* यूरोपीय आर्थिक समुदाय से 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के लिए मंगायी गयी वस्तुएं इंसानों के खाने योग्य न थीं, जिन्हें इस योजना के तहत बांटा गया।

* राष्ट्रीय डेरी विकास बोर्ड व भारतीय डेरी निगम द्वारा दिये जाने वाले दूध-उत्पादन तथा प्रति व्यक्ति उपभोक्ता के आंकड़े गलत और भ्रामक हैं।

* डा० कुरियन १०,००० रुपये प्रति माह वेतन लेते हैं और दिल्ली में भी पांच सितारा होटलों में ठहरते हैं, जहां विशेष अतिथि-गृह मदर डेरी द्वारा बनाये गये हैं।

* 'आपरेशन फ्लड-२' पहली योजना के समाप्त होने से तीन साल पहले इसलिए शुरू कर दिया गया, क्योंकि पहली योजना को पूरा करने के पैसे नहीं थे।

आरोपों की प्रामाणिकता बहस का मुद्दा हो सकती है, लेकिन यह बहस सिर्फ कागजों तक या

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

आंकड़ों तक ही सीमित रहेगी, क्योंकि 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की सफलता नगरों-महानगरों के घर-घर में अंकित है। यह अलग बात है कि दफ्तरों में बैठे नौकरशाह अपनी फाइलों में इसे भले ही असफलताओं की संज्ञा दें और चाहे वे खुद ही सुबह-शाम 'मदर डेरी' का दूध पीते रहे हों।

जांच की आवश्यकता : बोर्ड व निगम के कार्य-कलाप की अगर जांच की जाती है, तो इसमें तभी बाधा डालने की कोशिश की जा सकती है, जब सचमुच अनियमितताएं बरती गयी हों। अगर सब कुछ ठीक-ठीक है, तो 'प्रतिष्ठा' का सवाल बनाये बिना जांच की इजाजत देनी चाहिए। इसके लिए डा० कुरियन या सचिव अनेजा या अन्य पदाधिकारियों को छुट्टी पर जाने अथवा त्यागपत्र देने की क्या आवश्यकता है?

उपरोक्त पक्ष का कहना है कि हमारा सारा काम व्यावसायिक लोगों द्वारा होता है और हम फाइलें रखने के स्थान पर काम करने में विश्वास करते हैं। लेकिन ऐसा भी अकसर देखा गया है कि अधिक उत्साह के कारण गलतियां (चाहे अनजाने ही) हो जाती हैं। दिल्ली दुग्ध योजना के कार्य-कलाप की जांच खुद डा० कुरियन ने की थी। फिर उन्हें अब अपने संगठनों की जांच पर क्यों एतराज है?

बोर्ड व निगम के एक वरिष्ठ सूत्र के अनुसार—"हमारे सफल कार्यों के कारण नौकरशाह व धन्नासेठ दोनों ही हमसे कुपित हो गये हैं और इसीलिए झूठमूठ हमें परेशान करने के लिए जांच की मुहिम चलाना चाहते हैं। उसी सूत्र का कहना है कि तीन ऐसे नौकरशाह हैं जो व्यक्तिगत रूप से डा० कुरियन से कुपित हैं।

ऐसे नौकरशाहों में, कहते हैं कि, पहला नाम भारतीय कृषि अनुसंधान परिषद के भूतपूर्व अधिकारी डा० दूधानी का है। 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की वह शुरू से आलोचना करते रहे हैं, जिसकी एक अपनी ही कहानी है। दूसरा नाम डा० जी०वी० सिंह कल्हों का बताया जाता है। इन्होंने पंजाब में सरकारी दुग्ध कार्यक्रम का विरोध किया था। वह किसी समय डा० कुरियन से समझौता करना चाहते थे, मगर नहीं हो पाने के कारण उनसे नाराज हो गये। तीसरा नाम 'नानक डेरी' के नानक सिंह का बताया जाता है, जिनसे सेना को दूध सप्लाई के क्षेत्र में कुरियन जा टकराये हैं। नानक सिंह का क्षेत्र है जम्मू-कश्मीर, पंजाब, हरियाणा, हिमाचल प्रदेश जो अधिकांशतया कृषिमंत्री के भी क्षेत्र रहे हैं। १९८२ में नानक दुग्ध योजना की शुरुआत हुई थी। 'पाली पैक' के अलावा ट्रालियों में घर-घर दूध पहुंचाने की उनकी योजना थी, मगर वह पूरी तरह असफल रही।

सेना को सप्लाई करने का एक सम्बल था, उसे भी डा० कुरियन ने हथिया लिया।

दिल्ली में मदर डेरी : चाहे जो भी कहा जाय, हो, 'आपरेशन फ्लड' के द्वारा निश्चय ही महानगरों दूध की मांग को बहुत हद तक पूरा किया गया है। आज उपभोक्ता आम दूध बेचने वालों की दया पर निर्भर नहीं। आज दिल्ली में मदर डेरी के माध्यम से प्रतिदिन ६ लाख लीटर दूध उपभोक्ताओं तक पहुंचता है।

दिल्ली की मदर डेरी एशिया का पहला और सबसे बड़ा तरल दुग्ध संयंत्र कहा जा सकता है। इसे दिसम्बर १९७४ में शुरू किया गया था। दिल्ली भर में इसके तकरीबन ८०० विक्रय केन्द्र हैं। जो लोग दिल्ली में पहले से रहते आये हैं, अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि मदर डेरी के खुलने से पहले यहां दिल्ली दुग्ध योजना की एक बोतल भी हासिल करना कितना कठिन था। अकसर मारपीट की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जाती थी। दूध के स्थानीय व्यापारी मनमानी कीमतें वसूलते थे। मगर अब लगभग हर आदमी आसानी से दूध खरीद सकता है। कहना चाहिए कि आज दिल्ली में पूरे दिन दूध उपलब्ध रहता है और इसका श्रेय मदर डेरी को ही जाता है।

मदर डेरी ने अपना क्षेत्र बम्बई, कलकत्ता व मद्रास को भी बना लिया है, जहां दूध की हमेशा किल्लत रहती थी। मदर डेरी का ही कमाल है कि बम्बई, कलकत्ता के लोग आज कहने लगे हैं कि हमारे यहां चाहे हर चीज की किल्लत हो, दूध की नहीं हो सकती।

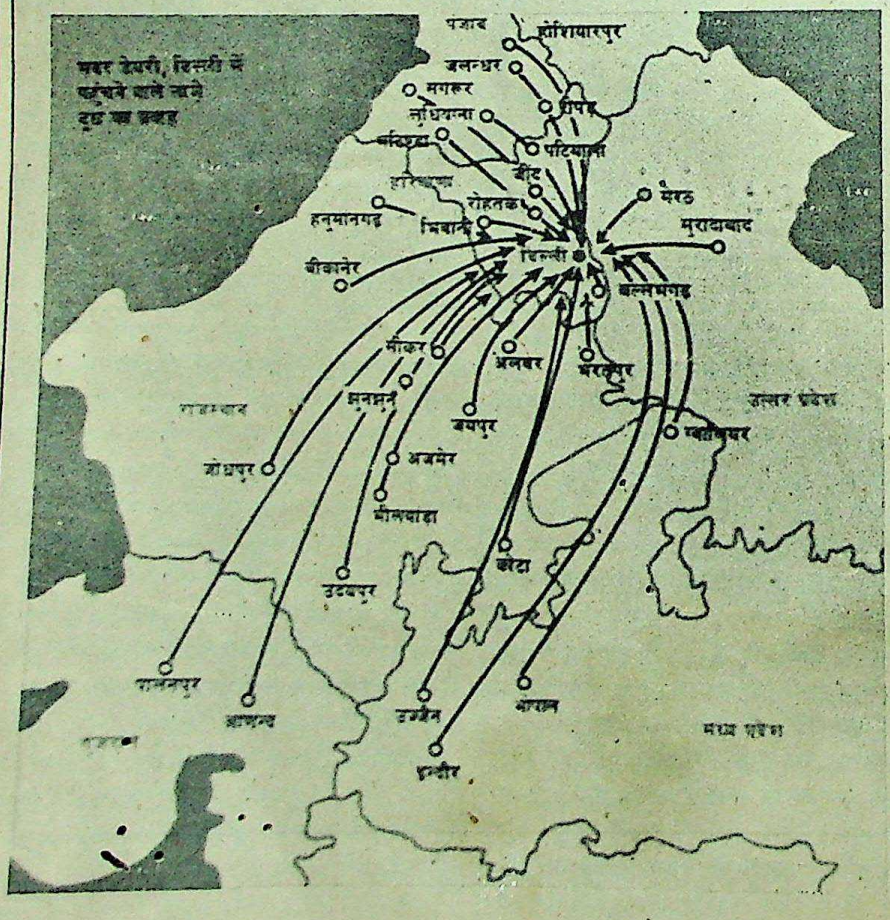
आरोपों का जवाब : जिस पुस्तिका की ऊपर चर्चा की गयी है, उसमें बोर्ड व निगम तथा 'आपरेशन फ्लड' पर लगाये गये सभी आरोपों के जवाब हैं, मगर एक उच्च अधिकारी ने 'माया' को इस आरोप के बारे में विशेष रूप से बताया कि क्या 'आपरेशन फ्लड' गुजरात के लिए ही सीमित है? उसके अनुसार इस योजना का उद्देश्य पूरे देश में 'आनंद' पद्धति का विकास करना था। गुजरात में इसके विशेष प्रसारण व संकेन्द्रण का कारण यह है कि सहकारी ढंग के दुग्ध विक्रय की योजना की वहां सबसे पुरानी परम्परा रही है।

उपरोक्त अधिकारी के अनुसार, 'आपरेशन फ्लड' की धनराशि में से गुजरात को दूसरे राज्यों की कीमत पर कुछ भी नहीं दिया गया है। गुजरात को सिर्फ ९ प्रतिशत धनराशि निर्धारित की गयी थी, मगर योजना के अंतिम चरण में सबसे अधिक लाभ कमाने के कारण इसमें बढ़ोतरी कर दी गयी। इतना ही नहीं, गुजरात ने निर्धारित राशि का पूरा उपयोग किया, जबकि अन्य राज्य वैसा नहीं कर पाये।

बोर्ड व निगम के सभी अधिकारी इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि समय आने पर सभी आरोपों का सही जवाब दिये जायेंगे। मगर फिलहाल वह इस जांच के लिए प्रयत्नशील दिखायी देते हैं कि जांच उनकी ओर से प्रेरित हो न कि उन 'लॉबियों' की ओर से जिनका निहित स्वार्थ बोर्ड व निगम के हितों से टकराता है।

—शिवकुमार सिंह भदौरिया

मदर डेरी का क्षेत्र



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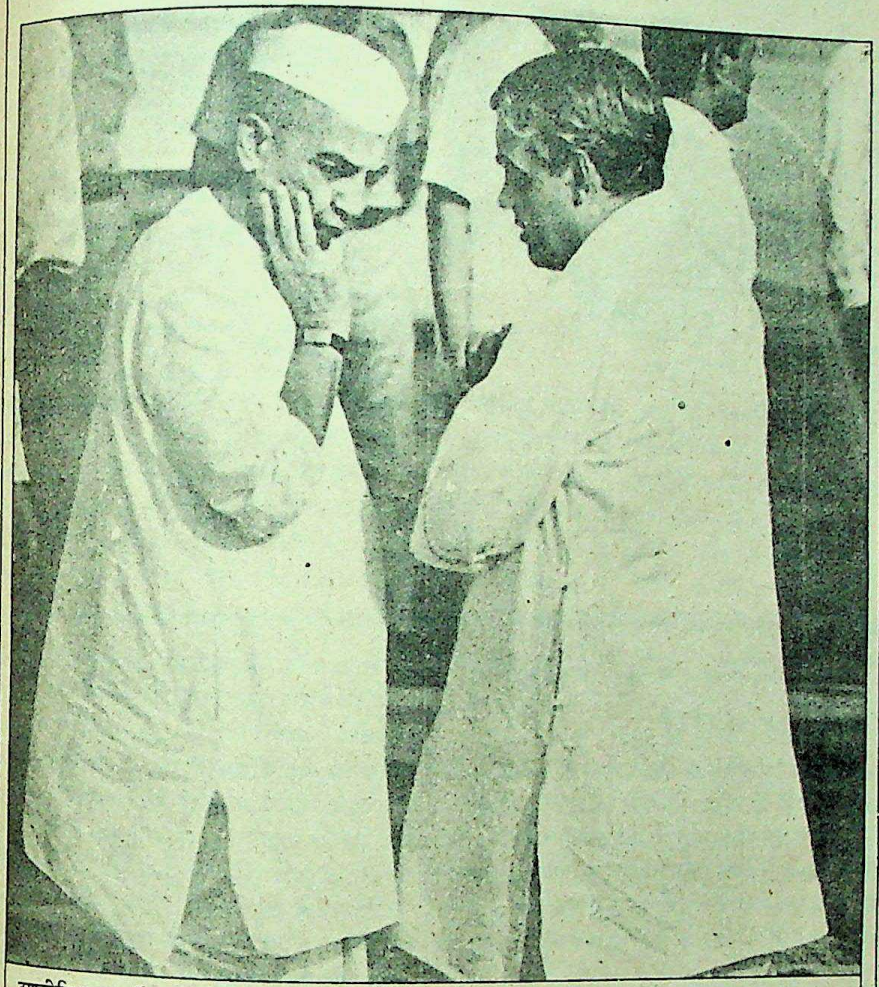
Funding: Tattva Heritage and

उप-चुनावों के परिणाम

प्रतिपक्ष के समीकरण निरर्थक रहे

२३ दिसम्बर को आयोजित ३ लोकसभायी और ११ विधानसभायी उपचुनावों के परिणामों का अंतरंग जायजा



रणनीति पर पुनर्विचार : अटल और चौधरी — छाया : राजीव चावला

गत २३ दिसम्बर को, तीन लोकसभा और ग्यारह विधानसभा सीटों के लिए जो उपचुनाव हुए, उनके नतीजों से स्पष्ट हो गया कि विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों को अपनी स्थिति के बारे में बड़ी गलतफहमियां थीं। इन सीटों में से कांग्रेस-इ ने लोकसभा की एक और विधानसभा की ८ सीटें जीतीं। लोकसभा की दूसरी सीट भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और तीसरी सीट जनता पार्टी ने जीती। विधानसभा की शेष तीन सीटों में से दो लोकदल ने और एक संजय विचार मंच ने जीती।

कांग्रेस-इ की जीत से यह साफ है कि विरोध पक्ष उसके प्रभाव के गिरते जाने के बारे में बढ़ा-चढ़ाकर अनुमान लगाता आ रहा है। जहां कांग्रेस-इ के अंदरूनी मनमुटाव पाटे जा सके, वहां उसको अपने वोट जुटाने में कोई खास कठिनाई नहीं हुई। उदाहरण के लिए, राजस्थान और हरियाणा में।

राजस्थान में मंडावा चुनाव क्षेत्र में कांग्रेस-इ के रामनारायण चौधरी ने लोकदल से यह सीट छीन ली। यह सीट राजस्थान विधानसभा में लोकदल के नेता लच्छू राम की मृत्यु से खाली हुई थी। लोकदल ने लच्छू राम के पुत्र दयाराम सरन को खड़ा किया था और आशा की थी कि चूंकि जाटों में वफादारी पार्टी के प्रति नहीं, व्यक्ति और उसके परिवार के प्रति होती है, इसलिए लच्छू राम के पुत्र जीत सकते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी की विजय इसलिए और भी आश्चर्यजनक है कि राजस्थान के तमाम जाट कांग्रेस-इ नेता उनके विरोधी हो गये थे। केन्द्रीय राज्यमंत्री राम निवास मिर्धा, परस राम मदेरणा, श्रीमती बेनीवाल और शीशराम ओला जैसे नेताओं ने इस चुनाव क्षेत्र में प्रचार के दौरान अपनी शक्ल तक नहीं दिखायी। इसके बावजूद जीत का कारण यह बताया जाता है कि मुख्यमंत्री शिवचरण माथुर स्थानीय जाट कार्यकर्ताओं को एकताबद्ध करने में कामयाब हुए।

हरियाणा में फतेहाबाद चुनाव क्षेत्र में कांग्रेस-इ के उम्मीदवार लीलाकृष्ण ने निर्दलीय उम्मीदवार मनीराम गोदारा को हरा दिया। गोदारा को प्रतिपक्ष के सभी दलों का, यानी लोकदल भारतीय जनता पार्टी मोर्चा और संयुक्त लोकतांत्रिक मोर्चा, दोनों का समर्थन प्राप्त था। यहां कांग्रेस-इ की जीत से यह बात गलत साबित हुई कि अगर सभी दल एक होकर चुनाव लड़ें, तो वे शासक पार्टी की हार निश्चित बना सकते हैं। यह अवश्य हुआ कि कांग्रेस-इ का बहुमत कम रहा। लीलाकृष्ण को ३३,७२३ वोट और गोदारा को ३२,३२४ वोट मिले।

भाजपा-लोकदल मोर्चे की निरर्थकता: इन उपचुनावों में संयुक्त मोर्चे भी कसौटी पर कसे गये। हिन्दी क्षेत्र में भाजपा-लोकदल मोर्चा अपने को एक भारी विकल्प समझ रहा था। किंतु नतीजों से स्पष्ट है कि दोनों ही दल अपने समर्थकों के वोट एक-दूसरे के उम्मीदवारों को दिलवाने में कामयाब नहीं हुए। दूसरे, जाट प्रदेश में, विशेषकर हरियाणा में, चरण सिंह का करिश्मा धुंधला पड़ रहा है।

हरियाणा के सोनीपत संसदीय चुनाव क्षेत्र में लोकदल उम्मीदवार किताब सिंह को मात्र ७०,००० वोट मिले और वह बमुश्किल अपनी जमानत बचा पाये। इसमें शक नहीं कि यहां कांग्रेस-इ के रिजक राम की जीत का मुख्य कारण यह था कि प्रतिपक्ष के वोट बंट गये। जनता पार्टी के उम्मीदवार देवीलाल को १,४७,८६७ वोट मिले और रिजक राम को १,६०,२८४ वोट यानी कुल १२,४१७ का बहुमत मिला। अगर किताब सिंह उम्मीदवार न होते, तो देवीलाल निश्चित ही जीतते। किताब सिंह की जीत पर चरण सिंह ने अपनी प्रतिष्ठा दांव पर लगा दी थी। चरण सिंह यह सिद्ध करने निकले थे कि हरियाणा की जाट जनता के असली नेता वह स्वयं हैं, देवीलाल नहीं। किताब सिंह यह सिद्ध नहीं कर सके। दूसरे, उन्हें इस चुनाव क्षेत्र में भाजपा के वोट भी अधिकांशतः नहीं मिले, वरना शायद वह दूसरे नम्बर पर होते और देवीलाल तीसरे नम्बर पर। सोनीपत विधान-सभाई क्षेत्र में, जहां से विधानसभा के लिए अभी पिछले ही वर्ष भाजपा उम्मीदवार चुना गया था, कांग्रेस-इ को स्पष्ट बहुमत मिलना, इस बात का प्रमाण है कि यहां भाजपा-समर्थकों ने लोकदल के बजाय कांग्रेस-इ को वोट दिया।

सोनीपत के नतीजे को देखकर यह कहा जा सकता है कि अगर दो संयुक्त मोर्चे वोट न बांटे, तो कांग्रेस-इ की जीत नहीं हो सकती। मगर

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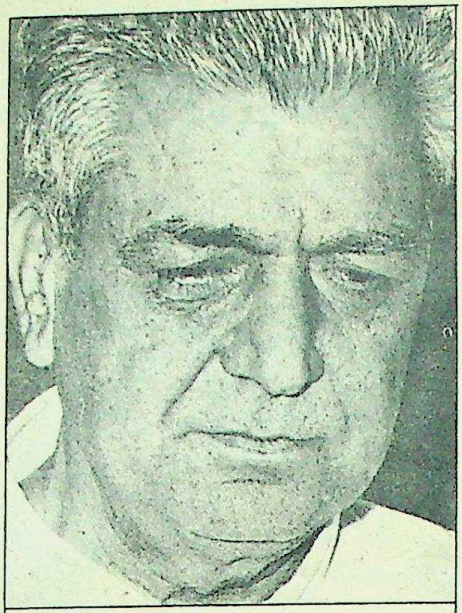
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

बुलंदशहर के नतीजों को देखकर इस बात का खंडन हो जाता है। यहां कांग्रेस-इ दोनों मोर्चों के उम्मीदवारों की उपस्थिति का लाभ नहीं उठा सकी और जीत जनता पार्टी के नेता बनारसी दास के हाथ लगी। वास्तव में, लोकदल भी यही आशा कर रहा था कि कांग्रेस के वोट जनता पार्टी के उम्मीदवार बनारसी दास बांट ले जायेंगे और पिछले चुनाव की तरह इस बार फिर उनकी ही पार्टी की विजय होगी। भाजपा के समर्थन के कारण उन्हें अपना पलड़ा भारी दिखायी दे रहा था। मगर जनता ने उनका हिसाब-किताब गड़बड़ कर दिया। पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के जाट बहुमत वाले क्षेत्र के बीचोंबीच लोकदल की हार से चौधरी चरण सिंह की प्रतिष्ठा को गहरा धक्का लगा। साथ ही, यह भी सिद्ध हो गया कि इस क्षेत्र में लोकदल को भारतीय जनता पार्टी के समर्थन से कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकता।

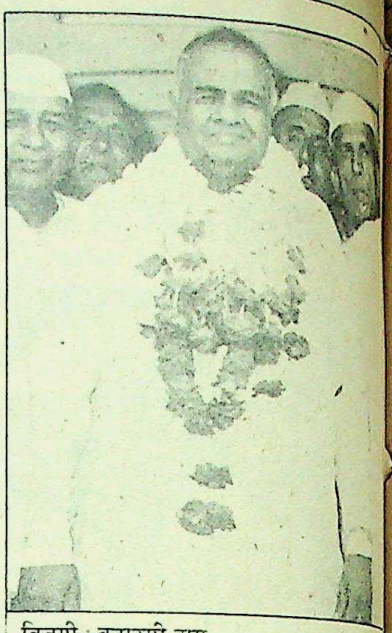
लोकदल के साथ संयुक्त मोर्चे से भारतीय जनता पार्टी को भी कतई लाभ नहीं हुआ। उत्तर प्रदेश के तिंदवारी चुनाव क्षेत्र में और बिहार के बांका चुनाव क्षेत्र में भारतीय जनता पार्टी उम्मीदवारों के जीतने की तो बात ही क्या, वे कांग्रेस-इ के लिए कोई गंभीर चुनौती भी नहीं बन सके। उसके उम्मीदवार बुरी तरह पीछे बने रहे।

माकपा का घमण्ड टूटा: पूरे चुनाव में



पराजित : देवीलाल

शायद कांग्रेस-इ की प्रतिष्ठा और उसके कार्यकर्ताओं के आत्मविश्वास को बढ़ाने में पश्चिमी बंगाल के उपचुनावों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होगी, जहां कांग्रेस-इ ने दो सीटें मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के हाथ से छीन लीं। कलकत्ता में आयोजित अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस-इ कमेटी के महा अधिवेशन के



विजयी : बनारसी दास

अवसर पर यह जीत संगठन के लिए बड़ा मूल्यवान उपहार थी।

यह सही है कि दोनों सीटें उन ११ चुनाव क्षेत्रों में थीं, जिनमें पिछले चुनाव में माकपा ५०० से १,००० वोट से विजयी हुई थी। चुनाव परिणाम से स्पष्ट हुआ कि माकपा अपनी सत्ता के बल

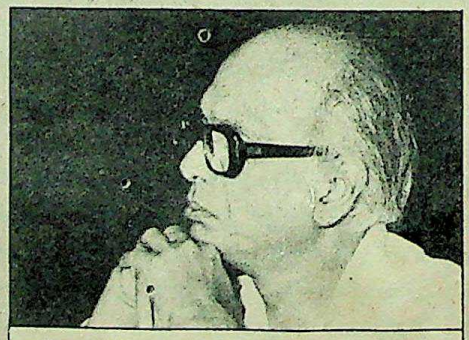
उत्तर प्रदेश : उपचुनावों के परिणाम क्या नेतृत्व-परिवर्तन करेंगे ?

उप चुनावों में जहां इंका ने राजस्थान, हरियाणा, बिहार और पश्चिम बंगाल में लोकदल, जनता पार्टी और मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी तक से सीटें छीनकर सभी स्थानों पर कब्जा प्राप्त करने में सफलता पायी है, वहीं उत्तर प्रदेश में सीटें छीनना तो दूर अपनी भी दो सीटों पर उसे पराजय का मुंह देखना पड़ा है।

इन चुनावों के बाद अब प्रदेश में फिर तरह-तरह की अटकलें शुरू हो गयी हैं। इस बार भी चर्चा का विषय मुख्यमंत्री श्रीपति मिश्र ही बने हैं। चर्चा तो यहां तक होने लगी है कि इस पराजय के कारण श्रीपति मिश्र को हटाकर उनके स्थान पर श्रीमती मोहसिना किदवई मुख्यमंत्री बनायी जायेंगी।

जहां एक ओर मुख्यमंत्री से नाराज इंका का एक वर्ग यह तर्क दे रहा है कि इस हार की पूरी जिम्मेदारी श्रीपति मिश्र की है, वहीं मुख्यमंत्री के समर्थकों का कहना है कि प्रत्याशियों के गलत चयन के कारण ही यह हार हुई है और प्रत्याशी-चयन की जिम्मेदारी हाईकमान की थी।

पूरे एक माह तक श्रीपति मिश्र मंत्रिमंडल ने सब काम छोड़कर अपनी सारी ताकत चुनाव में लगा दी थी। मंत्रियों को विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गयी थी तथा स्वयं मुख्यमंत्री हेलीकाप्टर से सभी क्षेत्रों का दौरा कर रहे थे। चुनाव परिणाम ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि मंत्रियों की जिन क्षेत्रों में उपस्थिति अधिक थी, कांग्रेस उम्मीदवार वहीं पराजित हुआ है। तिंदवारी (बांदा) विधानसभा क्षेत्र में राज्य मंत्रिमंडल का एक भी सदस्य नहीं था, जबकि सिसवां (गोरखपुर) में केवल दो मंत्री वीरबहादुर सिंह और



भविष्य की चिंता : श्रीपति मिश्र

बलराम सिंह यादव प्रारंभ से अन्त तक बने रहे।

इन उप चुनावों में राज्य के जिन तीन भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्रियों की प्रतिष्ठा दांव पर लगी थी उनमें से एक विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह ने तिंदवारी में अपने पर दाग लगने से बचा लिया है, जबकि बनारसीदास ने बुलंदशहर में अपने को और निखारा है। तीसरे भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री नारायण दत्त तिवारी की जिम्मेदारी पर सौंपे गये पीलीभीत विधानसभा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में संजय मंच की पहली जीत ने पूरे देश में हड़कम्प मचा दिया है। इस जीत से न केवल नारायण दत्त तिवारी की प्रतिष्ठा को आघात पहुंचा है, बल्कि श्रीमती मेनका गांधी की आकांक्षा में राजीव गांधी को दी जा रही चुनौती और गंभीर हो गयी है। राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में यह चर्चा जोरों पर है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी उत्तर प्रदेश में मेनका की जीत बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगी और इसके लिए किसी-न-किसी को बलि का बकरा बनना होगा।

इस समय, जबकि चारों ओर चुनाव का माहौल है, उत्तर प्रदेश को ऐसे नेतृत्व के हाथों में रहने दें जो उप चुनाव भी नहीं जिता सकता, शायद ही कमान पसंद नहीं करेगा।

वर्ष १९८० के आम चुनाव के बाद में लोकसभा और विधानसभा के जो भी उप चुनाव हुए, उनमें से अधिकांश इंका के ही पक्ष में गये। इस दौरान हुए १६ उप चुनावों में इंका ने १२ में सफलता पायी थी। लोकसभा की ५ में से ४ विधानसभा की ११ में से ८ सीटें उसने प्राप्त थीं, लेकिन इस बार हुए—लोकसभा के १ विधानसभा के ५—उप चुनावों में इंका को विधानसभा की दो ही सीटें लग सकी हैं। फतेहपुर नगर व पीलीभीत की दो विधानसभा सीटें, जिन पर इंका का पहले से कब्जा था, इस बार हाथ से निकल गयी हैं।

सिसवां और तिंदवारी, जहां इंका के उम्मी

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute. Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva Foundation

अपने जन-प्रभाव का और अधिक विस्तार नहीं कर पायी।

हाल के दिनों में संकेत मिल रहे थे कि माकपा नेता अपने विशाल बहुमत के कारण घमण्ड में इतने फूल गये थे कि वाम मोर्चे में शामिल अन्य पार्टियों को 'खत्म' करने की योजना बना रहे थे। वाम पार्टियों में इस रुख के कारण बड़ी बेचैनी थी और वे माकपा की संकुचित कार्य-नीति की कड़ी आलोचना कर रहे थे। निस्संदेह, माकपा की हार में इन पार्टियों के असंतोष का भी योगदान रहा है। वामपंथी क्षेत्रों में यह चर्चा चल पड़ी है कि अगर माकपा ने उनकी उपेक्षा की तो पूरे बंगाल में उसका प्रभाव पड़ सकता है।

कांग्रेस-इ ने इन दो उपचुनावों में अपनी आपसी गुटबंदी के बावजूद जीत हासिल की, यह कोई कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। कृष्णगंज में कांग्रेस उम्मीदवार आनंदमोहन विश्वास लगभग अकेले चुनाव-अभियान में जुटे हुए थे। वहां किसी बड़े कांग्रेस-इ नेता ने सभाओं में भाग नहीं लिया। वित्तमंत्री प्रणव मुखर्जी के लोगों से भरी हुई प्रदेश कांग्रेस-इ कमेटी ने उपचुनावों की बड़ी उपेक्षा की। उसके नेता अधिवेशन की तैयारियों में छीना-झपटी करने में लगे रहे। कालियाचक चुनाव क्षेत्र में रेलमंत्री गनी खान चौधरी ने गहरी दिलचस्पी ली और यहां कांग्रेस-इ की जीत को वह

बेतिया में पार्टी क्यों हारी? : चंद्रशेखर सिंह और डा० जगन्नाथ

छाया : कृष्ण मुरारी किशन

अपनी जीत मान सकते हैं। मगर यहां भी कांग्रेस-इ संगठन में कोई भारी सुधार नहीं हुआ है। इससे यही नतीजा निकलता है कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में माकपा में जनता का विश्वास घटता जा रहा है और इसलिए उसने कांग्रेस-इ संगठन की दुर्बलता के बावजूद स्वयं पहल कर उसको वोट दिया।

इसके विपरीत बिहार में बेतिया संसदीय चुनाव क्षेत्र में भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की जीत से यह संकेत मिलता है कि पार्टी की इंदिरा-विरोधी नीतियों को नया समर्थन मिला है और बिहार के एक बड़े नेता, योगीन्द्र शर्मा, की (जिन्होंने इंदिरा गांधी का सोवियत नेता आंद्रोपोव के नाम पत्र ले जाने के कांड में काफी नाम कमाया) इंदिरापरस्ती को स्वयं उनके घर में मात खानी पड़ी है।

कुल मिलाकर ये उपचुनाव कांग्रेस-इ के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश को छोड़कर उत्साहवर्द्धक हो सकते हैं, क्योंकि इससे वह यह नतीजा निकाल सकती है कि आम चुनाव हों तो संसद में उसको बहुमत मिल सकता है। मगर खतरा भी कोई कम नहीं है कि वह बहुत कम बहुमत प्राप्त करे। इसलिए बेहतर यही होगा कि वह आगामी चुनाव की अंतिम तारीख से पहले चुनाव न कराये, बल्कि इस अवधि को संगठन सुधारने में लगाये। राजीव गांधी के निकटवर्ती सूत्रों का कहना है कि उनका स्वयं यही विचार है।

—राजेन्द्र वर्मा

वार विजयी हुए हैं, वह वस्तुतः दल की विजय के बजाय परिवार और व्यक्तिगत जीत मानी जा रही है।

कांग्रेस-इ के विरोधी धड़े का कहना है कि श्रीपति मिश्र, जिनको न तो विधायक दल का समर्थन प्राप्त है और न ही सत्ता पर उनकी पकड़ है, के पास विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की तरह त्यागपत्र दे देने के अलावा कोई और विकल्प नहीं है। वैसे भी, बुलंदशहर में प्रचार के दौरान आबकारी मंत्री विद्याभूषण अन्य बातों के अलावा यह भी प्रचार कर रहे थे कि उप चुनाव के बाद श्रीपति मिश्र हट रहे हैं, तब सब ठीक हो जायेगा।

बुलंदशहर में बनारसी दास की जीत उनकी व्यक्तिगत जीत है। राष्ट्रीय लोकतांत्रिक मोर्चा (रालोमो) ने सरवर हुसैन खां के स्थान पर यदि भूतपूर्व मंत्री हिम्मतसिंह को खड़ा किया होता, तो शायद परिणाम कुछ और ही होता। लोकदल, जिसने १९८० में अपने उम्मीदवार महमूद हसन खां को मुस्लिमों के बीच यह प्रचार करके जिताया था कि 'पहले भाई बाद में आई', इस बार बनारसी दास के पक्ष में नारा लगाया गया—'पहले हिन्दू बाद में बुन्दू।' इस सीट के लिए रालोमो और इंका दोनों ने ही मुस्लिम उम्मीदवार मैदान में उतारे थे, जिसकी जबरदस्त प्रतिक्रिया हिन्दू मतदाताओं पर हुई। लोकदल के हाथ से यह सीट तो निकल गयी, लेकिन फाजिलनगर (देवरिया) की विधानसभा सीट जीत कर उसने इस हार के असर को कुछ कम अवश्य किया है।

इंका ने फाजिलनगर सीट की जिम्मेदारी राज्यमंत्री बच्चा पाठक और राजमंगल पांडेय पर छोड़ रखी थी। बच्चा पाठक ने चुनाव प्रचार में न केवल 'जी तोड़' मेहनत की, वरन् गोरखपुर के हरिशंकर तिवारी और उनकी सशस्त्र सेना की भी मदद ली। ऐन मतदान के दिन दो स्थानों पर गोलियां भी चलीं, जिसमें चार लोग मारे गये।

इस गोलीकांड के संबंध में लोकदल के मोहन-सिंह का आरोप है कि यह कांड बच्चा पाठक के इशारे पर तिवारी और उनके आदमियों ने किया है।

मोहन सिंह के अनुसार—"२३ दिसम्बर को मतदान के दिन दोपहर दो बजे हरिशंकर तिवारी पटहेरवा थाने के पास मंगलपुर पोलिंग स्टेशन पर ५ जीपों पर सवार अपनी सशस्त्र सेना के साथ मतदान केन्द्र लूटने पहुंचे थे। निहत्थे ग्रामीणों ने उनका मुकाबला किया। आतताइयों की गोली से १९ वर्षीय युवक घटना-स्थल पर मारा गया। एक बुढ़िया और अधेड़ व्यक्ति घायल अवस्था में छटपटा रहे थे। मैंने स्वयं घायलों को एक जीप पर लाद कर पटहेरवा थाने पहुंचाया। वहां जिलाधिकारी और पुलिस अधीक्षक मौजूद थे। मैंने दोनों अधिकारियों से हरिशंकर तिवारी और उनके साथियों को गिरफ्तार करने को भी कहा, लेकिन जिला प्रशासन की ओर से इसका कोई प्रयास नहीं किया गया। दोनों घायलों की बाद में मृत्यु हो गयी।"

गोलीकांड की दूसरी घटना उसी दिन प्रातः १० बजे की है। इसमें तिवारी गुट के विरोधी वीरेन्द्र प्रताप शाही के साथी राम प्रवेश सिंह पर गोली चलायी गयी। राम प्रवेश तो बच गये, किंतु उनका अंगरक्षक महातम सिंह मारा गया। राम प्रवेश वहां संजय विचार मंच के प्रत्याशी का प्रचार कर रहे थे।

राष्ट्रीय संजय मंच की पीलीभीत में हुई जीत का प्रदेश की राजनीति पर सबसे ज्यादा असर पड़ेगा। माधोगढ़ (जालौन) और फाजिलनगर में हारने वाले मंच के उम्मीदवारों ने जो मत प्राप्त किये हैं वे न केवल जनता पार्टी के नेतृत्व वाले पांच दलीय मोर्चे के उम्मीदवारों से बहुत अधिक हैं, वरन् हारने वाले इंका उम्मीदवारों से थोड़ा ही कम है।

उत्तर प्रदेश में लोकदल-भाजपा गठबंधन इन उप चुनावों में कारगर साबित हुआ है। यदि बुलंदशहर में उम्मीदवार का चयन ठीक हुआ होता, तो गठबंधन की स्थिति में और निखार आता। दोनों दलों के नेताओं ने आगामी चुनावों में उम्मीदवार चयन करते समय पूर्वाग्रहों से बचने का प्रयास किया तो इंका के असरदार विकल्प के रूप में उसे देखा जा सकेगा।

अनुमान लगाया जाता है कि इंका ने इस उप चुनाव में लगभग ३ करोड़ रुपये व्यय किये हैं। इसमें अधिकांश रकम 'गुलछर्रे' उड़ाने में ही खर्च हुई है। सभी ६ स्थानों पर प्रचार के लिए ८३ टैक्सियां किराये पर ली गयी थीं, जिन पर चुनाव-प्रचार के बजाय अधिकांश युवा कांग्रेसी मौजमस्ती करते रहे।

—अजय कुमार

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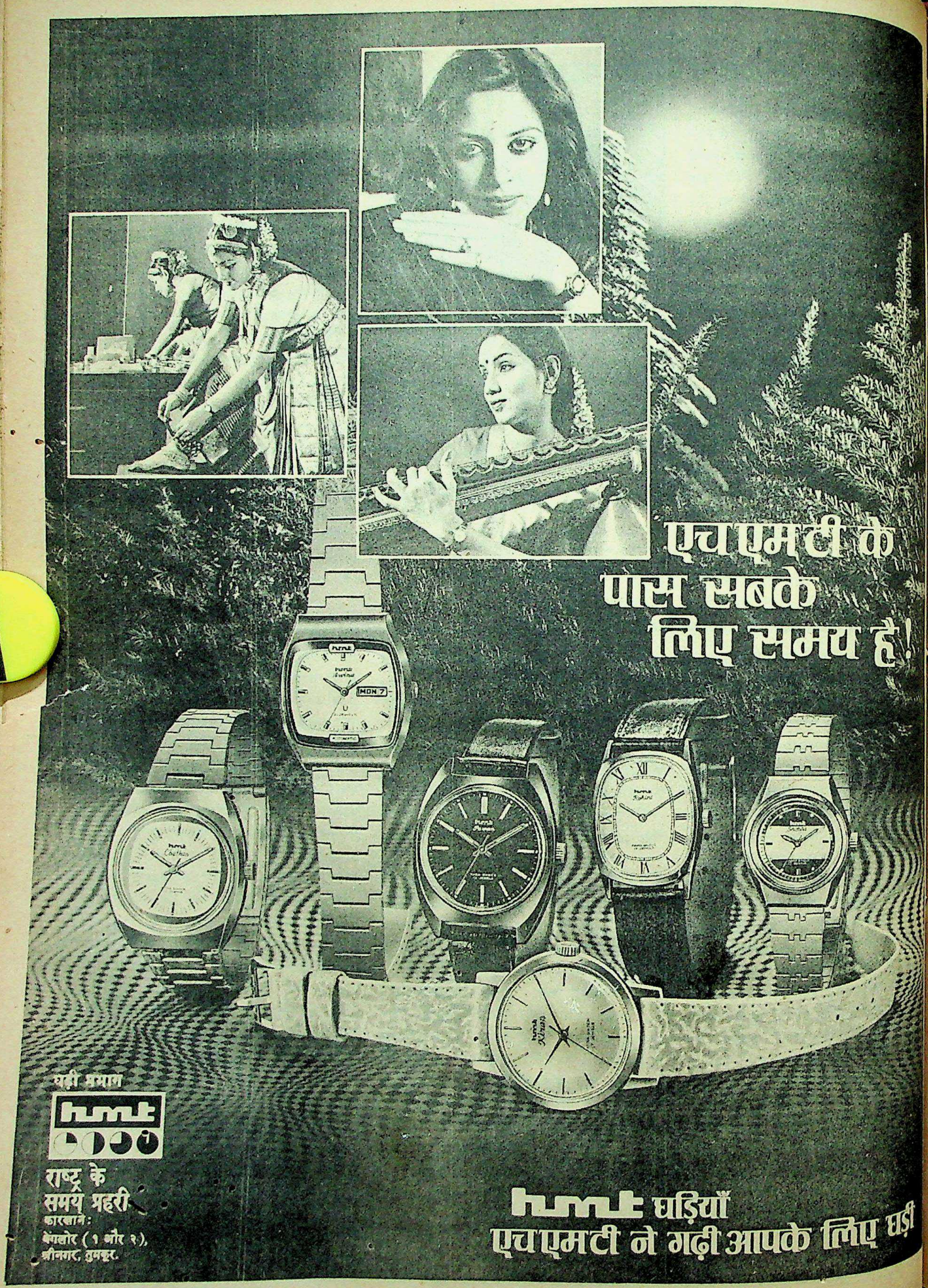

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दिल्ली : अपराधों की नगरी

क्या दिल्ली धीरे-धीरे अपनी शान्त गरिमा खोकर उन महानगरों के रंग-ढंग अपना रही है, जहां हर मिनट लूट-पाट, हत्या या अपराध की कोई-न-कोई घटना होती है ? क्या १९८३ दिल्ली के लिए अपराधों का कैलेण्डर रहा ?

काँलबेल की आवाज सुनते ही बीना अपने बच्चे विकी को गोद में उठाये दरवाजे की ओर लपकी। यह क्या ? कुंडी खुलते ही दो नकाबपोश बंदूक और चाकू लिए अंदर दाखिल हो गये। एक ने झपट्टा मारकर विकी को अपने कब्जे में कर लिया और दूसरा बंदूक की नोक पर बीना को बेडरूम तक ले आया...

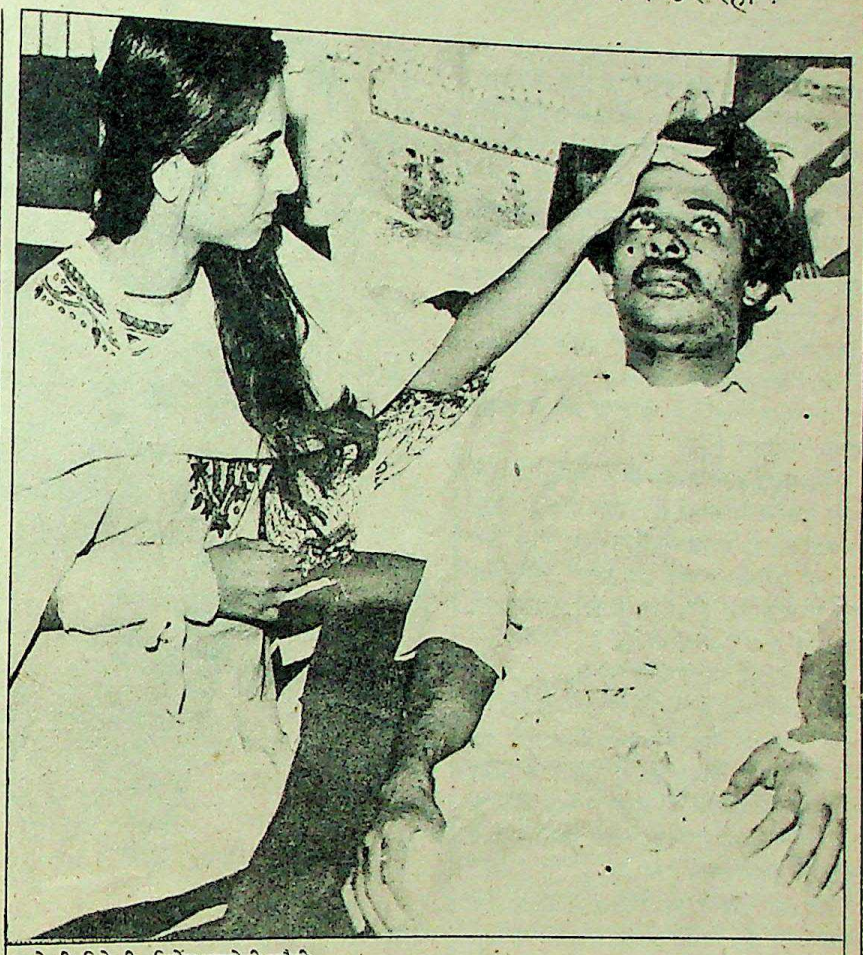
यह किसी कहानी या फिल्म का दृश्य नहीं, बल्कि १७ दिसम्बर, १९८३ की दोपहर एक बजे राजधानी दिल्ली में घटित एक सच्ची घटना है।

सच तो यह है कि आये दिन लूटपाट, हत्या और बलात्कार की कोई-न-कोई सनसनीखेज घटना राजधानी में घटती रही है और दिल्ली को लोग 'अपराधों की नगरी' कहने लगे हैं। दिन दहाड़े हुए अपराधों के चंद नमूने इस प्रकार हैं :

*२६ नवम्बर। दिल्ली के सबसे भीड़-भाड़ वाले बाजार करोलबाग स्थित सोने-चांदी की दुकान 'माया ज्वेलर्स' में दोपहर दो बजे पिस्तौलों और बंदूकों से लैस छह सिख लुटेरे घुस आये और २० मिनट में लगभग २० लाख रुपये के जेवरात और नकदी लूटकर चलते बने।

*१८ नवम्बर। डिफेंस कालोनी फ्लाई-ओवर के नीचे दिल्ली पर्यटन विकास निगम द्वारा चलायी जा रही शराब की एक दुकान में शाम ढलते ही तीन सशस्त्र लुटेरे घुस आये और पिस्तौल की नोंक पर १,८४,५०६ रुपये नकद लेकर चम्पत हो गये।

*१७ नवम्बर। सर्वोदय एनक्लेव स्थित पंजाब नेशनल बैंक की शाखा में हथियारों से लैस लगभग आधे दर्जन लुटेरे दोपहर एक बजे के करीब घुसे और पंद्रह मिनट में पांच लाख रुपये लूटकर चलते बने।



लुटे भी पिटे भी : डिफेंस कालोनी डकैती

१९८३ : अपराधों में बढ़ोतरी का वर्ष : संसद के शीतकालीन अधिवेशन के दौरान केंद्रीय गृहमंत्री प्रकाश चंद सेठी ने भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि १९८३ में दिल्ली में अपराधों की संख्या में वृद्धि हुई है।

एक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार अपराध के मामले में दिल्ली जहां देश में पहले सातवें स्थान पर थी, अब तीसरे स्थान पर आ गयी है। १५ दिसम्बर, १९८३ तक दिल्ली के विभिन्न थानों में अपराध के जो मामले दर्ज किये गये, उनकी कुल संख्या २६,२६० है। यदि ऐसे मामलों को भी शामिल किया जाये, जिन्हें किन्हीं कारणवश दर्ज नहीं किया गया, तो कुल मिलाकर पिछले वर्ष की तुलना में इस वर्ष अपराधों में १५ से २० प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। पुलिस सूचनाओं के अनुसार १९८३ में १५ डकैती, २३५ हत्याएं, १६७ दंगे और लूटपाट की १८३ वारदातें दर्ज की गयीं। "इनमें १० डकैतियां, १३० हत्याएं और लूटपाट के ८३ मामले सुलझाये जा चुके हैं," गृहमंत्री सेठी ने सदन को बताया कि "इस सिलसिले में कुल ५०५ लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया जा चुका है।"

'अपराध की नगरी' क्यों ? : राजधानी में लगातार हुए सात बम-विस्फोटों, हत्या, लूटपाट, बलात्कार के अलावा इधर शहर की बसों में छीनाझपटी और लूटपाट की वारदातें इतनी बढ़ गयी हैं कि लोगों का बसों में सफर करना दूभर हो गया है।

१३ दिसम्बर की सुबह दस बजे के करीब एक पत्रकार दफ्तर जाने के लिए बस नंबर ८५ पर प्रगति मैदान से सवार हुआ। जब उसकी बस कस्तूरबा गांधी मार्ग पर मैक्समूलर भवन के पास पहुंची, तो चलती बस में पांच युवक चढ़ गये। पत्रकार को मैक्समूलर भवन के स्टैंड पर उतरना था, इसलिए वह गेट पर आ गया था। तभी पांचों युवकों ने उसे चारों ओर से घेर लिया और चाकू की नोक पर उसकी जेबों की तलाशी लेने लगे। पत्रकार ज्योंही उतरने को हुआ, एक ने उसकी कलाई पर बंधी घड़ी उतार ली।

इतना ही नहीं, सांसदों के निवास भी सुरक्षित नहीं रहे। इधर लगातार दो सांसदों, जिनमें जनता पार्टी के मधु दंडवते भी शामिल हैं, के फ्लैट में चोरियां हुई हैं।

यहां रह रहे राजनयिक तो बहुत पहले से आतंकित हैं। महारानी बाग में अवकाशप्राप्त राजनयिक के०आर०एफ० खिलानी और उनकी पत्नी की नृशंस हत्या कर दी गयी। चाणक्यपुरी स्थित अमरीकी दूतावास के आवासीय फ्लैटों के अहाते में किसी ने एंटी मिसाइल छोड़ दिया। कनाट प्लेस स्थित 'एयर फ्रांस' और 'इराकी एयरवेज' के दफ्तरों में भयानक बम-विस्फोट हुए। जोर्डन के राजदूत मुहम्मद अली खुर्मा पर किसी ने अचानक आक्रमण कर दिया और वह बुरी तरह

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जख्मी हो गये। और यह सब १९८३ में ही हुआ।

यमुना पार के दो सिनेमाघरों में हुए दो बम-विस्फोटों में छह लोगों की जानें गयीं और ४० घायल हुए। नई दिल्ली रेलवे स्टेशन पर हुए बम-विस्फोट में २५ लोग जख्मी हुए।

अप्रैल से नवम्बर, १९८३ के दौरान कुल ३७१ विवाहित महिलाओं की जानें गयीं, जिनमें दहेज बलि भी शामिल हैं।

सड़क दुर्घटनाओं में हुई हजारों मौतों के अलावा पुलिस की गोलियों से ५ लोगों की जानें गयीं—तीन पश्चिमी दिल्ली में तथा दो दक्षिणी दिल्ली में बेकाबू भीड़ को तितर-बितर करने के उपक्रम में।

राजेंद्र प्लेस स्थित 'गोपाल टावर' अग्नि-कांड में एक अग्नि-शमन अधिकारी की जान गयी। इसके अलावा पश्चिमी दिल्ली स्थित इंडियन आयल के गैस डिपो में आग लग जाने और फिर हजारों सिलिंडरों के विस्फोट से तीन लोगों की जानें गयीं और अनेक घायल हो गये।

नाबालिग लड़कियों के साथ बलात्कार की अनगिनत घटनाएं हुई।

जिम्मेदार कौन ? : दिल्ली के पुलिस आयुक्त सुभाष टंडन ने दिल्ली में बढ़ते हुए अपराध के लिए तीन-चार चीजों को जिम्मेदार ठहराया है। तेजी से बढ़ती हुई यहां की आबादी। दो राज्यों, उत्तर प्रदेश और हरियाणा की सीमा का दिल्ली की सीमा से लगा होना तथा जमानत पर छूटे हुए अपराधी।

यह सही है कि जमानत पर छूटे हुए अनेक शातिर अपराधियों ने दिल्ली में कई बड़ी वारदातें की हैं। मसलन, त्यागी-गैम्बलर गिरोह के कुछ सदस्यों ने, जिनमें गिरोह की हीरोइन मीरा ठाकुर भी शामिल है, जमानत पर छूटने के बाद दिल्ली में कई वारदातें कीं और उत्तरी दिल्ली पुलिस ने उनमें से कुछ को फिर दबोच लिया है।

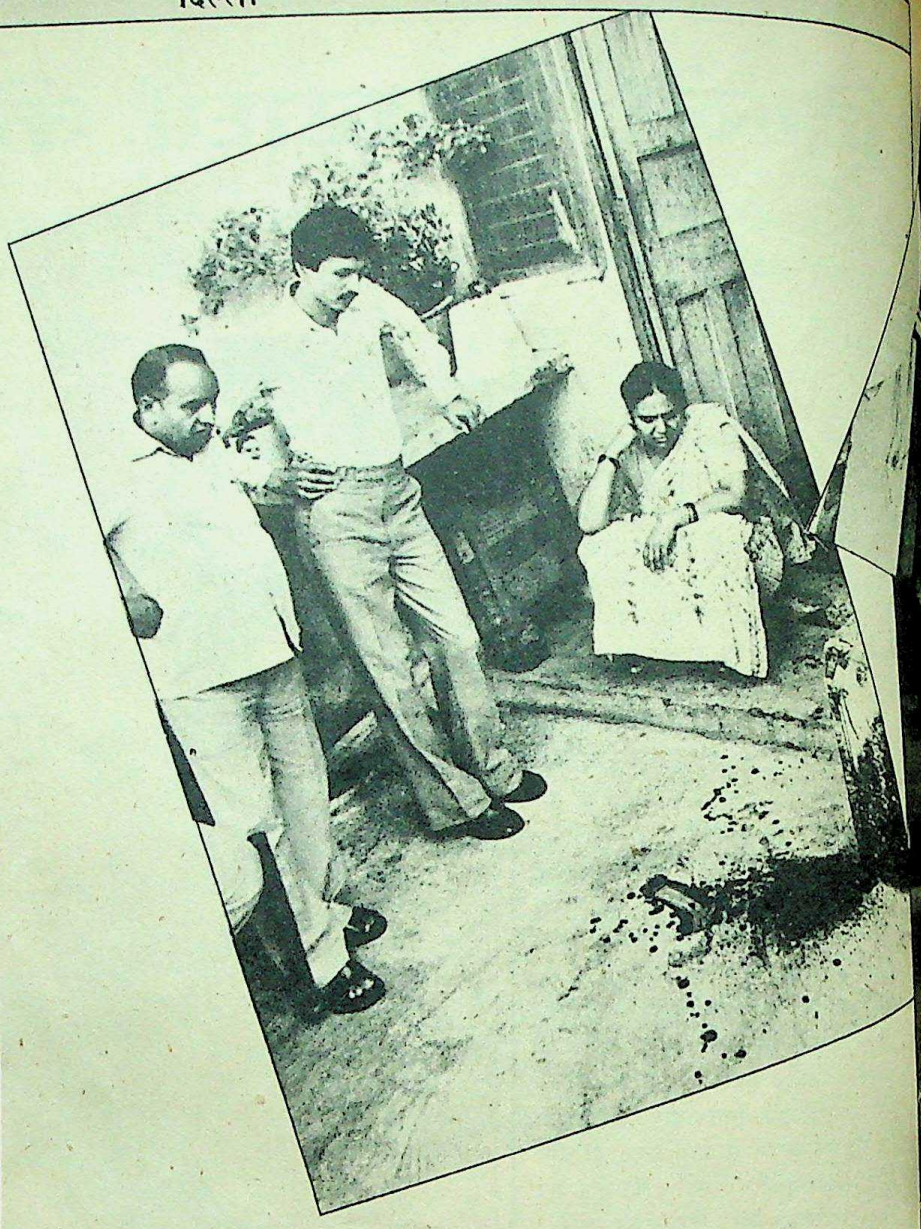
यह भी सही है कि दिल्ली में अनेक ऐसी वारदातें हुई हैं, जिनमें वारदात करने के बाद अपराधी सीमा पार कर सीमावर्ती राज्यों में भाग गये हैं और दिल्ली पुलिस हाथ मलती रह गयी है।

हाल ही में दिल्ली पुलिस ने एक ऐसे कुख्यात गिरोह के सरगना सुभाष को एक मुठभेड़ में मार गिराया जो वारदात करने के बाद कार से दिल्ली की सीमा से बाहर भाग जाता था। हालांकि इस गिरोह के तीन अन्य सदस्यों में—रवीन्द्र उर्फ रवि भी है जो तिहाड़ जेल के वार्डर महेश और भारत भूषण के साथ जेल से भाग निकला था।

यह भी सच है कि दिल्ली की तेजी से बढ़ती हुई आबादी भी यहां के अपराधों में हुई बढ़ोतरी के लिए जिम्मेदार है, लेकिन इनके अलावा कुछ और प्रमुख कारण भी हैं।

पुलिस और पुलिस-अधिकारियों के बेटे : १९८३ में राजधानी में हुए अपराधों में पुलिस और पुलिस-अधिकारियों की भूमिका भी प्रमुख रही है।

राजधानी के प्रसिद्ध व्यापारी कृष्ण सिकंद की हत्या के सिलसिले में केंद्रीय जांच ब्यूरो ने जिस कथित मुख्य अपराधी लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल जीत चौधरी



को गिरफ्तार किया है, वह दिल्ली पुलिस के प्रथम इंसपेक्टर-जनरल साधुराम चौधरी के बेटे हैं।

दिल्ली के भूतपूर्व पुलिस आयुक्त बजरंग लाल के बेटे डिक्की लाल की कारगुजारियां किसी से छिपीं नहीं। वसंत विहार स्थित एक डिपार्टमेंटल स्टोर 'माडर्न बाजार का किस्सा—जहां डिक्की और उसके साथियों ने हुड़दंग मचाया था—आप 'माया', मई, १९८३ के अंक में पढ़ चुके होंगे।

इसी साल अप्रैल में करोल बाग के एक कुख्यात बदमाश लवली को तीन-चार युवकों ने भरे बाजार मौत के घाट उतार दिया। इन युवकों में दिल्ली-पुलिस के एक वरिष्ठ अधिकारी का बेटा भी है।

हाल ही में केंद्रीय जांच ब्यूरो ने जाली नोट के मामले में दिल्ली की एक नई फिल्म अभिनेत्री की खबर ली है, जिसके पिता पुलिस के बड़े अधिकारी हैं। खुफिया सूत्रों का कहना है कि १९८० में दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के एक कालेज से बी०ए० आनर्स करने के बाद वह लड़की बंबई चली गयी, जहां उसने नाटकों में हिस्सा लेना शुरू किया। इसी दरम्यान उसका परिचय पंजाब के भूतपूर्व इंसपेक्टर-जनरल के बेटे रमन ग्रेवाल से हुआ। दोनों के पिता पुलिस अफसर थे, इसलिए दोनों में गहरी मित्रता हो गयी और दोनों साथ-साथ रहने लगे। रमन शुरू में नशीली चीजों की तस्करी करता था। यह अभिनेत्री पहले अनजाने में रमन की गतिविधियों में शामिल रही, फिर जान-बूझकर उसकी मदद करती रही।

इनके अलावा दिल्ली में कई ऐसी वारदातें हुई हैं, जिनमें पुलिस या पुलिस-अधिकारियों के बेटे शामिल रहे हैं।

उग्रवादी और आतंकवादी : केंद्रीय गृहमंत्री प्रकाश चंद सेठी ने संसद के शीतकालीन अधिवेशन के दौरान सदन को यह भी बताया कि इधर दिल्ली में जो अपराध हुए हैं, उनमें कुछ अपराधी उग्रवादियों के साथ मिले हुए हैं। यह सही है कि असम, अरुणाचल और पंजाब के कुछ हिस्से से आये हुए उग्रवादियों ने अपने राजनीतिक लक्ष्य हासिल करने के लिए दिल्ली को अपना केंद्र बना लिया है, वहीं दूसरी ओर अंतरराष्ट्रीय अपराधी भी दिल्ली को आतंकित किये हुए हैं।

महज रोमांच के लिए : राजनेताओं, अधि-

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

कारियों और नव धनाढ्य घरों के युवक महज रोमांच के लिए भी अपराध करते रहे हैं। भूतपूर्व केंद्रीय मंत्री तथा कर्नाटक के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री के० हनुमंतैय्या के नाती सुनील संदीप ने न्यूयार्क से भारत आते वक्त दिल्ली के पालम एयरपोर्ट पर उस समय हंगामा खड़ा कर दिया था, जब वह अपने साथ लाये पिस्तौल में से एक का प्रयोग करता हुआ भाग खड़ा हुआ।

एक कारण शराब भी : राजधानी के युवकों में शराब के बढ़ते फैशन ने भी राजधानी के अपराधों में बढ़ोतरी की है। इस सिलसिले में कांग्रेस-इ के संसदीय सचिव एवं सांसद के०लकप्पा के बेटे के० एल० शेखर तथा उसके दोस्तों ने अगस्त में जो कथित कारस्तानी की, वह उल्लेखनीय है।

दिल्ली-हरियाणा सीमा पर शेखर और उसके दोस्त सड़क के किनारे कार में बैठकर बीयर पी रहे थे और बीयर खत्म होने के बाद खाली बोतलों पर अपनी पिस्तौलों से निशाना साध रहे थे। इसी दरम्यान एक युवा उद्योगपति खुशवंत सिंह उनकी पिस्तौल का निशाना बन गया।

आसानी से पैसा इकट्ठा करने का साधन : बढ़ती हुई महंगाई और अपने खर्चे को पूरा करने के लिए भी राजधानी में कई अपराध हुए हैं। १७ दिसम्बर, १९८३ को उत्तरी दिल्ली के उद्योगपति के घर जिन दो नकाबपोश लुटेरों को गिरफ्तार किया गया वे दोनों सेना के वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों के बेटे हैं—नादिर बिल्लिमोरिया और हेमंत सहाय। पूछ-ताछ के दौरान दोनों ने पुलिस को बताया कि वे हंसराज कालेज में बी०काम० के छात्र हैं और कालेज होस्टल में रह रहे हैं। उनके अभिभावक माहवारी खर्च के लिए ७०० रुपये भेजते रहे हैं, जिनसे उनका खर्च नहीं चलता और उन्हें हमेशा पैसों की तंगी रहती है, इसलिए उन्होंने लूट की योजना बनायी। ये तो अमीर घरानों के लड़के थे, राजधानी के उन बेरोजगार, गरीब युवकों की स्थिति का अंदाजा लगाइए, जिन्हें दोनों वक्त की रोटी नसीब नहीं।

हथियारों की सहज उपलब्धता : आज से तीन साल पहले राजधानी में पिस्तौल, रिवाल्वर आदि हथियारों के कुल २४,००० लाइसेंस दिये गये थे, जबकि आज इनकी संख्या ४०,००० से ऊपर है। हथियारों के लाइसेंस के मामले में अब दिल्ली भी बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश की तरह हो गया है, जहां नौकरशाहों और राजनीतिज्ञों की सिफारिशों पर शातिर अपराधियों को भी लाइसेंस दिये जाते रहे हैं।

राजनीतिज्ञों की भूमिका : दिल्ली राजनीतिज्ञों की नगरी है और यहां का हर सरकारी कर्मचारी, चाहे वह पुलिस का ही क्यों न हो, बड़ा सतर्क रहता है। लेकिन पुलिस अधिकारियों की परेशानी यह है कि छोटे-मोटे या बड़े अपराधियों के मामले में ये राजनीतिज्ञ हमेशा दखलंदाजी करते रहे हैं।

इतना ही नहीं, वे खुद भी अपराध में कभी-कभार परोक्ष या अपरोक्ष रूप से शामिल रहे हैं। १९८३ में ही एक सांसद गोहिल के फिरोज शाह रोड स्थित फ्लैट में लड़कियों के चल रहे धंधे का भंडाफोड़ हुआ। कई अन्य राजनीतिज्ञ अपने फ्लैट में अपराधियों को संरक्षण देते रहे हैं।

पुलिस की परेशानी : गृह राज्यमंत्री पी० वेंकट सुब्बय्या ने बताया कि १९८३ में पुलिस के खिलाफ कुल ३५०५ शिकायतें मिलीं, जिनमें से ३२९० मामलों की जांच पूरी हो चुकी है और २१५ पुलिस-कर्मियों को मुअत्तल किया जा चुका है।

यह सही है कि दिल्ली पुलिस की संख्या में पिछले साल की तुलना में १९८३ में वृद्धि हुई (१९८२ में इनकी संख्या २३,७०० थी, १९८३ में ३०,०००), फिर भी साठ-सत्तर लाख की आबादी वाले शहर के लिए यह अब भी अपर्याप्त है।

फरवरी, १९८३ में दिल्ली पुलिस में एक अलग 'दहेज विरोधी सेल' की स्थापना हुई, जिसमें अभी कुल १५ कर्मचारी हैं। एक उपायुक्त, दो सहायक आयुक्त, सात जांच अधिकारी और कुछेक सिपाही इस अहम काम को अंजाम दे रहे हैं। इस पर भी सेल की प्रभारी श्रीमती कंवलजीत दयोल सेल की पूर्ण-कालिक प्रभारी नहीं हैं। श्रीमती दयोल दिल्ली की सशस्त्र पुलिस की छठी बटालियन की कमांडेंट भी हैं और उन्हें अपना आधा समय उस काम को भी देना पड़ता है।

दिल्ली पुलिस का अधिकांश समय तो प्रदर्शनों, धरनों और अति विशिष्ट लोगों की सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था में ही बीत जाता है। १७ नवम्बर को सर्वोदय एनक्लेव स्थित पंजाब नेशनल बैंक की शाखा में जिस समय लुटेरे पांच लाख रुपये लूटकर ले गये, उस समय इलाके की पुलिस रानी एलिजाबेथ के आगमन की सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था में लगी थी।

दिल्ली पुलिस के पास अत्याधुनिक उपकरणों का भी अभाव है। अपर्याप्त वायरलेस सेटों के अलावा सिर्फ दो 'डाग-स्क्वाड' हैं। हालांकि गृहमंत्री सेठी ने कहा है कि दिल्ली पुलिस को आधुनिक बनाने की दिशा में सरकार प्रयत्नशील है और एक नयी 'खोज-एजेंसी' बनाने का प्रस्ताव है।

कहते हैं, प्रधानमंत्री ने विशेष रूप से गृह-मंत्रालय को इसके बारे में लिखा है और दिल्ली की सम्पूर्ण पुलिस व्यवस्था को एक नया स्वरूप देने की योजना भी बना ली गई है।

छाया सिन्हा —सुरेश चन्द्र सिन्हा

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"मम्मी, यह नया टूथपेस्ट है?"

नहीं, यह तो तुम्हारा हमेशा का प्यारा बिनाका फ्लोराइड है एक नए खूबसूरत पैक में।

बिनाका फ्लोराइड असल में दांतों के एनॅमल से मिलकर आपके दांतों को मजबूत बनाता है. दांतों को सड़ने से बचाता है और दर्दनाक दंत-छिद्रों को रोकता है. बिनाका फ्लोराइड से ही अपने दांतों को सुरक्षित रखिए. आज ही खरीदिए.

दांतों में जीवन की उमंग

बिनाका / **फ्लोराइड** टूथपेस्ट

भारत का सबसे पहला और प्रभावी फ्लोराइड टूथपेस्ट

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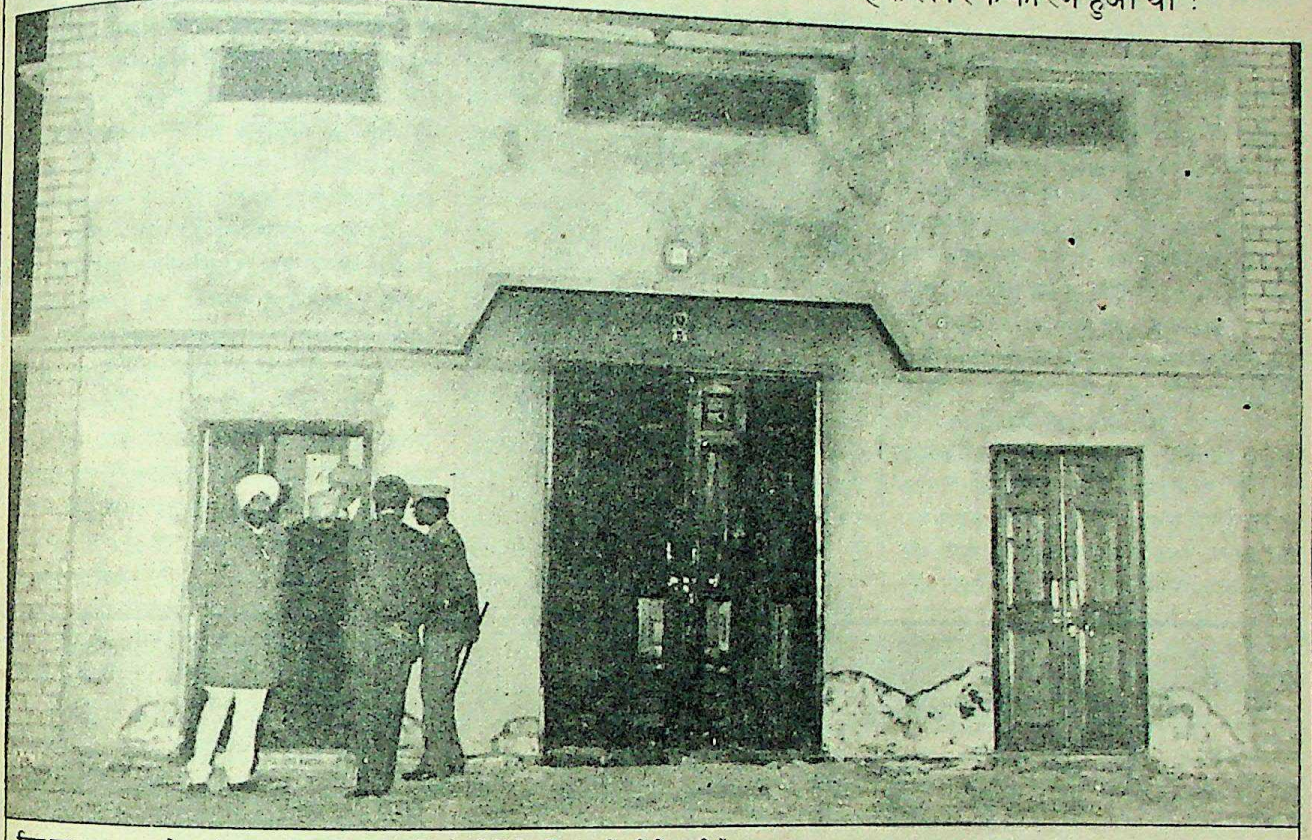
चूरू

आग फैलाने वाली खबरें

पिछले दिनों चूरू में एक 'गुरुद्वारे' को 'जला कर नष्ट कर देने' की खबर ने काफी विस्फोटक रुख ले लिया था। लेकिन क्या यह सब गैरजिम्मेदार प्रेस, साम्प्रदायिक नेताओं और लापरवाह सरकार के कारण हुआ था ?



तिल का ताड़ : गुरुद्वारे का निर्माणाधीन भवन : बीच के दरवाजे में दो पट्टियां जली हुई दीख रही हैं

चूरू के गुरुद्वारे को जला कर राख कर दिये जाने की सनसनीखेज खबरों की असलियत सामने आ जाने के बाद अब यह अच्छी तरह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि कैसे गैर-जिम्मेदार प्रेस, सांप्रदायिक नेता और असावधान सरकार मिलकर दो सप्रदायों के सामान्य संबंधों को आग की तरफ धकेल सकते हैं।

चूरू के गुरुद्वारे को जला देने की भ्रांतिपूर्ण खबरें आते ही किसी भी तरह की पुष्टि की जरूरत समझे बगैर उग्रवादी सिख नेता भिंडरांवाले ने ११ दिसम्बर के 'पंजाब बंद' के आह्वान में एक बिन्दु इसे भी बना लिया था। यही नहीं, उन्होंने 'पंजाब से एक करोड़ हिन्दुओं को नष्ट' कर डालने की धमकी तक दे डाली थी। अब यह साफ हो गया है कि न तो वह भवन धार्मिक औपचारिकता की दृष्टि से गुरुद्वारा बना था और न ही वह आग में स्वाहा हुआ था।

वस्तुतः उक्त इमारत का निर्माण गुरुद्वारे के लिए किया जा रहा था, परंतु अभी तक उसे गुरुद्वारा नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि अभी तक न तो वहां 'गुरु ग्रंथ साहब' है, न ही 'निशान साहब।'

२६ नवंबर की रात किन्हीं शरारती तत्वों ने इमारत के दरवाजे की दो पट्टियों को जला दिया। दरवाजे के इस एक बटा छह हिस्से को जला देने को ही 'गुरुद्वारे को आग में स्वाहा' करना कहा गया था। घटना की रिपोर्ट स्थानीय गुरुद्वारा भंडार के प्रभारी जरनैल सिंह ने २७ नवंबर को पुलिस में दर्ज करायी। पुलिस ने भारतीय दंड संहिता की धारा ४३५ के तहत मामला दर्ज कर जांच प्रारंभ कर दी। पुलिस जब घटनास्थल पर पहुंची, तो उसने एक हस्तलिखित पोस्टर भी चिपका पाया, जिस पर 'खालिस्तान मुर्दाबाद' आदि के साथ अंत में 'जय हिन्दू संघ' लिखा हुआ था।

बीकानेर के एक दैनिक समाचार-पत्र के चूरू स्थित संवाददाता विनोद पाठक ने अपने अखबार को घटना की खबर भेजी—और इस खबर के साथ ही गड़बड़ की शुरुआत हो गयी। खबर में कहा गया था कि, "चूरू में सिखों के एकमात्र गुरुद्वारे को जलाकर नष्ट कर दिया गया है।" उक्त दैनिक के प्रबंध संपादक यू०एन०आई० (समाचार समिति : यूनाइटेड न्यूज इंडिया) के बीकानेर स्थित अल्पकालीन संवाददाता (स्ट्रिंगर) हैं। उन्होंने घटना को कुछ और चटपटा बनाते हुए खबर यू०एन० आई० के जयपुर कार्यालय को भेज दी। जयपुर कार्यालय ने तुरंत खबर को अपने दिल्ली कार्यालय को भेज दिया। और जैसा कि स्वाभाविक था, अगले दिन खबर देश भर के समाचार-पत्रों में सुर्खियों में छपी। इसके साथ ही आ गया भिंडरांवाले का पंजाब से हिन्दू जाति को नष्ट कर देने की धमकी भरा वक्तव्य।

उधर चूरू में घटना ने दूसरा ही मोड़ ले लिया। २९ नवंबर को तीन सिख परिवारों को चिट्ठियां मिलीं कि या तो चूरू के सभी सिख ५ दिसम्बर तक इलाका छोड़ दें, वरना परिणाम भयंकर होंगे। चिट्ठियों में भेजनेवाले के नाम की जगह 'जय हिन्दू संघ' लिखा हुआ था। 'गुरु सिंह सभा, चूरू' के अध्यक्ष चरणवीर सिंह (जिन्हें भी वैसा पत्र मिला था) ने पुलिस में रिपोर्ट दर्ज करायी। पुलिस ने एक बहुत आश्चर्यजनक बात देखी कि २९ नवंबर को जिस दिन तीनों सिख परिवारों को पत्र मिले थे, उसी दिन पत्र मिलने की खबर बीकानेर के उक्त दैनिक व कुछ अन्य पत्रों में प्रकाशित हो गयी थी। जाहिर था कि खबर

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कम-से-कम एक दिन पूर्व तो भेजी ही गयी होगी। यानी समाचार भेजने वाले को पत्रों की बात पत्र मिलने से पूर्व ही ज्ञात थी। इसी आधार पर पुलिस ने खबर भेजने वाले पत्रकार विनोद पाठक को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। कहना न होगा कि धमकी भरे पत्र भेजने वाले 'जय हिन्दू संघ' से उनका कोई-न-कोई ताल्लुक तो अवश्य रहा होगा, वरना सिख परिवारों को पत्र मिलने से पूर्व ही उन्हें पत्रों की जानकारी कैसे होती ?

सारे घटनाक्रम से न केवल चूरू का सिख वर्ग, बल्कि दूसरे नागरिक भी हतप्रभ थे। उन्हें अपने ही शहर की घटनाओं की जानकारी अखबारों से मिल रही थी! 'समूचे गुरुद्वारे के जल कर नष्ट' होने जैसी खबरें, उनका विश्वास अखबारों पर से कम कर देने के लिए काफी थीं। अस्सी हजार की आबादी वाले शहर चूरू में अभी तक ऐसी नौबत नहीं आयी कि सिखों व हिन्दुओं के बीच सांप्रदायिक तनाव हुआ हो। बल्कि, इतना सब हो जाने के बाद भी चूरू में किसी तरह का सांप्रदायिक तनाव पैदा नहीं हुआ। जिस गुरुद्वारे को लेकर इतना बावेला मचा था, उसके निर्माण के लिए हिन्दू व सिखो दोनों ही वर्गों के लोगों ने धन दिया था। पैसे के अभाव में गुरुद्वारा भवन का निर्माण-कार्य पूरा नहीं हुआ था। वह प्रायः बंद रहता था। इसी कारण भवन के भीतरी फर्श पर घास और जंगली वनस्पति उग आयी थी। लेकिन भिडरांवाले जैसे सिख नेताओं को शायद असलियत से अधिक लेना-देना नहीं था। उन्हें तो बस एक कथित घटना का राजनीतिक इस्तेमाल भर करना था, और वह उन्होंने कर दिया।

सरकार का दोष : दोष राजस्थान सरकार का भी कम नहीं रहा। उसने भी शीघ्र असलियत का पता लगा कर अखबारों में छपी भ्रांतिपूर्ण खबरों का खंडन करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी। बल्कि न केवल राज्य के पुलिस विभाग के उच्चाधिकारियों, बल्कि स्वयं गृहराज्यमंत्री भैरोसिंह गुर्जर ने घटना की पुष्टि ही की। मुख्यमंत्री चुप्पी साधे रहे। शायद सरकार नहीं जानती थी कि उनकी भूमिका के क्या मायने देश के लिए हो सकते हैं। ६ दिन तक सोने के बाद २ दिसम्बर को सरकार जागी और वह भी संभवतः इसलिए कि संसद में घटना को लेकर हंगामा शुरू हो चुका था। २ दिसम्बर को राज्य के उद्योग उपमंत्री सरदार जगत सिंह ने दस दूसरे सिख नेताओं के साथ चूरू की यात्रा की और हालत का जायजा लिया। राजस्थान अकाली दल के अध्यक्ष उजागर सिंह भी उनके साथ थे। प्रतिनिधि मंडल ने चूरू से लौट कर कहा कि समाचार-पत्रों में छपी खबरें अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण और भ्रांति फैलानेवाली हैं, चूरू में कोई सांप्रदायिक तनाव नहीं है।

झूठी खबरों का दुष्परिणाम : लेकिन खबरों का खंडन होते-होते काफी देर हो चुकी थी। अनेक स्थानों पर सिखों-हिन्दुओं के बीच मुठभेड़ें हो चुकी थीं। सादुलपुर रेलवे स्टेशन पर भी गोली ही एक घटना १ दिसम्बर को हुई। कुछ सिख नौजवानों ने, जो अपने को 'सिख छात्र संघ' का सदस्य बताते थे, गंगानगर एक्सप्रेस ट्रेन में तोड़फोड़ की। अन्य लोगों व सिखों के बीच मुठभेड़ के फलस्वरूप ५ लोग घायल हो गये। एक को गंभीर हालत में अस्पताल में भर्ती करवाया गया। उत्तेजित होकर हजारों लोगों ने सिख नौजवानों को घेर लिया। अन्ततः पुलिस बड़ी मुश्किल से नौजवानों को बचाकर ले जा सकी। पुलिस व लोगों के बीच हुई हिंसक मुठभेड़ में २८ पुलिसकर्मी और बीसियों नागरिक घायल हो गये। गंगानगर सहित अन्य अनेक स्थलों पर भी तनाव का वातावरण बना, पर कोई अप्रिय घटना नहीं हुई।

कहना न होगा कि राजस्थान सरकार घटना की जांच करने और वस्तुस्थिति लोगों को बताने में इतना विलम्ब न बरतती, तो हालात इतने न बिगड़ते। राजस्थान विधानसभा में विपक्ष के नेता तथा भू०पू० मुख्यमंत्री भैरोंसिंह शेखावत ने भी चूरू का दौरा करने के बाद आरोप लगाया है कि, "राज्य सरकार ने इस संबंध में छपी खबरों का खंडन करने में सुस्ती बरती। संसद में जब मामला गूंजा, तो ही सरकार सक्रिय हुई।" उन्होंने मामले की न्यायिक जांच की मांग की है।

—अशोक शास्त्री

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Funding: Tattva Heritage

क्या केन्द्र फारूख की सरकार को गिराना चाहता है ?

फारूख अब्दुल्ला द्वारा बार-बार लगाये जा रहे इस आरोप में कितनी सच्चाई है कि केन्द्र सरकार उनकी सरकार को गिराने के लिए प्रयत्नशील है ?

जून १९८३ के चुनाव के बाद जम्मू-कश्मीर में बनी नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की सरकार को कांग्रेस-इ मान्यता देने के लिए तैयार नहीं लगती। कांग्रेस-इ के बड़े-छोटे सभी नेता डाक्टर फारूख अब्दुल्ला के मुख्यमंत्री बनने के वैधानिक, राजनीतिक और नैतिक अधिकार को चुनौती दे रहे हैं। यह चुनौती अब सिर्फ वक्तव्यों तक ही सीमित नहीं रही है, बल्कि इसने अनवरत आंदोलन का स्वरूप ले लिया है। ७ नवम्बर को जम्मू बंद और १४ दिसम्बर को विरोध दिवस मनाने के अलावा जहां कहीं भी मुख्यमंत्री फारूख जाते हैं, उनके विरुद्ध काली झंडियों का प्रदर्शन किया जाता है।

कांग्रेस-इ का आरोप है कि नेशनल कांफ्रेंस ने चुनाव धांधलियों से जीता है, इसलिए यह अवैधानिक सरकार है। यह भी आरोप लगाया जाता है कि फारूख अब्दुल्ला की सरकार राष्ट्र-विरोधी है, जिसके सबूत में १३ अक्तूबर के क्रिकेट मैच में भारत-विरोधी प्रदर्शन और सिख उग्रवादियों के प्रशिक्षण कैम्पों का उल्लेख किया जाता है। अतः कांग्रेस-इ द्वारा चलाये जा रहे इन आन्दोलनों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह सन्देह उठना स्वाभाविक है कि क्या केन्द्र राज्य सरकार को हटाने के लिए कभी भी, कोई भी कार्रवाई कर सकता है।

कांग्रेस-इ ने जम्मू के क्षेत्रीय अधिकारों का भी सवाल उठाया है और मांग की है कि क्षेत्रीय भेद-भाव की नीति खत्म की जाये। कांग्रेस-इ महासचिव व सांसद राजीव गांधी ने अल्पसंख्यकों (हिन्दुओं) के हितों की अवहेलना की शिकायत भी की है।

कांग्रेस-इ के अभियान को जम्मू के हिन्दुओं के बहुमत का आम समर्थन मिल रहा है। इसका कारण है कि पार्टी ने पूरी तरह भाजपा की जगह ले ली है। परन्तु जिन कारणों से जम्मू के हिन्दू इसका समर्थन कर रहे हैं, उन्हीं कारणों से कश्मीरी मुसलमान इससे दूर होते जा रहे हैं। चुनाव के दौरान दिखायी दिया क्षेत्रीय साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं का ध्रुवीकरण अब कुछ और आगे बढ़ा है।

चुनाव में कश्मीरी मुसलमानों के बहुमत ने दिल्ली के आधिपत्य से बचने के लिए क्षेत्रीय पार्टी को वोट दिया, जबकि जम्मू के हिन्दुओं के बहुमत ने कश्मीरी आधिपत्य से बचने के लिए दिल्ली की पार्टी का आसरा लिया। धांधली के होने या न होने का मतदाताओं की प्रवृत्ति पर अधिक प्रभाव न पड़ा। यदि चुनाव पूर्णतः दोषरहित होते, तो भी परिणाम विपरीत न होते।

कांग्रेस-इ के नेता यह आशा बांधे हुए थे कि

इंका विरोधी हूं, देश-विरोधी नहीं : डा० फारूख अब्दुल्ला

फारूख के बहनोई गुलाम मुहम्मद शाह नेशनल कांफ्रेंस के कम-से-कम १२ विधायकों को तोड़ लेंगे और नेशनल कांफ्रेंस सरकार अल्पमत में हो जायेगी। और तब कांग्रेस-इ और शाह ग्रुप का मिला-जुला मंत्रिमंडल बन सकेगा।

कश्मीर के वर्तमान वातावरण में कश्मीरी मुस्लिम विधायकों का कांग्रेस-इ का साथ देना आसान नहीं। इसके अलावा राज्य द्वारा प्रस्तुत दल-बदल विरोधी कानून उच्चतम न्यायालय में विचाराधीन है। तब तक दल बदलने वाले विधायकों को वोट देने के हक से वंचित रखा जायेगा।

कांग्रेस-इ और शाह ग्रुप को यदि बहुमत प्राप्त हो भी जाये, तो भी जरूरी नहीं कि उन्हें मंत्रिमंडल बनाने का निमंत्रण मिले, क्योंकि राज्य के संविधान के अनुसार राज्यपाल मंत्रिमंडल के परामर्श के बिना कोई फैसला नहीं कर सकता। १९७७ में जब कांग्रेस ने शेख अब्दुल्ला से अपना समर्थन वापस लिया था, तो राज्यपाल ने कांग्रेस नेता को सरकार बनाने का निमंत्रण देने की बजाय शेख का यह परामर्श माना कि विधान सभा को भंग करके नये चुनाव कराये जायें, हालांकि शेख के साथ केवल चार विधायक थे।

राज्यपाल केवल एक ही स्थिति में मंत्रिमंडल के परामर्श की अवहेलना कर सकता है, जब संवैधानिक ढंग से राज्य सरकार के लिए शासन चलाना असम्भव हो जाये। क्या कांग्रेस-इ द्वारा चलाया जा रहा अनवरत आंदोलन ऐसा ही संकट पैदा करने की ओर प्रेरित है ?

इसके साथ ही यह सवाल उठता है कि क्या राज्यपाल शासन के बाद दुबारा चुनाव कराये जायेंगे, तो कांग्रेस-इ की स्थिति पहले से बेहतर हो जायेगी ? या कहीं फारूख को 'हीरो' बनने का मौका तो नहीं मिल जायेगा ?

कांग्रेस-इ इसके बारे में क्या सोचती है और उसके विशेषज्ञ कौन-सी रणनीति अख्तियार करना चाहेंगे, इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता। क्या वास्तव में फारूख मंत्रिमंडल को तोड़ने का निश्चय हो चुका है या फारूख को डरा-धमका कर 'सीधे रास्ते' पर लाने के प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं ?

कश्मीर की सबसे बड़ी पार्टी नेशनल कांफ्रेंस और उसके नेता को राष्ट्र-विरोधी सिद्ध करने का सीधा निष्कर्ष यह निकलता है कि कश्मीरी जनता का बहुमत राष्ट्र-विरोधी है। मगर ऐसा विश्वास पैदा करने का प्रयास करके कांग्रेस-इ फारूख की छवि कश्मीर में तो बिगाड़ नहीं सकती, शेष भारत में भी उनके और कश्मीर के लोगों के बारे में शायद गलतफहमियां ही अधिक पैदा हों। कश्मीर में राष्ट्रहित को खतरा का नारा दे कर कांग्रेस-इ अपने हिन्दू वोट और पक्के कर सकती है।

जितनी बार कश्मीर के भारत से अटूट सम्बंध की घोषणा फारूख करते रहते है, कोई कांग्रेसी नेता नहीं करता। फिर भी फारूख पर शक क्यों ? यह सवाल आज हर कश्मीरी मुसलमान पूछ रहा है।

शेख अब्दुल्ला ने कश्मीर के अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्थिति से सम्बंधित सवाल को कभी पूरी तरह समाप्त नहीं किया था। भारत मे कश्मीर के विलय के हामी होने के बावजूद, वह इसे कभी अटूट नहीं कहते थे। फिर भी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और शेख के सम्बंध कभी इतने न बिगड़े थे, जितने प्रधानमंत्री के फारूख के साथ बिगड़ चुके हैं।

प्रधानमंत्री और मुख्यमंत्री-सम्बन्ध कश्मीर और शेष भारत के सम्बन्धों से जुड़े हुए नहीं हैं। फारूख का सबसे बड़ा अपराध यह है कि वह कांग्रेस-इ के विरोधियों से मिल गये हैं। कांग्रेस-इ और नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की टक्कर को उन्होंने कश्मीर तक ही सीमित नहीं रखा है, बल्कि कांग्रेस-इ का मुकाबला करने के लिए देश के विस्तृत राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों का भी उन्होंने सहारा लिया है।

शेख अब्दुल्ला कभी-कभी केन्द्र से नाखुश होते थे, परन्तु देश की राजनीति में अधिक दखल

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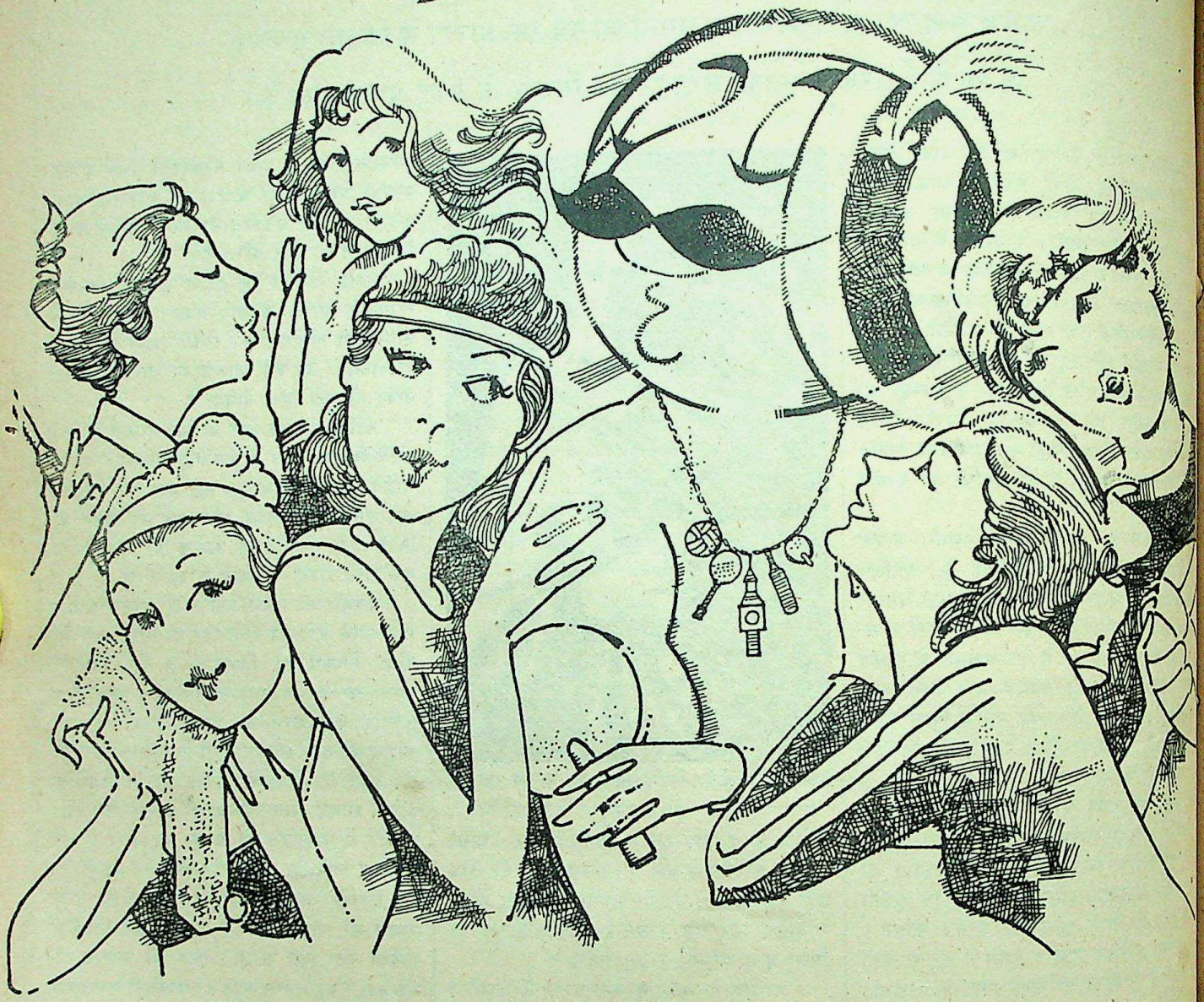
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

छः दिलकश पैगाम!



दिल्ली से लन्दन के लिए हफ़्ते में छः उड़ानें.

दिल्ली-लंदन हवाई मार्ग पर आवागमन में मुझसे कोई बाज़ी नहीं मार सकता. जी हाँ, हर हफ़्ते मैं वहाँ छः बार पहुँचता हूँ.

बेशक, मुझे अन्तरराष्ट्रीय शोहरत दिलानेवाली और भी कई खास बातें हैं जैसे कि शाही शानोशौकत : दिलनशीं मेहमाननवाज़ी और बिल्कुल घर जैसी सुख-सुविधा. हमारे खुशमिजाज़ कर्मचारी, आपकी हर ज़रूरत का खयाल रखते हैं, और आप ही की भाषा में बातचीत करते हैं.

इनके अलावा एक और हसीन पहलू भी है. साड़ियों में सजी मुस्कराती विमान परिचारिकाएँ आपके लिए परोसती हैं स्वादिष्ट शाकाहारी या मांसाहारी अथवा यूरोपीय खानपान.

आखिर हमारी तरह और कौन समझ सकता है आपको? एक बार हमारी मेहमाननवाज़ी आज़माकर देखिए तो!

अधिक जानकारी के लिए अपने ट्रैवल एजेण्ट या एअर-इंडिया से संपर्क कीजिए.

एअर-इंडिया

AIR-INDIA

पाँच महाद्वीपों के विस्तार में भारतीय आतिथ्य-सत्कार

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नही देते थे। उनका सिद्धांत था कि जो भी दल केन्द्र में सत्तारूढ़ होगा, वह उसी के साथ मैत्री रखेंगे। भारत और उसके प्रधानमंत्री से दोस्ती की बात वह लगभग वैसे ही करते थे, जैसे दो आजाद देश करते हैं। परन्तु फारूख एक भारतीय नागरिक के तौर पर सारे देश की राजनीति में पूरा दखल देते हैं और केन्द्रीय सरकार की पार्टी से कोई विशेष सम्बंध नहीं रखना चाहते।

श्रीनगर में विरोधी दलों का सम्मेलन बुला कर फारूख ने राष्ट्रीय राजनीति की मुख्य धाराओं को कश्मीर से जोड़ दिया। भारत-विरोधी और केन्द्र-विरोधी या कांग्रेस-इ विरोधी तत्वों को अलग करने से भारत-विरोधी तत्व कश्मीर की राजनीति की मुख्य धारा से कट गये। खुले सार्वजनिक सम्मेलन में भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता और राष्ट्रीय एकता के फारूख के हर उल्लेख का जनता ने तालियों की गूंज से स्वागत किया।

कश्मीर के उग्रवादी, जो चुनाव में बुरी तरह मात खा चुके थे, विरोधी दलों के सम्मेलन से और भी हताश और उत्तेजित हुए और शायद इसी का बदला लेने के लिए उन्होंने भारत-वेस्टइंडीज के क्रिकेट मैच का मौका ढूंढा। जमाते इस्लामी ने कश्मीर की विवादग्रस्त धरती पर एक अंतर-राष्ट्रीय मैच का विरोध किया था। फारूख ने जमात का चैलेंज मंजूर करते हुए मैच का आयोजन किया। परन्तु उनकी सरकार यह अंदाजा लगाने में असफल रही कि जमात और अन्य उग्रवादी तत्व इस मौके पर अपनी शक्ति का प्रदर्शन करेंगे।

जमाते इस्लामी और अन्य उग्रवादियों के विरुद्ध फारूख सरकार ने जो कार्रवाई की, वह कहां तक पर्याप्त थी या कांग्रेस-इ सत्तारूढ़ होती, तो उनसे कैसे निपटती, इन प्रश्नों पर अलग-अलग राय हो सकती है, परन्तु उनके साथ फारूख के गठबन्धन के आरोप में कोई स्पष्ट तथ्य नहीं मिलता।

मीरवाज मौलवी फारूख की अवामी एक्शन कमेटी ने चुनाव में नेशनल कांफ्रेंस का समर्थन किया था। यद्यपि यह पार्टी भी कहती है कि कश्मीर समस्या का हल होना अभी बाकी है, लेकिन इसने कहीं भारत-विरोधी प्रदर्शनों में भाग नहीं लिया। चुनाव से पहले इस पार्टी की कांग्रेस-इ के साथ समझौते की बातचीत चली थी जो असफल रही थी। १९७७ के चुनाव में मौलवी फारूख ने खुल कर जनता पार्टी का साथ दिया था। नेशनल कांफ्रेंस का कहना है कि यदि मीरवाज कांग्रेस-इ और जनता पार्टी के लिए राजनीतिक अछूत नहीं हैं, तो उसके (ने०क०) लिए ही क्यों हैं ?

इसी प्रकार अन्य विरोधी दलों की तरह डाक्टर फारूख भी अकाली दल से मैत्री रखते हैं। विधान सभा के गत चुनाव में अकाली दल ने भी नेशनल कांफ्रेंस का समर्थन किया था। परन्तु इससे यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि सिख आतंकवादियों और उग्रवादियों से भी फारूख की घनिष्ठता है।

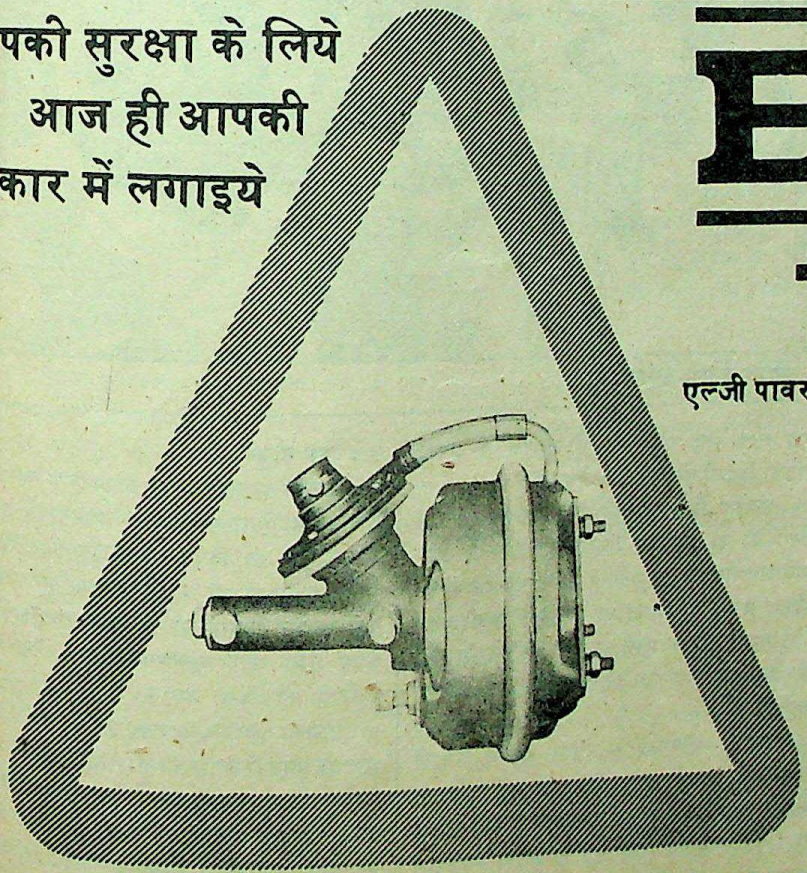
कई अन्य राज्यों की तरह जम्मू व कश्मीर में भी सिख नौजवानों के कुछ कैम्प लगे हैं। इन कैम्पों में केवल धर्म प्रचार की बातें हुई, जैसा कि उनके संचालकों का कहना है या उनमें फौजी किस्म का प्रशिक्षण भी दिया गया, इस बारे में निर्णायक तौर पर कुछ कहना कठिन है। इसी प्रकार यह कहना भी उतना ही कठिन है कि इन कैम्पों के बारे में फारूख सरकार को पूर्व सूचना थी और उन्हें सरकार का समर्थन प्राप्त था।

सत्ता की लड़ाई में प्रतिद्वंद्वियों की हैसियत से नेशनल कांफ्रेंस और कांग्रेस-इ का आपसी विरोध स्वाभाविक है। परन्तु इस विरोध में एक-दूसरे की देश के प्रति वफादारी पर शक करना अनुचित है। दूसरी ओर, इससे कोई राजनीतिक लाभ निकलने की सम्भावना भी नहीं।

भारत से कश्मीर के अटूट सम्बंध की रट लगाने के बावजूद फारूख की वफादारी पर शक करने से कांग्रेस-इ कश्मीरी मुसलमानों में अधिक लोकप्रिय नहीं हो सकती, बल्कि पार्टी वह मौका खो रही है जो राज्य के प्रमुख विरोधी दल के नाते उसे प्राप्त है। सरकार की प्रशासनिक कमजोरियों के कारण उसकी लोकप्रियता में जो कमी आ रही थी, वह फारूख की वफादारी की बहस के कारण ओझल हो रही है।

—बलराज पुरी

आपकी सुरक्षा के लिये
आज ही आपकी
कार में लगाइये



ELGI

पावरब्रेक्स

एल्जी पावर ब्रेक आपकी गाड़ी को अधिक लाभ देता है।

यह शक्ति ब्रेक पैडल पर लगाये जाने वाले चोट को कम करती है।
पावर ब्रेक का बढ़ता हुआ प्रभाव पैडल पर पड़ रहे भार के समानुपात है।
इससे दिया जाने वाला शक्ति सहयोग नियंत्रण सीमा के अन्दर है।
यह सब बिना अतिरिक्त पेट्रोल खपत के — अविश्वसनीय, है ना ?

एल्जी इक्विपमेंट्स लिमिटेड
इंडिया हाउस. त्रिची रोड, कोयम्बतूर ६४१०१८

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स्वतंत्रता सेनानी

बूढ़े शेरों का सम्मेलन

देश को गुलामी से मुक्त कराने वाले स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों में आज जो जीवित हैं, वे किस कदर असंतोष, अभाव, निराशा और कुंठा का जीवन बिता रहे हैं, यह सब १७ से १९ दिसम्बर तक लखनऊ में सम्पन्न हुए भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी सम्मेलन में देखने को मिला।

तीन दिनों के इस सम्मेलन में पहले १५ हजार सेनानियों के भाग लेने की बात थी। लेकिन आये कुल दो-ढाई हजार ही। सेनानियों की शिकायत थी कि प्रतिनिधियों की संख्या इतनी कम हो जाने के बावजूद खाने की कोई अच्छी व्यवस्था नहीं की गयी थी। कुछ लोग होटलों में खा रहे थे, तो कुछ ऐसे-वैसे ही काम चला रहे थे।

तमाम सेनानी आर्थिक तंगी की वजह से

श्रीमती गांधी द्वारा स्वतंत्रता सेनानी को दुशाला भेंट

सम्मेलन में भाग लेने नहीं आये। इन्हें निःशुल्क बस यात्रा की सुविधा आज तक नहीं मिली है, जबकि सरकार ने घोषणा की थी कि वे अपने जिलों में कहीं भी निःशुल्क यात्रा कर सकते हैं। स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की शिकायत थी कि उनके लिए बहुत कुछ करने को कहा जा रहा है, पर करने वाला कोई नहीं है। शहीदों के बच्चे यतीमों की तरह जी रहे हैं और राज्य करने वाले गुलछर्रे उड़ा रहे हैं।

सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस-इ कमेटी के कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष कमलापति त्रिपाठी को करना था, लेकिन वह उपस्थित नहीं हुए। इसके अलावा प्रदेश सरकार के आधा दर्जन से अधिक मंत्रियों को भी इस सम्मेलन में उपस्थित होना था, लेकिन इनमें से कोई भी वहां नहीं गया।

वैसे सभी मंत्री यह जानते थे कि सम्मेलन के अन्तिम दिन १९ दिसम्बर को प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी काकोरी काण्ड के शहीदों की याद में काकोरी में बनने वाले शहीद स्मारक का शिलान्यास तथा स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को सम्मानित करेंगी।

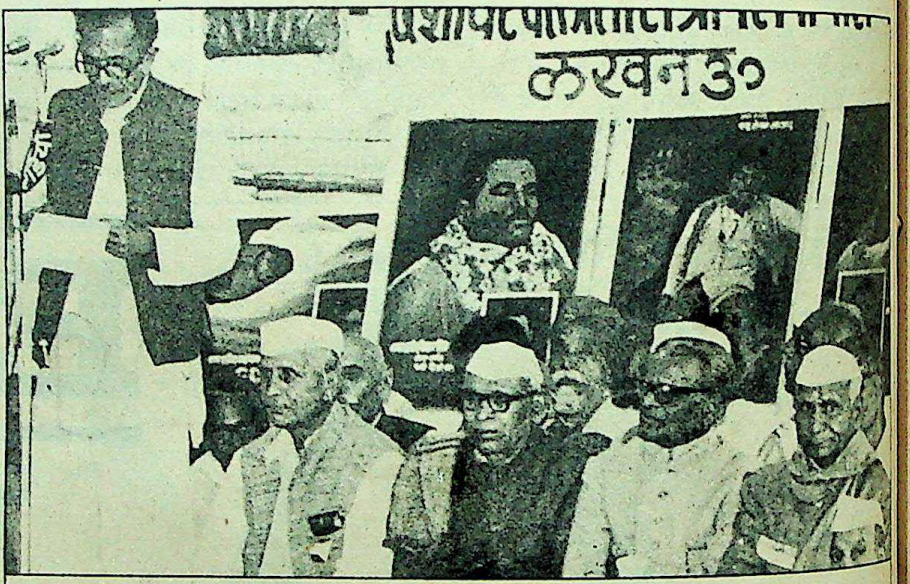
तीन दिवसीय इस सम्मेलन का आयोजन स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी परिषद द्वारा काकोरी काण्ड के अमर शहीदों को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने के उद्देश्य से किया गया था। कमलापति त्रिपाठी की अनुपस्थिति में सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन करते हुए गदर पार्टी के संचालक ९२ वर्षीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी बाबा पृथ्वी सिंह ने कहा कि देश की आजादी के बाद धनवानों तथा विद्वानों की संख्या तो बढ़ी है, लेकिन चरित्रवानों की संख्या में उत्तरोत्तर कमी आयी है। प्रतिभा-पलायन पर तीखा प्रहार करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि देश को आजादी दिलाने में जहां हजारों लोगों ने अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी, वहीं आज कुछ लोग पैसे के लालच में अपनी प्रतिभा विदेशी लोगों के हाथ बेच रहे हैं।

उन्होंने शिकायत की कि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों का भूतकाल जितना ही उज्ज्वल और अविस्मरणीय रहा है, वर्तमान उतना ही अभावग्रस्त और दुःखद है। आजादी की लड़ाई में फांसी चढ़ने और गोली खाकर मरने वाले शहीदों ने देश की मौजूदा बदतर हालत की स्वप्न में भी कल्पना नहीं की थी।

अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी परिषद के अध्यक्ष शील भद्रयाजी की शिकायत थी कि देश के कुछ परिवार और राजनीतिज्ञ सारी पूंजी समेट कर बैठ गये हैं, जबकि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों के सामने भर पेट भोजन और नीरोग रहने के लिए दवा तक का आज अभाव है।

१९ दिसम्बर को (अमर शहीद राम प्रसाद बिस्मिल को फांसी वाले दिन) प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने काकोरी में एक शहीद स्मारक का शिलान्यास किया। इस अवसर पर वहां एक जनसभा का भी आयोजन किया गया था, जो क्रान्तिकारियों की सभा कम 'राजनीतिक जनसभा' अधिक थी। प्रधानमंत्री के सभा में पहुंचने तक पूरा माहौल इंदिरा गांधी मय हो गया था। श्रीमती गांधी ने अपने भाषण में जब यह कहा—"आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान काकोरी में ट्रेन लूट की जो वारदात की गयी थी, वह हिंसक थी, वास्तविक आजादी तो अहिंसा से मिली थी।" तो सभा में बैठे कई स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के चेहरे लटक गये। उन 'बूढ़े शेरों' के मुंह से गुर्राहट तक न हुई।

बाद में श्रीमती गांधी ने उन्हें दुशाला भेंट कर सम्मानित किया। अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संगठन के अध्यक्ष शील भद्रयाजी ने शिकायत की कि काकोरी के समारोह में उन आजादी की लड़ाई में अपना सब कुछ खो देने वाले क्रान्तिकारी उपस्थित थे, वहीं क्रान्तिकारियों को पकड़वाने वाले तथा उन्हें फांसी पर लटकवाने



स्वतंत्रता सेनानी, सम्मेलन में

वाले भी मौजूद थे।

उनका कहना था कि काकोरी में स्मारक का शिलान्यास होना सबके लिए गौरव की बात है लेकिन दुःख का विषय यह है कि जिन लोगों ने अशफाक उल्ला खां को पकड़वाया था, उन्हें भी वही सम्मान दिया गया जो राम कृष्ण खत्री, शचींद्र कृष्ण खन्ना और मन्मथनाथ गुप्त जैसे क्रान्तिकारियों को दिया गया।

उनका इशारा अशफाक उल्ला खां की भतीजी श्रीमती अनवरी बेगम की ओर था। उन्होंने बताया कि १९२६ में जब अशफाक उल्ला खां फरारी की हालत में शाहजहांपुर में छिपे हुए थे, उन्हें पैसे की काफी तंगी थी। रुपयों के लिए उन्होंने अपने बड़े भाई एस०आर० उल्ला खां को लिखा। बड़े भाई ने बजाय कोई सहायता करने के इनाम के लालच में वह पत्र पुलिस को सौंप दिया और पुलिस

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ने पत्र की सहायता से अशफाक उल्ला खां और उनके अन्य साथियों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। उन्हीं की पुत्री अनवरी बेगम इस सभा में श्रीमती गांधी के साथ थीं। अशफाक के बड़े भाई के परिवार को स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को मिलने वाला ताम्रपत्र भी मिला है और उन्हें पेंशन भी मिल रही है। समय-समय पर उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने उन्हें सम्मानित भी किया है।

तीन दिवसीय इस सम्मेलन का सबसे दुखद पहलू यह था कि प्रदेश इंका का एक वर्ग प्रधानमंत्री के इस सम्मेलन में भाग लेने का सख्त विरोधी था। आरोप है कि केन्द्रीय शिक्षा राज्यमंत्री श्रीमती शीला कौल, जो लखनऊ से ही सांसद हैं, का पूरा-का-पूरा गुट सम्मेलन को असफल बनाने की चेष्टा में लगा रहा। इस कथित गुट ने सम्मेलन में असहयोग तो किया ही, साथ ही इस बात का प्रयास भी किया कि प्रधानमंत्री इसमें शामिल न हों। यह इसलिए किया जा रहा था, क्योंकि सम्मेलन के आयोजन में स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी रामकिशोर रस्तोगी का मुख्य हाथ था। श्री रस्तोगी राजनीतिक गुट-बन्दी में शीला कौल के विरोधी माने जाते हैं। हाल ही में श्रीमती कौल ने केन्द्रीय नेतृत्व पर दबाव डाल कर श्री रस्तोगी को लखनऊ शहर कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष पद से हटवा कर उनके स्थान पर अपने गुट के बी०एन० खन्ना को मनोनीत करा लिया था।

आजादी के बाद धनवानों तथा विद्वानों की संख्या तो बढ़ी है, लेकिन चरित्रवानों की संख्या में कमी आयी है—बाबा पृथ्वी सिंह

सम्मेलन में प्रधानमंत्री न आ पायें इसके लिए श्रीमती कौल की कथित शह पर प्रदेश की शिक्षामंत्री श्रीमती स्वरूप कुमारी बख्शी सम्मेलन प्रारम्भ होने से दो दिन पूर्व दिल्ली गयीं तथा प्रधानमंत्री को यह बताया कि काकोरी में समारोह स्थल पर बुलडोजर चलाये गये हैं और खेत की खड़ी फसल बर्बाद होने से जनता में रोष है।

उधर रस्तोगी गुट भी कम चतुर नहीं था। उसने इंका की महामंत्री श्रीमती राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेई के माध्यम से प्रधानमंत्री को वास्तविकता से अवगत करा दिया।

इस कार्यक्रम की पीठ में छुरा भोंकने का अन्तिम प्रयास प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी की ओर से किया गया। प्रधानमंत्री के आने तथा उनके कार्यक्रम की सूचना इंका के प्रादेशिक कार्यालय से जारी की गयी। यह इसलिए किया गया कि लोगों को यह पता चले कि सम्मेलन इंका ने आयोजित किया था। और तो और प्रदेश इंका के एक पदाधिकारी, जो शीला कौल गुट के हैं, ने मंत्रियों तथा अन्य कांग्रेसियों को निर्देश दिया कि वे सम्मेलन में न जायें। मंत्रियों के इस सम्मेलन में उपस्थित न होने की तह में यही कारण माना जाता है।—**लखनऊ ब्यूरो** छाया : बी०डी० गर्ग

विधायकों में तीर्थाटन का बढ़ता शौक

उत्तर प्रदेश के विधायकों में तीर्थाटन का शौक जिस तेजी से बढ़ रहा है, उससे राज्य सरकार को परेशानी होने लगी है।

पिछले चार साल में विधायकों द्वारा उत्तर प्रदेश में रेलवे से की गयी यात्राओं पर आने वाले व्यय में पांच गुना वृद्धि हुई है। वर्ष ८२-८३ में राज्य सरकार ने विधानसभा व विधान परिषद के सदस्यों की यात्रा के लिए रेलवे को ४६ लाख रुपये का भुगतान किया है जो एक रिकार्ड है। चार वर्ष पहले ७८-७९ में यह व्यय केवल साढ़े नौ लाख रुपये था। यह सही है कि इन वर्षों में रेलवे का किराया बढ़ा है। पर यह भी सही है कि विधान परिषद के बहुत सारे स्थान रिक्त रहने के कारण पहले की तुलना में इस समय विधायकों की कुल संख्या कम है।

विधान मण्डल के दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों को रेल से यात्रा करने के लिए प्रथम श्रेणी के रेलवे कूपन निःशुल्क मिलते हैं और इसको खर्च करने की कोई अधिकतम सीमा भी नहीं है। इन कूपनों के मूल्य का भुगतान हर साल राज्य सरकार करती है। वर्ष ७८-७९ में इस मद में राज्य सरकार को अपने सीमित साधनों में साढ़े नौ लाख रुपये, ७९-८० में १३ लाख रुपये, ८०-८१ में ३० लाख रुपये, ८१-८२ में ३५ लाख रुपये और ८२-८३ में ४६ लाख रुपये खर्च करने पड़े।

८२-८३ में विधायकों की रेल यात्रा पर आये खर्च के विश्लेषण से पता चलता है कि एक विधायक की रेल यात्रा पर औसतन लगभग ११ हजार रुपये खर्च आया। एक विधायक ने तो कमाल ही कर दिया। उनका अकेले का बिल लगभग ६१ हजार रुपये था। न्यूनतम व्यय लगभग १० हजार रुपये आया।

राज्य सरकार की परेशानी इस बात से और बढ़ गयी है कि विधायकों को दिये जाने वाले कूपनों का दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। राज्य सरकार ने रेलवे मंत्रालय को यह दुरुपयोग रोकने को कहा है।

यह तो हुई रेलवे यात्रा की बात। विधायकों को राज्य सड़क परिवहन निगम से भी निःशुल्क यात्रा की सुविधा प्राप्त है। निश्चित जानकारी उपलब्ध नहीं है कि एक साल में विधायकों ने निगम की बसों में कितनी यात्रा की। निगम की प्रत्येक बस में विधायकों के लिए सीट रिजर्व रहती है।

लोक लेखा समिति, प्राक्कलन समिति और आश्वासन समिति के सदस्य हाल ही में कश्मीर, शिमला, नैनीताल, चंडीगढ़, हरियाणा की लंबी सैर कर वापस आये हैं।

इन समितियों में कुछ ऐसी भी हैं, जिनकी सदस्य-संख्या ५० से भी ऊपर है। इनमें लगभग सभी दलों के विधायक शामिल हैं। विधानसभा में कुल मिलाकर डेढ़ दर्जन समितियां हैं।

जहां तक विधान परिषद का संबंध है, उसकी ११ समितियों में से अधिकांश जून से लेकर सितम्बर तक बाहर ही अपनी बैठकें करती रहीं। जब बजट में इसके लिए नियत धनराशि समाप्त हो गयी, तो एक लाख रुपये की अतिरिक्त व्यवस्था करनी पड़ी। इस राशि के व्यय किये जाने के बाद भी जब समितियों के बाहर जाने का उत्साह ढीला न पड़ा, तो उन पर इसके लिए प्रतिबंध लगाना पड़ा।

समितियों के कुछ सदस्यों ने वापस आकर यह भी बताया कि विधानसभा की समितियों के कतिपय सभापति अपने परिवार के अलावा अनेक सहवर्ती भी अपने साथ ले गये। एक समिति के ११ सदस्यों के साथ १२ ऐसे सहवर्ती थे, सरकारी खर्चे पर जिन्होंने लम्बी सैर की।

नियमानुसार विधायकों को बाहर जाने के लिए प्रथम श्रेणी के रेलवे भाड़े के अतिरिक्त ४० रुपये का दैनिक भत्ता भी मिलता है।

जब महिला विधायक ने अपराधी को छुड़ाया

पुरुष राजनीतिज्ञों के बारे में तो यह आम शिकायत रहती है कि वे अपराधियों तथा अराजक तत्वों को संरक्षण देते हैं, लेकिन हाल ही में उत्तर प्रदेश की एक महिला विधायक श्रीमती कमला दरियाबादी के विरुद्ध राज्य के गुप्तचर विभाग ने पुलिस हिरासत से एक वांछित अपराधी को छुड़ा लेने के आरोप में मुकदमा दायर किया है। अपनी गिरफ्तारी से बचने के लिए श्रीमती दरियाबादी तथा उनके दो पुत्रों ने कानपुर के महानगरीय मजिस्ट्रेट जयसिंह की अदालत से अग्रिम जमानत प्राप्त कर ली है।

श्रीमती दरियाबादी, इंका विधायक हैं। वर्ष १९८० के विधानसभा चुनाव में वह कानपुर के सीसामऊ (सुरक्षित) निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से लगभग १५ हजार मतों से विजयी हुई थीं।

दरियाबादी के विधायक चुने जाने के कुछ ही महीनों बाद की एक घटना है। अनवरगंज के तत्कालीन चौकी-इंचार्ज सब-इंसपेक्टर आर० सी० राय ने न्यायालय के एक वारंट के आधार पर दिगम्बर नामक एक कथित शातिर अपराधी को गिरफ्तार किया था। आरोप के अनुसार दिगम्बर को गिरफ्तार कर पुलिस दल जब अनवरगंज थाने

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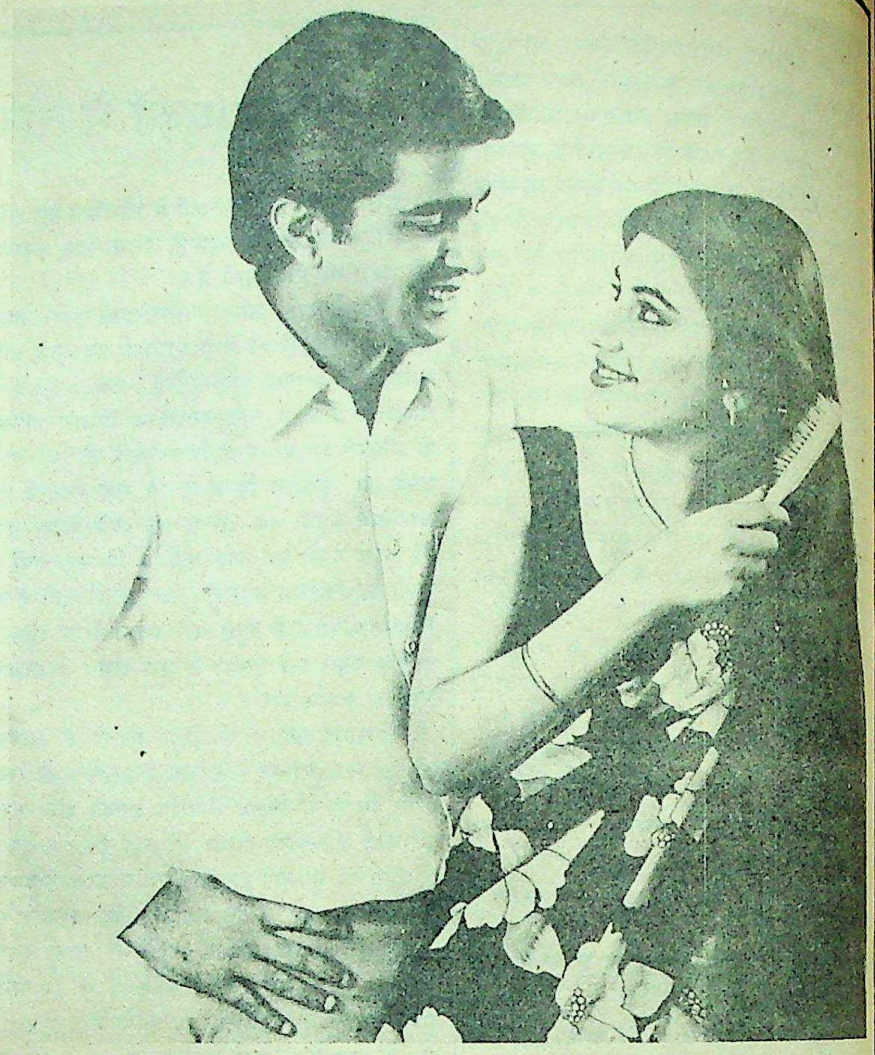
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.



डाबर की विशेषता स्वास्थ्य और सुन्दरता

आपके तथा पूरे परिवार के स्वास्थ्य तथा सुन्दरता की आवश्यकताओं में से एक है—डाबर।

उदाहरण के लिए—च्यवनप्राश जैसा टॉनिक आपको ताकत देता है, या आँवला या चमेली केश तेल जो बालों को लम्बा, रेशमी और ख़ुशबूदार बनाता है और जहाँ लाल दन्त मंजन दाँतों को मोती सा चमकदार बनाता है, वहीं हाजमोला जैसी स्वादिष्ट चूरन की टिकियाँ भोजन को पचाती तथा भूख को बढ़ाती हैं। चाहे शुद्ध मधु हो या गुलाबारी जैसा शुद्ध गुलाब जल, या ताज़गी देने वाले शर्बत-ए-आज़म की ज़रूरत ही क्यों न हो, दैनिक प्रयोग के क्षेत्र में डाबर को सदैव आगे ही पाएंगे।

कुल मिलाकर, डाबर आपका तथा पूरे परिवार का एक ख़ुशनुमा साथी। यही नहीं—सौन्दर्य तथा स्वास्थ्य प्रदान करने वाले उत्पादनों के अतिरिक्त, आयुर्वेदिक तथा सामान्य औषधियों के साथ-साथ स्वाद प्रदान करने वाले उत्पादनों की ओर भी हम लगातार प्रयत्नशील हैं। हमारी पांच आधुनिक फैक्ट्रियाँ, 300 से ऊपर उत्पादन, 1500 स्टॉकिस्ट और 1200 कर्मचारी आपको अच्छा स्वास्थ्य और लम्बी आयु देने के लिए निरन्तर कार्य कर रहे हैं।

हमें विश्वास है, सौ वर्षों से चला आ रहा यह नाता और भी मजबूत होगा।

डाबर द्वारा सौ वर्ष के उपलक्ष में विशेष उपहार योजना
डाबर के कुछ विशेष उत्पादन ख़रीदिए और बदले में डाबर के ही दूसरे उत्पादन मुफ़्त पाइए।
अधिक जानकारी के लिए अपने डाबर डीलर से मिलिए।

डाबर

स्वास्थ्य तथा सौंदर्य संरक्षण के सौ वर्ष।

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ले जा रहा था, तो श्रीमती दरियाबादी तथा उनके दो पुत्रों—कमलेश व मुन्ना—ने अपने समर्थकों की मदद से पुलिस दल को घेर लिया। यही नहीं, पुलिसकर्मियों को मारपीट कर दिगम्बर को उनकी हिरासत से छुड़ा लिया गया।

बात यहीं तक सीमित नहीं रही, आरोप है कि अभियुक्त को पुलिस हिरासत से छुड़वाने के बाद श्रीमती दरियाबादी ने संबंधित दरोगा आर० सी० राय के विरुद्ध अनवरगंज के थानाध्यक्ष से शिकायत की और दरोगा के विरुद्ध यह मुकदमा कायम करा दिया कि उसने विधायक से अपमानजनक व्यवहार किया है।

जब जिला प्रशासन श्रीमती दरियाबादी के कथित दबाव में आकर दरोगा राय के विरुद्ध कार्रवाई करने पर विचार करने लगा, तो पुलिसकर्मियों ने आन्दोलन की धमकी दे दी। तब जिला प्रशासन ने मामले की जांच अपराध अनुसंधान विभाग से कराये जाने की संस्तुति राज्य सरकार से की।

प्रदेश सरकार ने जिला प्रशासन की संस्तुति पर मामला सी०आई०डी० को सौंप दिया। लगभग दो वर्षों तक मामले की जांच चली। अन्त में सी०आई०डी० ने दरोगा आर०सी० राय के विरुद्ध श्रीमती दरियाबादी द्वारा लगाये गये आरोपों को बेबुनियाद पाया।

सी०आई०डी० ने श्रीमती दरियाबादी और

अपराधी को कथित संरक्षण : श्रीमती कमला दरियाबादी

उनके दो पुत्रों को पुलिस हिरासत से अपराधी को जबरन छुड़ा लेने के आरोप को सही पाते हुए उनके विरुद्ध दिसम्बर, १९८३ के अन्तिम सप्ताह में अदालत में आरोप पत्र दाखिल कर दिया है।

श्रीमती कमला दरियाबादी के विधायक चुने जाने के पीछे भी एक घटना जुड़ी हुई है। उनके पति लालता प्रसाद दरियाबादी राजनीति में थे। कमलाजी घर की चहारदीवारी में घर-गृहस्थी के काम तक ही सीमित थीं। वह पढ़-लिख भी न सकी थीं। लखनऊ के मौलवीगंज मोहल्ले में उनके पिता मिश्रीलाल रहते थे, जिनका पेशा सब्जी बेचना था। कमला देवी का बचपन सब्जी धोने, सरकारी नल से पानी भरकर लाने, खाना पकाने में ही बीता था। बाल्यावस्था में कमला का विवाह कानपुर निवासी लालता प्रसाद दरियाबादी से हो गया था। श्री दरियाबादी, फल विक्रेताओं की यूनियन के पदाधिकारी थे। धीरे-धीरे राजनीति में उनकी घुसपैठ हो गयी और वह कानपुर नगर महापालिका के लिए सीसामऊ क्षेत्र से सभासद चुन लिए गये।

२ जनवरी, १९८० को लोकसभा चुनाव के दौरान श्री दरियाबादी कांग्रेस-इ की एक चुनाव सभा में भाषण दे रहे थे, तभी अचानक उन्हें दिल का दौरा पड़ा। सभा में मौजूद कार्यकर्ता उन्हें तत्काल अस्पताल ले गये, लेकिन उनकी हालत में सुधार न हुआ। ४ जनवरी को उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी। दस बच्चों की मां श्रीमती कमला दरियाबादी विधवा हो गयीं।

वर्ष १९८० के विधानसभा चुनाव में कांग्रेस-इ ने श्रीमती दरियाबादी को सीसामऊ (सुरक्षित) निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से टिकट दे दिया। उन्होंने अपने निकटतम प्रतिद्वंद्वी मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के दौलतराय को १५००० से अधिक मतों से हरा कर विजय प्राप्त की।

—अजय कुमार

देखो डियर!
सोमा के कारण प्लम्बिंग खर्च में
अब कितनी बचत होने लगी है!

हाँ, सच है। बचत एक तरह की
कमाई ही तो है!

सोमा मेटल फिटिंग्स

घर खर्च को कम करती हैं, क्यों कि अगर कभी जरूरत हुई तो एक गृहिणी भी इसकी देख भाल कर सकती है।

"मैं अपने पति से कहती हूँ कि बिना ऑफिस में काम किये भी मैं घर खर्च कम करके आय करती हूँ। और इसमें सोमा मेरी मदद करती है क्यूँ कि अब मुझे प्लम्बर पर खर्च नहीं करना पड़ता।"

इसके अतिरिक्त सोमा फिटिंग्स ऐसे इलाकों में भी दोषरहित काम करती है जहा का पानी भारी और अधिक जंग वाला होता है। जी हाँ, ऐसे दूरदराज के इलाकों के लिए, जहाँ कोई प्लम्बर मिलना बड़ा कठिन होता है सोमा सचमुच एक वरदान है।

सोमा प्लम्बिंग
फिक्सचर्स लिमिटेड

स्विट्ज़रलैंड के सिमिलोर एस. ए. के तकनीकी सहयोग से सूक्ष्म कारीगरी द्वारा निर्मित।

VITREOUS निर्माताओं की ओर से
हिन्दुस्तान सैनिटरिवेअर
२ रेड क्रास प्लेस, कलकत्ता ७०० ००१. भारत

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

उत्तर प्रदेश राज्य विद्युत परिषद

सफेद हाथी मर गया है !

उत्तर प्रदेश में बिजली अत्यधिक महंगी है और वह भी मिलती नहीं। क्या उत्तर प्रदेश विद्युत परिषद की जो हाल है, उसको देखते हुए बिजली-व्यवस्था में कोई सुधार की गुंजाइश है ? शायद नहीं ! आखिर क्यों ?

किस्सा पुराना है। एक राजा ने एक गांव के निवासियों को एक बीमार हाथी दिया और कहा कि जो इसके मरने की खबर देगा, उसका सिर धड़ से अलग कर दिया जायेगा। एक दिन हाथी मर गया। समस्या थी, कौन जाये राजा को यह खबर देने। एक बुजुर्ग ने जिम्मेदारी ली। उसने दरबार में जाकर कहा—"अन्नदाता, आपका हाथी न हिलता है, न डुलता है, न खाता है, न पीता है, न चलता है और न सांस लेता है।"

"तो क्या हाथी मर गया?"—राजा ने सवाल किया।

"दयानिधान, यह मैं कैसे कह सकता हूं।"—बुजुर्ग ने जवाब दिया।

आज ठीक यही हालत उत्तर प्रदेश के सफेद हाथी राज्य विद्युत परिषद की है। परिषद के वर्तमान अध्यक्ष आर०के० सान्याल ने हाल ही में मुख्यमंत्री से लेकर केन्द्रीय सरकार तक से यही कहा है कि हाथी न हिलता है, न डुलता है और न सांस लेता है। उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि हाथी मर गया है, बाकी सब कुछ कह डाला।

बदहाली : ओबरा बिजलीघर सात सप्ताहों में दो बार आग की भेंट चढ़ चुका है। ३० अक्टूबर को लगी भीषण आग में जांच समिति ने ३० करोड़ की क्षति की पुष्टि की है। गैरसरकारी अनुमान के अनुसार यह क्षति अरबों में है। रेलवे के बाद देश की सबसे बड़ी सरकारी संस्था राज्य विद्युत परिषद्र का संकट लगातार गहरा होता जा रहा है। परत-दर-परत भ्रष्टाचार, घाटा और कर्ज के बोझ के कारण बोर्ड चरमरा उठा है। बोर्ड की बदहाली का अनुमान इस बात से लगाया जा सकता है कि प्रदेश सरकार अब व्यवसायियों को बिजली उत्पादन का काम सौंपने पर गंभीरता से विचार कर रही है। बिजली बोर्ड के कर्मचारी बिजली उत्पादन का काम प्राइवेट फर्मों को सौंपने के प्रयास को एक षड्यंत्र बता रहे हैं। उनका सीधा आरोप है कि धीरे-धीरे समूचे बोर्ड को बेचने की साजिश की जा रही है—जिसमें बड़े पूंजीपतियों और सत्तारूढ़ दल के नेताओं की मिलीभगत है।

इस आरोप में दम हो या न हों, इतना तो तय है कि बिजली बोर्ड वर्तमान स्थिति में ज्यादा दिनों तक चल नहीं सकता। १९५९ में, जब इस बोर्ड का गठन हुआ था, तब उम्मीद की गयी थी कि इससे आस-पास के राज्यों को भी बिजली मिलेगी। आज स्थिति यह है कि प्रदेश के जिला मुख्यालय भी अंधकार में डूबे रहते हैं। बिजली के अभाव में छोटे उद्योग मर रहे हैं, खेती पिछड़ रही है और बिजली की कमी के कारण प्रदेश में आर्थिक संकट बढ़ रहा है।

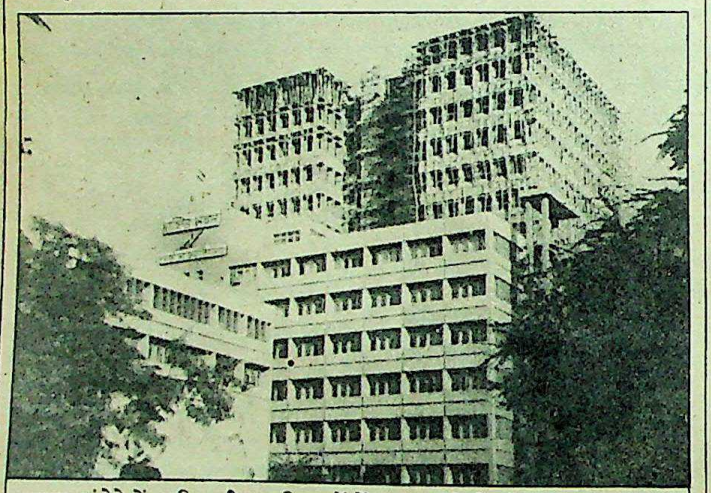
राज्य में इस समय पांच तापीय और ८ पन-बिजलीघर चालू हालत में हैं। स्थापित क्षमता के हिसाब से ताप बिजलीघरों में २ हजार ४ सौ ८२ मेगावाट और पन-बिजलीघरों में १२२६ मेगावाट बिजली तैयार हो सकती है। इतनी बिजली बनने लगे, तो प्रदेश के गांव-गांव में उजाला हो सकता है। पर अभी स्थिति यह है कि १२-१३ सौ मेगावाट से ज्यादा बिजली किसी दिन तैयार नहीं होती। ओबरा में आग लगने के बाद उत्पादन और घटा है। यह घाटा ९ अरब ८७ करोड़ का था। ८२-८३ में दो अरब तीन करोड़ का घाटा हुआ। ओबरा अग्निकाण्ड के कारण इस साल घाटा और बढ़ेगा।

बोर्ड पर ५ अरब ९९ करोड़ के कर्ज का बोझ है। इसके अतिरिक्त बोर्ड सवा अरब रुपये का देनदार है। इसमें भारत हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल्स को ८० करोड़ तथा कोल इण्डिया और तेल निगम को पन्द्रह करोड़ रुपये दिया जाना है।

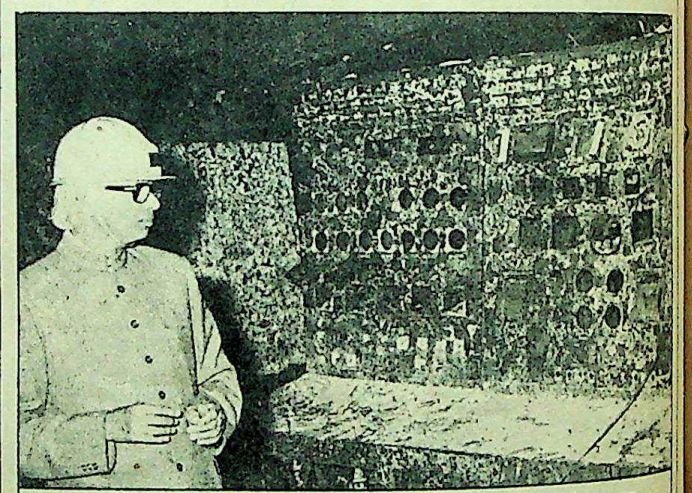
आम आदमी के लिए इस घाटे की वजह समझना मुश्किल है। क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में बिजली अत्यधिक महंगी है। दिल्ली में बिजली की कीमत २१ पैसे प्रति यूनिट है। उत्तर प्रदेश बिजली बोर्ड ने साल-दर-साल बिजली की कीमत बढ़ा कर ५५ पैसे प्रति यूनिट कर दिया है। वाणिज्य प्रतिष्ठानों के लिए यह दर और भी ज्यादा है, जबकि प्रदेश में बिजली उत्पादन पर अब भी औसतन ३० पैसे प्रति यूनिट की लागत आती है। पन-बिजली तो इससे बहुत ही सस्ती है। उत्पादन मूल्य से दूने पर बिजली बेचकर भी घाटे का कारण क्या है ?

अधिकारियों का कहना है कि बोर्ड कृषि और कुछ अन्य कार्यों के लिए बहुत सस्ती दर पर बिजली दे रहा है। ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण के लिए सरकार ने अनुदान देने का वायदा किया था जो कि नहीं मिला है। इस तरह बोर्ड के ८ अरब रुपये सरकार पर निकलते हैं। यह दलील बिलकुल थोथी है। बोर्ड ज्यादातर बिजली शहरी उपभोक्ताओं और कारखानों को बेच रहा है। इसलिए गांवों को थोड़ी-बहुत बिजली कम कीमत पर दी जा रही है, तो इससे कोई बड़ा फर्क नहीं पड़ सकता।

बोर्ड अपनी क्षमता के बराबर बिजली बनाये तो एक-दो वर्षों में ही लाभ की स्थिति में आ सकता है। बोर्ड के इंजीनियर पहले आरोप लगाते थे कि बोर्ड के पदों (अध्यक्ष और सदस्य) पर आई०ए०एस० अधिकारी भरे हुए हैं। उनकी गलत नीतियों के कारण पूरा उत्पादन नहीं हो रहा है। इंजीनियर आर०के०



जनता अंधेरे में, अधिकारी अट्टालिकाओं में : लखनऊ में निर्माणाधीन शक्ति भवन



बर्बादी का नजारा : मुख्यमंत्री श्रीपति मिश्र अग्निकांड में नष्ट ओबरा का मुआयना करते हुए

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and

सान्याल को बोर्ड का अध्यक्ष बनाये जाने पर उम्मीद की गयी थी कि बोर्ड की स्थिति सुधरेगी, पर स्थिति दिनोंदिन बिगड़ती जा रही है।

जानकार लोगों का कहना है कि बोर्ड के घाटे के पीछे पांच कारण हैं: (१) बिजली चोरी। (२) पावर हाउसों में कोयला, पेट्रोल, डीजल और और पुर्जों की चोरी। (३) घटिया ट्रांसफार्मरों से नुकसान। (४) अधिकारियों की ऐयाशी और (५) ठेकेदारों की लूट-खसोट।

बिजली चोरी का अनुमान लखनऊ बिजली कम्पनी के उदाहरण से लगाया जा सकता है। पिछले साल लेसू (लखनऊ विद्युत प्रदेय उपक्रम) को दो सौ लाख यूनिट बिजली प्राप्त हुई। पर १५० लाख यूनिट बिजली के वितरण का हिसाब है। जाहिर है कि ५० हजार यूनिट बिजली चोरी से दी गयी। कुछ अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों ने बड़ी फैक्ट्रियों के मालिकों से माहवारी तय कर रखी है। उन्हें बिना मीटर के बिजली दी जाती है। उसके बदले में अधिकारियों को अच्छी-खासी रकम मिल जाती है। अधिकारी इस तरह की हेरा-फेरी को 'लाइन लॉस' के रूप में दिखाते हैं। इसलिए 'लाइन लॉस' १९ प्रतिशत से बढ़कर २५ प्रतिशत हो गया है।

बिजली चोरी रोकने के लिए सतर्कता विभाग का एक विशेष सेल परिषद के मुख्यालय में खोला गया है। यह सेल कुछ छोटे-मोटे उपभोक्ताओं की धर-पकड़ करके खानापूरी करता रहता है। बड़े चोरों से इन्हें भी शायद कमीशन मिल जाता है। कई बार तो चोरी गयी बिजली छोटे उपभोक्ताओं पर लाद दी जाती है। इसलिए अकसर छोटे उपभोक्ताओं के पास खपत से बहुत ज्यादा रकम का बिल पहुंच जाता है।

बोर्ड को करीब ४१ करोड़ रुपये विभिन्न उपभोक्ताओं से वसूलना है। इसमें कुछ तो सरकारी संस्थाएं हैं, पर कुछ बड़े उद्योगपति हैं। बोर्ड का रुपया दबाकर वे अपना व्यवसाय फैला रहे हैं। बोर्ड राजनीतिक दबाव के कारण उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं कर रहा है।

घटिया यंत्र : घटिया ट्रांसफार्मरों के कारण हर साल बोर्ड के करीब १० करोड़ रुपये बर्बाद हो जाते हैं। बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष श्री सान्याल ने कुछ दिनों पहले एक गोष्ठी में स्वीकार किया कि घटिया ट्रांसफार्मरों के कारण बोर्ड को नुकसान हो रहा है। हर साल करीब ६ सौ ट्रांसफार्मर जल जाते हैं। एक ट्रांसफार्मर करीब दो साल चलना चाहिए। लेकिन बोर्ड में लगे ट्रांसफार्मर ६ महीने भी नहीं चलते। कई बार जांच-पड़ताल में साबित हो चुका है कि ट्रांसफार्मरों में घटिया कोटि की सामग्री का उपयोग किया जाता है। इनका निर्माण बोर्ड के मानक के हिसाब से नहीं होता, पर आश्चर्य की बात है कि बोर्ड उन्हीं कम्पनियों से लगातार ट्रांसफार्मर खरीदता जा रहा है। बोर्ड के विशेषज्ञों ने जिन कम्पनियों का माल निम्न स्तर का बताया है, उनसे भी धड़ल्ले से खरीदारी की जा रही है। ट्रांसफार्मर पर एक निश्चित अवधि की गारंटी होनी चाहिए। लेकिन बोर्ड जले ट्रांसफार्मरों की कीमत वसूलने के लिए फैक्ट्रियों पर दावा तक नहीं करता। इनके घटिया होने के कारण 'लाइन लॉस' भी बढ़ता जा रहा है। क्या इसका कारण यह है कि इन ट्रांसफार्मरों के निर्माता अधिकारियों को अच्छा-खासा कमीशन देते हैं? क्या राजनीतिज्ञों की भी इसमें सांठगांठ है?

प्रशासनिक व्यय : बोर्ड का प्रशासनिक व्यय लगातार बढ़ता जा रहा है। कई बिजलीघरों को पूरा करने के लिए बोर्ड के पास पैसा नहीं है, लेकिन लखनऊ में करोड़ों रुपये की लागत से एक और बहुमंजिली इमारत बनायी जा रही है। यह इमारत पूर्णतः वातानुकूलित्र है। बोर्ड के मुख्यालय के पास सात मंजिला इमारत है। फिलहाल इससे काम चलाया जा सकता है, लेकिन अधिकारी ज्यादा फैल कर बैठने के लिए एक और इमारत बनाने पर पैसा फूंक रहे हैं। अधिकारियों का यात्रा-भत्ता और सुख-सुविधाओं पर खर्च एक साल में लगभग दो गुना हो गया है।

परिषद में एक अभियंता औद्योगिक कनेक्शन देने का पद गत आठ वर्ष से संभाले हुए हैं। इस बीच सात अध्यक्ष बदल गये, कम-से-कम चार ने उनका दायित्व बदलने का प्रयास किया। वे असफल रहे।

परिषद के अधिकारियों का कहना है कि कोयला घटिया होने के कारण ताप बिजलीघरों में उत्पादन कम होता है। अकसर कोयले की कमी की शिकायत भी की जाती है। यह एक वास्तविकता है कि कोयला संकट, बिजली बोर्ड की रीढ़ तोड़ रहा है। पर दूसरी तरफ अनेक अधिकारी और ठेकेदार कोयले की

३० जनवरी
मनोरमा
विशेष आकर्षण
प्यार: नवीनता के लिए पहल
जब आप प्रेम-सम्बन्ध में बदलाव व ताजगी लाना चाहती हैं तो आपके 'वे' इस से बिदकते हैं। तब नवीनता का रंग घोलने के लिए क्या करें? पढ़िए एक पुरुष का दृष्टिकोण।
मुझे प्यार दो, मैं दुबली हो जाऊंगी
आप दुबली होना चाहती हैं? तो आपके लिए यहां प्रस्तुत है एक अत्यधिक रोचक व उपयोगी रचना सर्वथा नये सुझावों से युक्त।
कुछ नुस्खे अच्छी सास के लिए
आप सास तो नहीं? फिर इस रचना के नुस्खे आपके काम आयेंगे।
कढ़ाई व क्रोशिया की डिजाइनें
विशेषज्ञों द्वारा तैयार किए गये विशिष्ट नमूने और सभी नियमित स्तम्भों में चुनी हुई रचनाएं

२० जनवरी तक प्रकाश्य
मूल्य ३.५०
आज ही अपनी प्रति अखबार विक्रेता से सुरक्षित कराइये।

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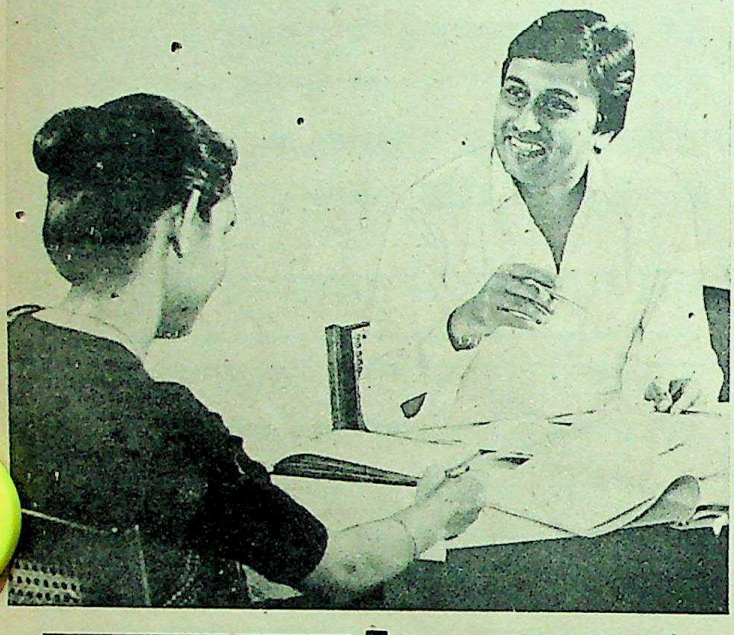
सरदर्द अनेक



इलाज एक!

एनासिन

इसमें ज्यादा दर्द-निवारक शक्ति है

तुरंत आराम के लिए एनासिन में वह दर्द-निवारक दवा और ज्यादा है, जिसकी दुनिया-भर के डॉक्टर सब से ज्यादा सिफारिश करते हैं.

सर-दर्द, सर्दी-जुकाम, फ्लू, पीठ-दर्द, पटठों के दर्द और दात-दर्द के लिए ज्यादा असरकारक.

सिर्फ एनासिन पर ही विश्वास कीजिए.

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अब सुरक्षित फॉइल पॅकिंग में

तेज असर और विश्वसनीय मॅनर्स एनासिन*

भारत की सब से लोकप्रिय दर्द-निवारक दवा.

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दलाली में करोड़पति होते जा रहे हैं।

सरकारी संस्था सी०सी०एल०, बीना और जयंत खदानों से बिजली बोर्ड के पावर हाउसों में कोयला भेजता है। पिछले साल एक करोड़ रुपये के कोयले के घोटाले का एक सनसनीखेज मामला सामने आया। बीना खदान से यह कोयला वैगन के द्वारा ओबरा पावर हाउस को भेजा गया। ओबरा के अधिकारियों ने उसे निम्नस्तर का बता कर लेने से इनकार कर दिया, तो सी०सी०एल० के अधिकारियों ने उसे पाकिस्तान की सीमा के निकट पड़नेवाले भटिंडा पावर हाउस भेज दिया। भटिंडा के अधिकारियों ने भी वह कोयला स्वीकार नहीं किया। तब सी०सी०एल० के अधिकारियों ने कोयला वहीं उतरवा कर ठेकेदारों को बेच दिया। ठेकेदारों ने कोयला अवैध रूप से पाकिस्तान पहुंचा कर लाखों की कमाई कर ली।

ओबरा में बिजली बोर्ड के डम्प से हर महीने लाखों रुपये का कोयला, डीजल तथा पेट्रोल चोरी जाता है। पिछले वर्ष कर्मचारियों ने करीब १० तेल टैंकर पकड़े, जिनमें तेल नहीं आया था, पर फैक्ट्री एरिया में उन्हें ले जाकर खाली पूरी की कोशिश की जा रही थी। इन टैंकरों का तेल बाहर बेच दिया गया था। कर्मचारियों ने इस तरह लगभग २ लाख की तेल चोरी पकड़ी। कहना न होगा कि यह काम अधिकारियों की मिलीभगत के बिना नहीं हो सकता। पिछले साल प्रदेश के बिजलीघरों से लगभग १० करोड़ रुपये का कोयला चोरी गया।

ओबरा प्रदेश का सबसे बड़ा बिजली उत्पादन केन्द्र है। आग लगने के पूर्व इसकी तीन यूनिटों में १५५० यूनिट बिजली उत्पादन की क्षमता थी। इस समय मथुरा राय इसके महाप्रबन्धक हैं। मथुरा राय, आपातकाल के दौरान भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप में निलम्बित थे। श्री राय के जमाने में जातिवाद के पनपने की शिकायतें हैं। ओबरा में जातियों के आधार पर धड़ाधड़ संगठन बने हैं। अखिल भारतीय ब्राह्मण समाज, ओबरा के संरक्षक सुदामा पाठक हैं। राज्यमंत्री बच्चा पाठक इनके बड़े भाई हैं। बताया जाता है कि पाठक बंधु अशोक ट्रेडिंग कम्पनी के नाम से ओबरा में ठेकेदारी करते हैं। इसके जवाब में अखिल भारतीय भूमिहार समाज का गठन हुआ है। आरोप है कि श्री राय भूमिहार हैं और इस संगठन पर उनका वरदहस्त है। एक बड़ा जातीय संगठन राजपूतों का है—क्षत्रिय समाज। इनकी देखा-देखी पंजाबी, बंगाली और मद्रासी लोगों ने भी अपना संगठन बना लिया है। कहना नहीं होगा कि इन संगठनों के सूत्रधार यहां के ठेकेदार हैं जो जातियों के नाम पर लूट-खसोट रहे हैं। मुख्यमंत्री श्रीपति मिश्र के एक 'तथाकथित' भतीजे दयाराम मिश्र का यहां पत्थर तोड़ने की फैक्ट्री पर एकाधिकार है। वह भी ओबरा के प्रमुख सप्लायर हैं।

कुछ दिनों पहले कलकत्ता की एक फर्म को बल्ब सप्लाई के लिए अग्रिम भुगतान कर दिया गया। बल्ब की पेटी गोदाम में खोलने पर पता चला कि उनमें सिर्फ पुआल भरा है। पचास मेगावाट की एक यूनिट को सौ मेगावाट में तब्दील करने के लिए मंगाये गये करीब ४ लाख के उपकरण चोरी चले गये, जिनका मुकदमा ओबरा थाने में लिखाया गया। छोटी-छोटी चोरियों का तो कोई हिसाब ही नहीं है। कोयला, तेल और अन्य उपकरणों को मिला कर हर साल करीब २५ लाख का सामान यहां से चोरी चला जाता है। ज्यादातर मामले पुलिस में भी नहीं लिखाये जाते, संबंधित कर्मचारियों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई तो दूर की बात है। इसी तरह आरोप है कि हर साल लाखों रुपये बिना काम कराये ठेकेदारों को दे दिये जाते हैं और कागजी कार्रवाई पूरी कर ली जाती है।

करीब ३ करोड़ का माल हर साल कबाड़ के नाम पर बाहर कर दिया जाता है। कर्मचारी यूनियन के नेताओं ने कुछ दिनों पहले एक कबाड़ी के यहां अच्छा माल बरामद करके इस जालसाजी का पर्दाफाश किया था। बरामद सामान में केबिल, पैनल और ७ क्विंटल तांबा, आदि था। कर्मचारियों ने बरामद सामान ओबरा थाने में जमा करा दिया। पर किसी के खिलाफ कार्रवाई नहीं हुई। थानेदार को मिला कर मामला रफा-दफा कर दिया गया।

बहरहाल हाल के भीषण कांड के संदर्भ में नियुक्त जांच समिति ने जो रिपोर्ट दी है, उसमें तोड़फोड़ का मामला सामने आया है और इसमें कुछ कर्मचारियों की साजिश मानी जा रही है। देखना है कि इस मामले में भी सरकार कोई ठोस कदम उठाती है या इसे भी चलता कर दिया जाता है।

—शैलेन्द्र

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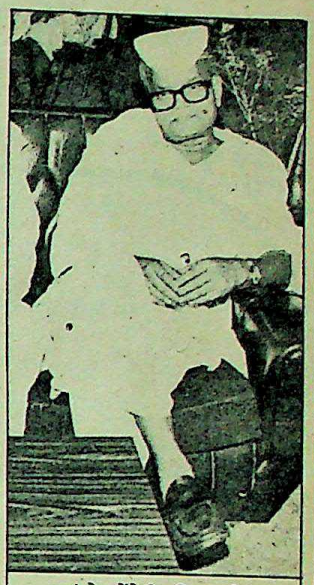
Funding: Tattva Heritage

ब्राह्मण-राजपूत : अंतर्घात की राजनीति

कौन किसका साथ देगा ? : (बायें से दायें) कुमार शुभेश्वर सिंह, लोकेशनाथ झा, नागेन्द्र झा और चंद्रशेखर सिंह



कहां से लड़ेंगे ? हरिनाथ मिश्र

० सूत्र एक—शत्रु के लोगों को साम नीति के द्वारा आसानी से वश में किया जा सकता है। शत्रु राजा के दरबारियों को दान द्वारा वशीभूत किया जा सकता है। शत्रु के पक्ष पर भेद नीति का प्रयोग किया जा सकता है। शत्रु के शक्तिशाली समर्थकों को दंड के द्वारा वश में किया जा सकता है।

० सूत्र दो—जिन लोगों की वफादारी संदिग्ध हो, उनके भोजन या जल में विष मिला देना चाहिए, जिससे वे मृतप्राय हो जायें। विष मिश्रित धुंआ सुंघाकर शत्रु को बेहोश किया जा सकता है। इसके बाद प्रचार यह कराया जाना चाहिए कि देवता पर 'अनास्था' के कारण ऐसी दशा हुई।

ये सूत्र वाक्य किसी साधारण व्यक्ति के नहीं हैं, बल्कि कूटनीतिज्ञ चाणक्य के हैं। यदि करीब से देखा जाये, तो चाणक्य के उक्त सूत्रों का बिहार की जातिप्रधान राजनीति में आजकल खुल कर अनुसरण हो रहा है। इस समय सत्तारूढ़ दल की राजनीति दो पाटों में विभक्त दिखायी पड़ रही है—एक ब्राह्मण और दूसरे राजपूत। और इन दोनों जातियों के बीच एक खतरनाक खेल जारी है। सूत्र एक मुख्यमंत्री खेमे का तो सूत्र दो जगन्नाथ मिश्र खेमे का माना जाता है। पूर्व में कभी राजपूत व ब्राह्मण नेताओं में ऐसी नहीं ठनी थी, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के मुख्यमंत्री होते ही इस युद्ध की मुनादी हो गयी। नतीजतन चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के खेमे की तरफ जो-जो ब्राह्मण विधायक पद-लाभ के मोह में भागे कि फौरन उनकी किलाबंदी कर दी गयी। दूसरी ओर चन्द्रशेखर के शिविर से कोई विरोधी खेमे की ओर भागा तो नहीं, लेकिन शत्रु खेमे के लिए जो लोग मुखबिरी करने लगे उनको रोके रखने की चालें शुरू हो गयीं। वाकई यह एक अजीबोगरीब युद्ध है कि दोनों खेमे एक दूसरे से तो लड़ ही रहे हैं, साथ ही अपने-अपने खेमों में भी एक दूसरे का सफाया करने में लगे हैं।

ब्राह्मण सेना : मौत इधर भी, उधर भी ! : शुरू मिथिलांचल की राजनीति से ही करें ! पिछले कई महीनों से लंबित दरभंगा स्नातक निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के लिए फरवरी में विधान परिषद की सीट के लिए चुनाव होने की घोषणा हुई है। पिछली दफा इस क्षेत्र से कांग्रेसी उम्मीदवार के रूप में डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र के कट्टर समर्थक कमलनाथ सिंह ठाकुर चुनाव जीते थे। कमलनाथ सिंह ठाकुर को इंका का टिकट उस स्थान से केदार पांडे—हरिनाथ मिश्र के करीबी कांग्रेसी विधायक डा० चेतकर झा का टिकट काट कर दिया गया था। बहरहाल, अब फिर उस सीट पर चुनाव होना है, तो स्थिति बदली हुई है। राजनीतिक हल्कों में गर्म खबरों के मुताबिक कमलनाथ सिंह ठाकुर (श्रोत्रिय ब्राह्मण) चूंकि अभी तक जगन्नाथ मिश्र के संग हैं, इसलिए इंका का टिकट शायद उन्हें इस बार न मिल पाये। चर्चा के मुताबिक मुख्यमंत्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह यह चाहते हैं कि मिथिला क्षेत्र के एक बुजुर्ग नेता लोकेशनाथ झा को जो विगत एक दशक से राजनीतिक बनवास में थे, इस सीट से लड़ाया जाये। लोकेशनाथ झा अचानक तेजी से बिहार की राजनीति में फिर उग रहे हैं। प्रदेश इंका में उन्हें उपाध्यक्ष का जो पद दिया गया है, उसके विषय में राजनीतिक समीक्षकों की यह गणना है कि मुख्यमंत्री ने अपने ही खेमे के ब्राह्मण काबिना मंत्री नागेन्द्र झा का प्रतिस्पर्धी खड़ा कर दिया है। यों नागेन्द्र झा मुख्यमंत्री के अभी घनघोर पुजारी हैं, लेकिन तब मुख्यमंत्री को उनके काट की जरूरत क्यों आ पड़ी ? सत्ता के अंदरूनी सूत्रों का कहना है कि भावी चुनौती को तत्काल समाप्त करने की यह पुरानी राजनीतिक तरकीब है। यों जगन्नाथ-समर्थकों का दावा है कि कमलनाथ चुनाव में खड़े होंगे ही और जीतेंगे भी। इन लोगों के मुताबिक अन्ततः शायद इस चुनाव में नागेन्द्र झा, कमलनाथ की ही मदद कर दें। क्योंकि वह कभी भी नहीं चाहेंगे कि लोकेशनाथ झा जीत कर उनके अपने ही खेमे में सिरदर्द बन जायें। लोकेशनाथ झा और नागेन्द्र झा में एक और मुद्दे को लेकर शीतयुद्ध चलने की आम चर्चा है—बिहार के दो अखबारों (आर्यावर्त, इंडियन नेशन) के मालिक दरभंगा के राजकुमार शुभेश्वर सिंह को लेकर। लोकेशनाथ झा शुरू से ही कुमार शुभेश्वर के करीबी रहे हैं, दूसरी तरफ नागेन्द्र झा का प्रयास है कि कुमार शुभेश्वर सिंह के दोनों चर्चित अखबारों की मदद मुख्यमंत्री को वह तोहफे के तौर पर पेश करें और मुख्यमंत्री की नजरों में अपनी उपयोगिता सिद्ध करें। जबकि लोकेशनाथ झा भी इसी चक्कर में हैं। कुमार शुभेश्वर सिंह राजनीति में आने की सोच रहे हैं और कुमार की दृष्टि में मिथिलांचल की राजनीति में लोकेशनाथ झा से ही उनका 'सरगम' बैठ सकता है। लेकिन केन्द्रीय राज्यमंत्री पंडित हरिनाथ मिश्र उनके रास्ते में एक रोड़ा हैं। कुमार शुभेश्वर चाहते हैं कि वह दरभंगा संसदीय क्षेत्र से चुनाव लड़ें, जबकि वहां से हरिनाथ मिश्र सांसद हैं और हरिनाथ मिश्र तथा नागेन्द्र झा का पुराना तालमेल है। ऐसे में उनके सामने स्थिति स्पष्ट है कि नागेन्द्र झा, हरिनाथ मिश्र को छोड़कर उनके हितैषी नहीं हो सकते। संभव है कि अगामी लोकसभाई चुनाव के दौरान कुमार शुभेश्वर खेमे से यह मांग उठे कि हरिनाथ मिश्र अपने गृह क्षेत्र पड़ोसी संसदीय क्षेत्र मधुबनी से लड़ने जायें। मधुबनी से अभी कम्युनिस्ट सांसद भोगेन्द्र झा हैं। लेकिन हरिनाथ मिश्र, श्रीमती गांधी के दरबार में इतने मजबूत हैं कि दरभंगा से उनका टिकट कटना संभव नहीं। ऐसी स्थिति में कुमार

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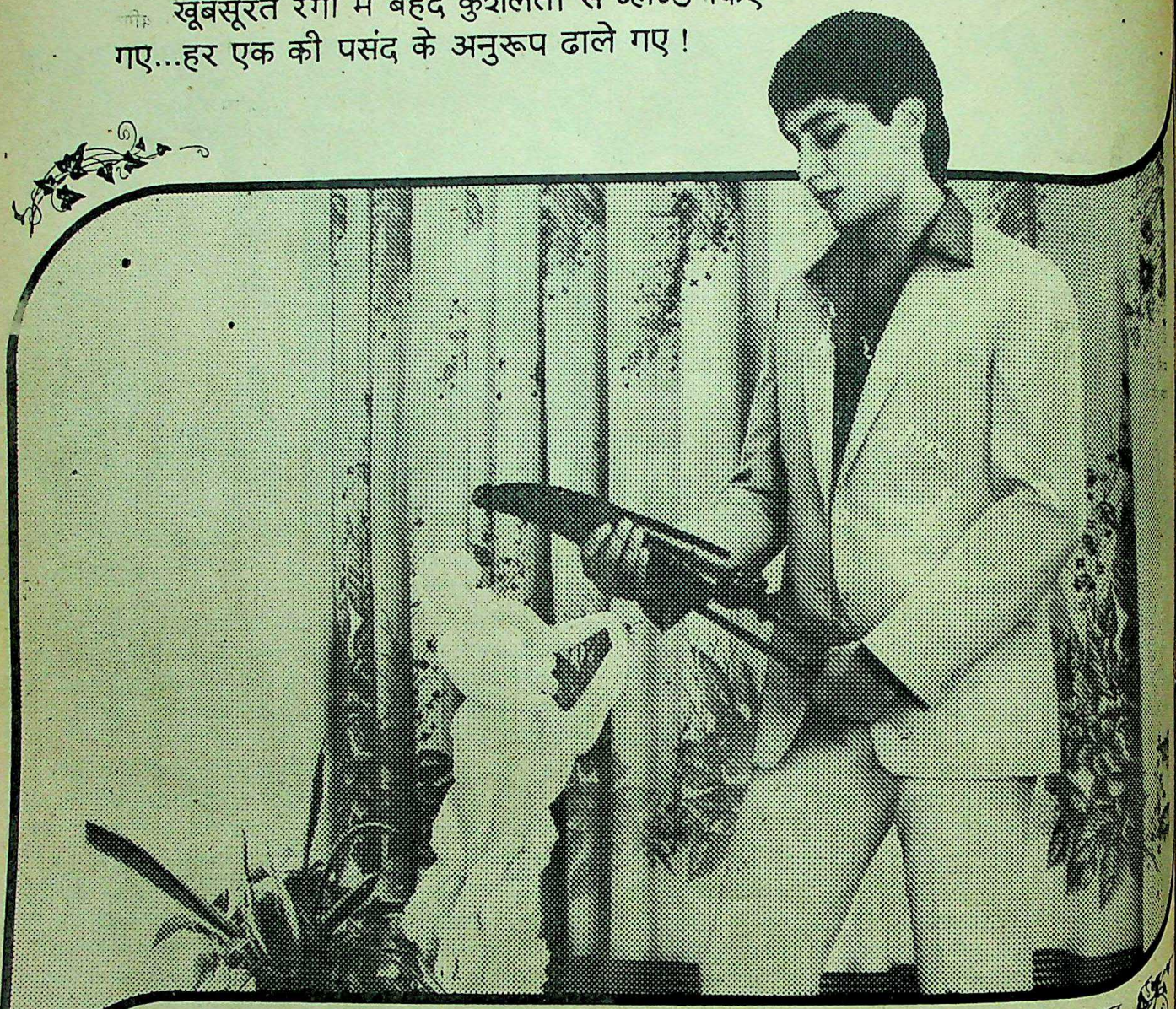
रोज़ाना के लिए या खास मौके पर—
शानदार, सजीले एमराल्ड और स्टारलाइट शर्टिंग्स
खूबसूरत रंगों में बेहद कुशलता से ब्लैण्ड किए
गए...हर एक की पसंद के अनुरूप ढाले गए !



दावणगेरे

नये-नये चलन चलायें...खूबसूरत मेल मिलायें.

दि दावणगेरे कॉटन मिल्स लिमिटेड
हनुमंतप्पा बिल्डिंग्स, चित्रदुर्गा रोड,
दावणगेरे-५७७ ००२.

शो रूम के पते :
कावेरी भवन, बंगलौर-५६० ००९.
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चंद्रशेखर सिंह के जवाब : दिनेश कुमार सिंह

जगन्नाथ खेमे में : डा० प्रभुनाथ सिंह

शुभेश्वर सिंह को मधुबनी संसदीय क्षेत्र से इंका का टिकट दिये जाने की पेशकश की जा सकती है। मधुबनी जिले की अधिकांश सीटों पर ब्राह्मण ही विधायक हैं। घनश्यामपुर के इंका विधायक महेन्द्र नारायण झा आजाद घोर जगन्नाथ-समर्थक हैं। आजाद इधर अपने गांव में बन्दूक चालन के एक कांड में बुरी तरह उलझा दिये गये हैं। मुख्यमंत्री खेमे से यह दबाव उन पर डाला जा रहा है कि वह जगन्नाथ का साथ छोड़ दें वरना इस केस में उन्हें बेहद परेशान किया जायेगा।

बाबूबरही के इंका विधायक महेन्द्र नारायण झा पहले जगन्नाथ मिश्र के ऐसे अंधे अनुयायी थे कि जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने जब अपने नाम के संग 'मिश्र' न लिखने की ठानी, तो महेन्द्र झा ने भी 'झा' का परित्याग कर दिया था, लेकिन चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के मुख्यमंत्री बनते ही महेन्द्र नारायण झा ने एक विस्फोटक बयान दिया कि जगन्नाथ मिश्र मुख्यमंत्री के रूप में इतना धन कमा चुके हैं कि एक दल चला सकते हैं। इस तरह महेन्द्र नारायण झा चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के शिविर में घुस गये। जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने उन्हें नागरिक परिषद का महासचिव बना रखा था। लेकिन चन्द्रशेखर खेमे में जाने के बाद मंत्री-पद तो दूर, महेन्द्र नारायण झा नागरिक परिषद के महासचिव पद से भी हटा दिये गये। जाहिर है कि खेमा-परिवर्तन का लाभ मिलने के बजाय उन्हें हानि ही उठानी पड़ी है। ठीक यही हालत विधान परिषद सदस्य हितनारायण झा की भी हुई। हितनारायण झा, जगन्नाथ मिश्र के खास आदमी थे, लेकिन भगदड़ की स्थिति में वह भी चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के साथ हो गये। नतीजतन उन पर जगन्नाथ खेमे ने तत्काल हमला शुरू कर दिया। जगन्नाथ मिश्र-समर्थक मधुबनी जिले के तमाम विधायकों ने बयान देकर उनके पुत्र से संबंधित एक फर्जी संस्था और सीमेंट आदि के कथित घपलों को उछाला। हितनारायण झा की राजनीति इस प्रकरण से काफी आहत हुई और मुख्यमंत्री के खैरख्वाह बनने का लाभ भी उन्हें नहीं मिल सका। विधानसभाध्यक्ष राधानन्दन झा अभी बिलकुल खामोशी की स्थिति में हैं। यों जगन्नाथ मिश्र के मुख्यमंत्री-पद से हटने के कुछ माह पूर्व से राधानन्दन झा जगन्नाथ मिश्र खेमे के हितैषी बने थे और भीतर-भीतर अभी भी माने जाते हैं। लेकिन जगन्नाथ मिश्र की खुल्लमखुल्ला मदद करने की स्थिति में वह अभी 'कई कारणों से' हैं भी नहीं, क्योंकि तब तुरंत उनके लिए खतरे की घंटी बज सकती है। पंडौल से इंका विधायक कुमुदरंजन झा जगन्नाथ-समर्थक हैं। विगत चुनाव में जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने भीषण चुनाव-प्रचार कर जनता पार्टी से लड़ रहे अपने भतीजे विजय कुमार मिश्र को हराया। अभी बदली हुई परिस्थिति में इस क्षेत्र में जगन्नाथ मिश्र क्या करेंगे—कहना कठिन है। सीतामढ़ी जिले में भी स्थिति भयावह है। सीतामढ़ी में जगन्नाथ मिश्र के सिपहसालार भूतपूर्व राज्यमंत्री रघुनाथ झा की राजनीति को जिले में ध्वस्त करने के लिए मुख्यमंत्री खेमा जी-तोड़ प्रयास में है और इसी के तहत रघुनाथ झा के खास आदमी जिला इंका अध्यक्ष मोहित शर्मा को हाल में हटाकर मुख्यमंत्री खेमे में कूद कर गये सीतामढ़ी जिले के ही एक बुजुर्ग ब्राह्मण विधायक महंथ विवेकानंद गिरी को अध्यक्ष बनाया गया है। विवेकानंद गिरी का दर्द यह है कि हाल में ही पटना उच्च न्यायालय ने उनके चुनाव को रद्द करने संबंधी निर्णय में कहा है कि तीन महीने के अंदर वह अपना पक्ष प्रस्तुत करें। गिरीजी अब सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में इस विवाद से निपटेंगे।

चन्द्रशेखर सिंह ने अपनी राजपूती राजनीति की कमान सीतामढ़ी में अपने स्वजातीय कुमार वीरेन्द्र सिंह को दी है जो जिला बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष थे और एक समय में रघुनाथ झा के आदमी थे और बाद में रघुनाथ झा-विरोधी होने के संग-संग जगन्नाथ-विरोधी हो गये, क्योंकि उन्हें जिला बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष पद से अपदस्थ कर देवीकांत झा को अध्यक्ष बनाया गया था। इधर जिला इंका के अध्यक्षों के मनोनयन को लेकर भी गजब का हंगामा हुआ। प्रदेश इंका अध्यक्ष रामशरण सिंह ने जगन्नाथ-समर्थक कुछ जिला इंका अध्यक्षों को हटा दिया। मधुबनी जिले में एक ब्राह्मण जिला अध्यक्ष को हटा कर नागेन्द्र झा-समर्थक धर्मेश्वर मिश्र को अध्यक्ष नामजद किया गया, पर बाद में विवाद बढ़ने के कारण मनोनयन को स्थगित करना पड़ा, क्योंकि मधुबनी कांग्रेस समिति के कार्यालय में नये अध्यक्ष को घुसने देने को कोई तैयार नहीं था।

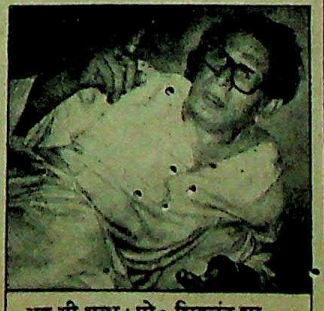
सहरसा जिले की स्थिति भी विचित्र है। जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने अपने सगे संबंधी विधायक अमरेन्द्र मिश्र को भीतरी अन्तर्कलह के कारण जिला इंका के अध्यक्ष पद से हटा दिया था, पर अब उन्हें पुनः जिलाध्यक्ष बनाया गया है। भागलपुर क्षेत्र की ब्राह्मण राजनीति का दांवपेंच तो और भी रोमांचक है। इस क्षेत्र के सांसद व केन्द्रीय राज्यमंत्री भागवत झा आजाद शुरू से ही कट्टर जगन्नाथ-विरोधी थे, पर अब उनके संग स्थिति विचित्र हो गयी है। भागलपुर के ब्राह्मणों में उनके असर को समाप्त करने के लिए मुख्यमंत्री खेमे की तरफ से एक अद्भुत चाल चली गयी है कि उनके विरोध में उसी जिले के ब्राह्मण इंका विधायक हेमंत कुमार झा को मजबूत किया जाये। इस अभियान के तहत ही हेमंत कुमार झा को मुख्यमंत्री ने अपने चुनाव में मुख्य चुनाव संचालक भी बनाया। भागलपुर जिले के इंका विधायक शिवचन्द्र झा जो जगन्नाथ मिश्र-हटाओ अभियान में बेहद सक्रिय थे, की राजनीति को साफ करने के लिए स्वर्गीय विनोदानंद झा (भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री) के पुत्र कृष्णानंद झा को खड़ा किया गया है। कृष्णानंद झा को इसीलिए राज्यमंत्री का पद दिया गया।

चम्पारण की ब्राह्मण राजनीति के पैंतरे ही अलग हैं। अभी बेतिया संसदीय चुनाव में स्वर्गीय केदार पांडे के पुत्र डा० मनोज पांडे इंका के उम्मीदवार थे। चुनाव में वह पराजित हुए। आखिर स्व० केदार पांडे सरीखे चम्पारण के लोकप्रिय नेता के पुत्र की हार कैसे हो गयी? कारण कई बताये जाते हैं। डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र चुनाव के पांच-छह दिन पहले मनोज के लिए ब्राह्मण, मुस्लिम वोट ठीक करने गये। डा० मिश्र की सभा में मनोज पांडे भी आये और उन्होंने कहा कि 'मैं जीतकर श्रीमती गांधी और डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र के हाथों को मजबूत करूंगा। जगन्नाथ मिश्र मेरे पिता तुल्य हैं।' उस सभा में उपस्थित लोगों का कहना है कि यह कहते-कहते मनोज पांडे की आवाज रुंध गयी। जानकार लोगों का कहना है कि इस सभा का मनोज पांडे के चुनाव पर बुरा असर पड़ा, क्योंकि मनोज पांडे की इस उक्ति से मुख्यमंत्री-खेमा काफी क्षुब्ध हो गया और इस चुनाव को अपनी प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न जहां मुख्यमंत्री खेमा मान रहा था, वहीं एक विचित्र रणनीति यह खेली गयी कि चुनाव के दो दिन पूर्व जगन्नाथ-समर्थक ब्राह्मण भूतपूर्व राज्यमंत्री ललन शुक्ला और एक अन्य प्रभावशाली मुस्लिम नेता को पार्टी से निष्कासित कर दिया गया। इससे ब्राह्मण व मुस्लिम मत मनोज पांडे के खिलाफ चले गये। जगन्नाथ के खेमे के लोगों का आरोप है कि या तो मुख्यमंत्री पक्ष के लड़कपन से मनोज हारे हैं या एक सुनियोजित योजना के तहत।

ब्राह्मण राजनीति के एक सरगना का विश्लेषण है कि इन दिनों जो ब्राह्मण विधायक या सांसद जगन्नाथ के संग हैं उनके पांव तो कब्र में हैं ही, दूसरी तरफ जो मुख्यमंत्री खेमे में भी हैं, उनके अस्तित्व को भी जड़-मूल से समाप्त कर दिया गया है। कुल मिलाकर बिहार के ब्राह्मण नेता 'बुद्धुओं की सेना' बनकर अपने चिथड़ा उड़ते हुए देखने की मजबूरी में जी रहे हैं।

राजपूत शिविर : आग भीतर भी, बाहर भी! : "क्या मुख्यमंत्री राजपूतों के हित से खेल रहे हैं?" यह सवाल अगर बिहार के तमाम राजपूत नेताओं से किया जाये, तो एक साथ बेसाख्ता सब हामी भरेंगे। जगन्नाथ जब मुख्यमंत्री थे,

कथित राजपूत कोटे से : ब्रजकिशोर सिंह



अब भी क्षुब्ध : प्रो० शिवचंद्र झा

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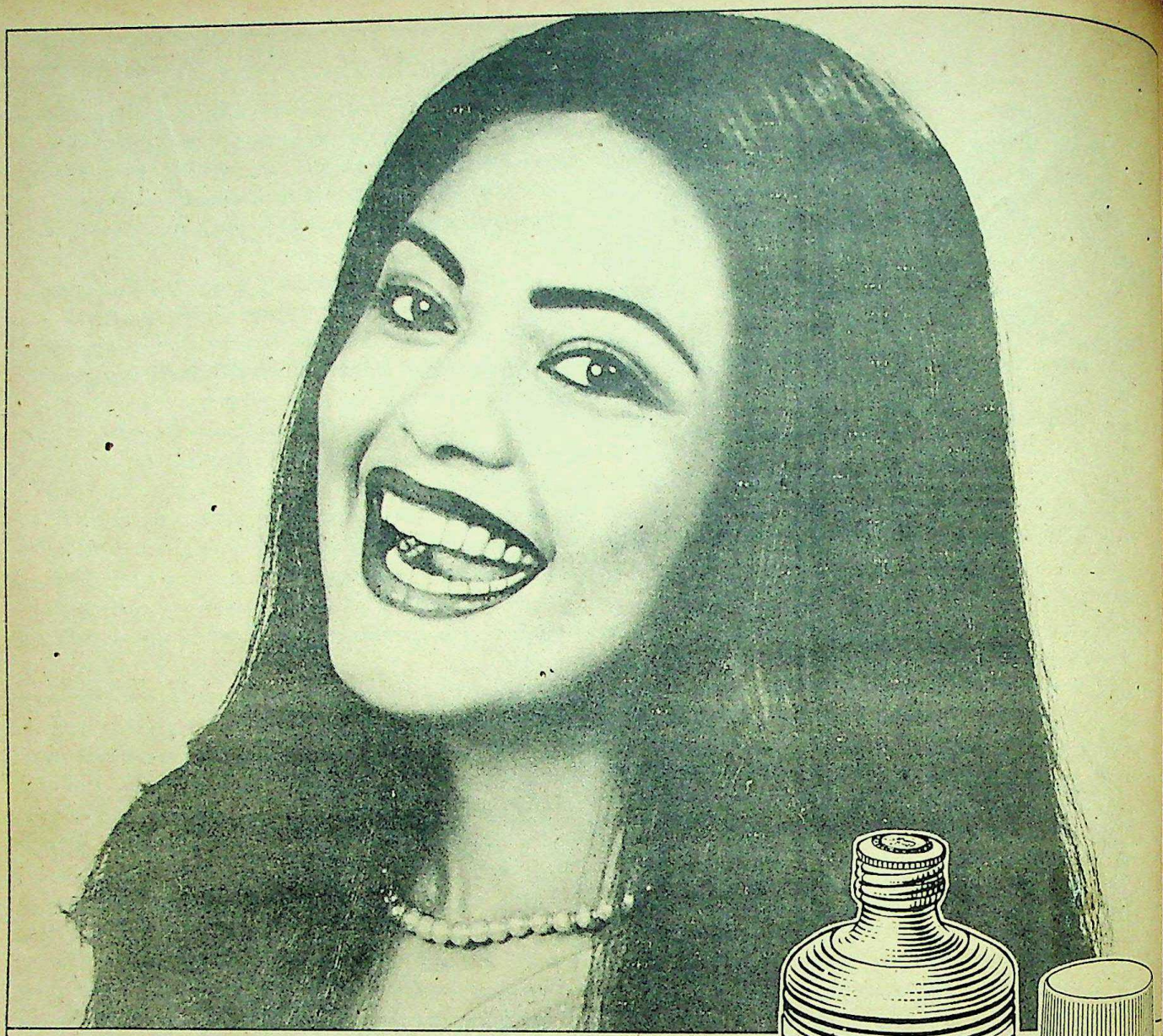

सेवाश्रम

के आयुर्वेदिक उत्पादन बालों के सौन्दर्य तथा दाँतों की मज़बूती के सर्वोत्तम प्राकृतिक उपाय

चमेली केश तेल

सुगन्धित व अत्यन्त शीतल-सेवाश्रम का चमेली केश तेल आपके बालों के सौन्दर्य में एक अनोखा निखार लाता है और उन्हें कोमल तथा गहरे बनाता है।

लाल दंत मंजन

सर्वश्रेष्ठ आयुर्वेदिक जड़ी-बूटियों से बना सेवाश्रम का लाल दंत मंजन मसूड़ों को मज़बूत, दाँतों को नीरोग और मुँह को स्वच्छ बनाए रखता है।

आयुर्वेद सेवाश्रम लिमिटेड

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रजि. ऑफिस : बजाज भवन, २२६ नरिमन पाईन्ट
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Funding: Tattva Heritage

तो उनके मंत्रिमंडल में दो राजपूत काबिना मंत्री थे और अन्य कुछ राज्यमंत्री व उपमंत्री भी। लेकिन चन्द्रशेखर सिंह मंत्रिमंडल में सिर्फ एक राज्यमंत्री ब्रजकिशोर सिंह राजपूत कोटे से हैं। वह भी इसलिए कि ब्रजकिशोर सिंह भीष्म नारायण सिंह के समधी हैं और भीष्म नारायण सिंह ने मुख्यमंत्री बनने में चन्द्रशेखर सिंह की मदद की थी। यों ब्रजकिशोर सिंह खानदानी आदमी हैं और चम्पारण में राजपूतों पर उनका असर भी है। लेकिन अन्य राजपूत नेताओं की बौखलाहट इसलिए है कि मुख्यमंत्री ने काबिना में अब तक एक भी राजपूत नेता को जगह नहीं दी है। इन क्षुब्ध नेताओं का कहना है कि मुख्यमंत्री अपने सामने किसी दूसरे राजपूत को पनपने नहीं देना चाहते। क्षोभ की आग राजपूत कैम्प में लहक रही है। इका के राजपूत विधायकों की सूची देखी जाये, तो कई बातें सामने आती हैं। बहुत से राजपूत विधायक जगन्नाथ खेमे में विराजमान हैं। इनमें भूतपूर्व राज्यमंत्री डा० प्रभुनाथ सिंह, विधान परिषद सदस्य डा० हरगोविंद सिंह, भूतपूर्व मंत्री राजेन्द्र प्रताप सिंह और शिवचरण सिंह आदि। वहीं रणजीत बहादुर सिंह, आशुतोष बहादुर सिंह, नीलमोहन सिंह, चन्द्रमौलेश्वर सिंह ललन, शंकर दयाल सिंह आदि चन्द्रशेखर सिंह की टुकड़ी में शामिल हैं। सांसद रंजीत सिंह पहले जगन्नाथ-समर्थक थे, अब चन्द्रशेखर के साथ हैं। खेमों को बदलने की स्थिति चाहे जो भी हो, असंतोष भयानक है। पूर्णिया जिले के प्रभावशाली राजपूत इका विधायक दिनेशकुमार सिंह का नाम शुरू से ही चर्चा में था कि राजपूत कोटे से वही काबिना मंत्री होंगे। लेकिन चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के 'प्रताप' से मंत्री-पद तो क्या, प्रदेश इका तक में उन्हें अब तक कोई ठौर नहीं मिल सकी है। राजपूत राजनीति के ज्ञाताओं का कथन है कि राजपूत नेताओं में दिनेश सिंह कभी विवादास्पद नहीं रहे, जबकि वह पहले भी मंत्री रह चुके हैं। इसलिए चन्द्रशेखर सिंह अपनी बिरादरी में दिनेश सिंह से ही खतरा महसूस कर रहे हैं। इका के भीतर चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के मुंहतोड़ जवाब दिनेश सिंह ही हो सकते हैं, ऐसा तमाम आक्रोश से भरे राजपूत नेताओं का सोचना है। क्योंकि राजपूत विधायकों में वे लोग अभी इका के भीतर मुख्यमंत्री के जवाब नहीं बन सकते, जिन पर जगन्नाथ के आदमी होने का ठप्पा है। दिनेश सिंह की स्वतंत्र छवि है और जगन्नाथ पक्ष के राजपूत विधायक उन्हें यह हौसला दे रहे हैं कि 'विरोध का बिगुल एक बार बजाइए तो सही, हम सब आपके पीछे हैं।' राजपूत खेमे के भीतरी सूत्र की खबरों के मुताबिक बिहार जनता पार्टी अध्यक्ष सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह ने जो बिहार में राजपूतों के पोषक हैं, दिनेश सिंह को बाहर से अपना जातीय समर्थन दिलवाने का आश्वासन दिया है। कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि राजपूत शिविर में मुख्यमंत्री की कथित राजपूत-दमन की नीति के विरुद्ध बाकायदा इंकलाब छिड़ जाये।

दूसरी तरफ, सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह का दांव बड़ा लम्बा व चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के लिए भयावह है। जानकारों के मुताबिक सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह से बांका में उपचुनाव के दौरान जो भी राजपूत उनकी आज्ञा लेने जाते थे, उनसे सत्येन्द्र बाबू का एक ही जुमला होता—मुख्यमंत्री को जितायें, आप लोगों का ही तो वह काम करेंगे। क्या वाकई सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह राजपूतों के बीच चन्द्रशेखर सिंह के आधार को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं? इसका उत्तर बड़ा अजीब है—'नहीं'।

भीतर की राजनीति यह है कि सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह ने चन्द्रशेखर सिंह को मदद करने की बात राजपूतों को कहकर चन्द्रशेखर सिंह को उलटा दांव दिया है। क्योंकि सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह यह बखूबी जानते थे कि अगर राजपूतों के उत्साह के इस मौके पर वह एक राजपूत मुख्यमंत्री को हराने की बात करते, तो राजपूतों में उनके प्रति ही क्षोभ उत्पन्न होता। चुनाव में राजपूतों ने बांका में जाकर अपनी इज्जत की बाजी लगा दी। सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह यह समझ रहे हैं कि मुख्यमंत्री के चुनाव में बिहार के कोने-कोने से गये राजपूत जो बांका में हर तरह से खून-पसीना बहा चुके हैं, बड़ी उम्मीद से मुख्यमंत्री के पास जायेंगे और मुख्यमंत्री उन सभी की उम्मीद पर पानी फेर देंगे। तब क्षुब्ध राजपूतों की टोली सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह के यहां ही पहुंचेगी, यह तय है। सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह की यह कोशिश है कि चन्द्रशेखर सिंह 'उग्र रूप से जातीय राजनीति' करें और इसी में ध्वस्त हो जायें। चन्द्रशेखर सिंह उनके इस दांव को भांप रहे हैं। पर राजपूत राजनीति के शिविर में अगर मुख्यमंत्री भीतर की आग बुझाने दौड़ेंगे, तो बाहर की आग जला देगी और बाहर की बुझाने दौड़े, तो भीतर सब कुछ बर्बाद हो जायेगा।

—विकास कुमार झा

मनोहर कहानियाँ
फरवरी, '८४ अंक

प्रमुख आकर्षण

डाकू सिकरवार के साथ ३०४ दिन
मध्य प्रदेश के कुख्यात डाकू सिकरवार और अबोध बालक रिंकू के मानवीय सम्बन्धों की दिलचस्प कहानी

रिश्तों का दर्द
पति, प्रेमी और पिता यानी एक मर्द पत्नी, प्रेमिका और बेटी यानी तीन औरतें—रिश्तों से उपजे लगाव और टकराव की मार्मिक कहानी

सैली ब्राउन की मौत का रहस्य
हिमाचल प्रदेश में सैर-सपाटे के लिए आनेवाली प्रकृति प्रेमी विदेशी युवती के प्रेम और रहस्यमय अन्त की कथा

इंतजार के बाद
नयी-नयी कलियों के पीछे भौंरा बने पति का वह रात- रात भर इंतजार करती। इस इंतजारी का अन्त कैसे हुआ?

शबनम
ज्ञानवन्ती जब शबनम बनी, तो तूफानों ने उसे घेर लिया—प्रेम-विवाह करनेवाली एक युवती की व्यथा-कथा

दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ता, लखनऊ आदि नगरों की सनसनीखेज सत्यकथाएं

मूल्य ४.००

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

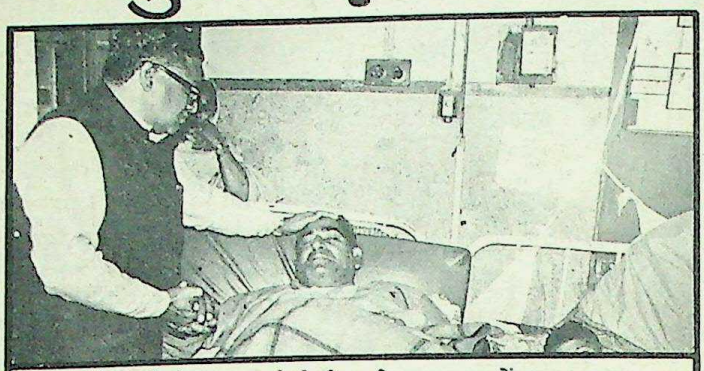
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

नगीना राय बनाम काली पांडे

मुठभेड़ की राजनीति

खून ! दो अक्षरों का यह सनसनीखेज शब्द बिहारवासियों को शायद अब नहीं चौंका पाता। एक सर्वेक्षण के मुताबिक बिहार में लगभग पचास प्रतिशत विधायकों व सांसदों पर हत्या एवं अन्य आपराधिक मामले चल रहे हैं। तकरीबन चालीस प्रतिशत राजनेताओं के परिजनों की हत्या हो चुकी है। आठ प्रतिशत नेताओं पर लूटने, धमकाने आदि के मामले चल रहे हैं। शेष दो प्रतिशत विधायक निरीह हैं जो आपराधिक राजनीति की इस धारा से अलग हैं और इसीलिए राजनीतिक बनवास के दिन भोग रहे हैं।

२४ दिसम्बर। साढ़े ग्यारह बजे दिन का वक्त ! स्थान—पटना रेलवे जंक्शन ! स्टेशन पर सोनभद्र एक्सप्रेस रुकी और यात्री उतरने लगे कि तभी कुछ क्षणों के बाद एक शक्तिशाली बम का विस्फोट हुआ। दहशत से लोग भागने लगे। पन्द्रह मिनट तक पूरा माहौल धुएं के गुबार में डूबा रहा। धुएं के बीच से सिर्फ एक ही चीख गूंजती रही—पुलिस ! पुलिस ! ! लेकिन पुलिसवाले भला वहां क्या करने जाते। धुआं जब साफ हुआ, तो लोगों ने देखा कि गोपालगंज के इंका सांसद नगीना राय अपने किशोर पुत्र के साथ खून से लथपथ तड़प रहे हैं।



काली पांडे ने मुझे फोन पर धमकी दी थी : नगीना राय साथ में डा० जगन्नाथ

बहरहाल, नगीना राय का दाया पांव बम से क्षत-विक्षत था। गंभीर हालत में उन्हें अस्पताल में दाखिल कराया गया। एक तरफ मुख्यमंत्री चुनाव में जीत के बाद सुदृढ़ प्रशासन के वायदे करने में व्यस्त थे और वहीं दूसरी तरफ उनके प्रशासन की विफलांगता सिद्ध हो रही थी। बमकांड में दर्ज प्राथमिकी में गोपालगंज के ही एक निर्दलीय विधायक काली प्रसाद पांडे सहित कुछ अन्य लोगों के नाम थे। काली पांडे को तुरंत पुलिस की गिरफ्त में ले लिया गया। काली पांडे व नगीना राय के बीच की राजनीतिक प्रतिद्वंद्विता जग जाहिर है। इसलिए नगीना राय पर हमले के बाद शक पांडे पर ही किया गया। यों पांडे ने इस बात का खंडन किया है कि इस प्रकरण में उनका हाथ है (देखें साक्षात्कार), लेकिन नगीना राय का कहना है कि पांडे द्वारा उनकी जान लेने का यह चौथा प्रयास है (देखें साक्षात्कार)। वहीं पांडे के लोगों का कहना है कि काली [illegible] की जान लेने के कई प्रयास [illegible] हो चुके हैं।

३०-३२ वर्षीय युवा विधायक काली पांडे १९७७ के विधानसभा चुनाव में स्वतंत्र उम्मीदवार के रूप में गोपालगंज से खड़े हुए और हारे। फिर वह कुछ व्यवसाय करने गल्फ चले गये। १९८० के विधानसभा चुनाव में वह स्वतंत्र उम्मीदवार के रूप में फिर खड़े हुए और जीते। फिर इंका में शामिल हो गये, लेकिन कुछ समय बाद उन्हें दल से निष्कासित कर दिया गया। विधायक के रूप में वह चार महीनों तक कई आपराधिक मामलों में जेल में रहे हैं।

काली पांडे के मुताबिक अपराधियों का विरोध करने की सजा उन्हें दे दी गयी। गोपालगंज की राजनीति में नगीना राय व काली पांडे को एक-दूसरे का कट्टर विरोधी माना जाता है। स्वयं सांसद नगीना राय और विधायक काली पांडे दोनों ने 'माया' के साथ बातचीत के दौरान एक-दूसरे पर जो गंभीर आरोप लगाये हैं वे इसके सबूत हैं।

'आरोप साबित हो तो मैं फांसी पर झूलने को तैयार हूं।" —काली प्रसाद पांडे

सांसद नगीना राय पर बम विस्फोट के कातिलाना हमले के आरोप में युवा विधायक काली प्रसाद पांडे तत्काल पुलिस हिरासत में ले लिये गये। पुलिस की हिरासत के बीच पुलिस के हस्तक्षेप के बावजूद काली प्रसाद पांडे ने 'माया' से विस्तृत बातचीत की।

माया : सांसद नगीना राय पर हुए जानलेवा विस्फोट की घटना में आप गिरफ्तार हैं। इस पूरे प्रकरण पर आपका पक्ष क्या है ?

पांडे : मैं इस बात से कभी इनकार नहीं करता कि नगीना राय से मेरी राजनीतिक दुश्मनी है, लेकिन बमकांड की इस घटना में मेरे साथ ठीक वैसा ही सलूक किया गया है, जैसे किसी जगह कोई हादसा होने पर पुलिस 'ब्लैक लिस्टेड' लोगों को पकड़ती है। नगीना राय को बम से मरवाने की नीयत मेरी होती, तो स्टेशन जैसी जगह मैं क्यों चुनता ? स्टेशन पर तो काफी भीड़-भाड़ रहती है, उनके घर पर यह हमला ज्यादा कारगर होता। दूसरी बात कि राजनीतिक प्रतिद्वंद्विता मुझे नगीना राय से हो सकती है, उनके मासूम बेटे से नहीं जो इस बम विस्फोट में काफी आहत हुआ। दूसरी बात, मेरे साथ एक पटना पुलिस, एक गोपालगंज पुलिस और एक खुफिया पुलिस का आदमी हमेशा तैनात रखा गया है। मैं बगैर उच्च न्यायालय की अनुमति के राजधानी छोड़ नहीं सकता हूं। ऐसे में कब मैंने उन्हें बम मरवाने की साजिश कर ली ? दरअसल सच यह है कि नगीना राय अपराधी तत्वों के बूते पर अपनी राजनीति चलाते हैं और मुझे लगता है कि उनके किसी अपने ही क्षुब्ध पालतू अपराधी ने उन पर ऐसा हमला किया। लेकिन नगीना राय के लिए यह एक अच्छा मौका है कि अपने तमाम राजनीतिक कांटों को इसी घटना की आड़ में साफ कर लें।

माया : आखिर किस तरह ?

पांडे : स्थिति तो साफ है। मेरा नाम वह ले ही रहे हैं कि मैंने उन्हें बड़े [illegible] बम मरवाया। मैं इतना मूर्ख तो कम-से-कम नहीं हूं कि अगर उन्हें आहत करवाना चाहता, तो खुद स्टेशन पर सदलबल जाकर अपने लोगों को उतने लोगों के [illegible] उन पर बम चलाने का आदेश देता। उनका यह बयान ही पूरी घटना के [illegible] छिपी असलियत को उजागर कर देता है। दूसरे, अनन्त प्रसाद सिंह जो [illegible] विधायक हैं, उनका भी नाम प्राथमिकी में है। अनन्तबाबू गोपालगंज के [illegible] वृद्ध प्रभावशाली नेता हैं और नगीना राय का जयगान नहीं करते हैं। [illegible] बावजूद इस बार प्रदेश इंका की समिति में उन्हें लिया गया है। नगीना राय [illegible] एक भी आदमी इंका की प्रांतीय समिति में नहीं आ पाया, जिससे बौखलाकर उन्हें भी राजनीतिक रूप से समाप्त करने के लिए इस मामले में घसीटा गया। इतना ही नहीं, १९८२ में एल०एम०बी० के चुनाव के दौरान मेरे गोपालगंज स्थित आवास के दरवाजे को तोड़कर मेरी जान लेने ये लोग आये थे और [illegible] नहीं मिला, तो सामान लूटकर चल दिये, जिसमें चार हजार रुपये सहित [illegible] चीजें भी थीं। मैंने नगीना राय, विधायक सिंहेश्वर शाही व विधायक [illegible] राम पर प्राथमिकी भी दर्ज करवायी, जिसकी जांच अभी सी०आई०डी० [illegible] रही है। इस केस में मैंने जिन दो व्यक्तियों—अर्जुन व अवधेश को अपना [illegible] बनाया था, उन दोनों के नाम भी बमकांड की घटना में दे दिये गये हैं। मैं [illegible] मांग करता हूं कि इस बमकांड की निष्पक्ष जांच हो और सच्चाई सामने [illegible]

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and

'काली पांडे मेरा खून करना चाहते हैं।' —नगीना राय

गोपालगंज संसदीय क्षेत्र से बुजुर्ग इंका सांसद नगीना राय दर्द से बेचैन अस्पताल में दाखिल थे। 'माया' प्रतिनिधि जब उनसे बात करने पहुंचा, तो चिकित्सकों के चुप रहने की ताकीद के बावजूद नगीना राय ने यह कहते हुए बातचीत शुरू की कि "अब नहीं तो कब बोलेंगे ?"

मेरी हत्या करने का उनका यह चौथा प्रयास था : सांसद नगीना राय

माया : बम विस्फोट के हादसे का कारण आप क्या मानते है ?

राय : कारण तो पानी की तरह साफ है। काली पांडे मेरा खून करना चाहते हैं, ताकि गोपालगंज में उनकी अखंड गुंडाशाही चले। जिले में जितनी हत्याएं होती हैं, पांडे के गिरोह का उसमें हाथ रहता है। खुद वही कई हत्याकांडों के अभियुक्त हैं। अभी हाल में ही उन्होंने एक ब्लॉक प्रमुख मनन राय की हत्या करवायी। तमाम स्थानीय चुनाव में उनके द्वारा समर्थित उम्मीदवार हारते गये। खीझकर पांडे नरसंहार करने लगे।

मेरी हत्या करने का उनका यह चौथा प्रयास था। पिछले दिनों गोपालगंज में एक सभा करके उन्होंने कहा भी कि या तो जिले में मैं रहूंगा या वह। मेरे दिल्ली निवास पर एक रात खुद उनका फोन आया। फोन पर धमकी देते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि आप हमारे रास्ते से हट जायें नहीं तो अंजाम बुरा होगा। मैंने अपनी जान की रक्षा के लिए प्रधानमंत्री, गृहमंत्री व आई०जी० बिहार को लिखा। उस पर कार्रवाई भी हुई और व्यवस्था की गयी कि जब हम जायें, तो आर्म फोर्स मेरे साथ तैनात रहे। दो-दो सिक्यूरिटी मुझे दिये गये, लेकिन आर्म फोर्स रखना खुद मुझे उचित नहीं लगा। मुझे लगा कि एक जन प्रतिनिधि के रूप में मुझे आर्म फोर्स के संरक्षण में नहीं चलना चाहिए। स्टेशन (पटना) पर जब मैं उतरा, तो खुद काली पांडे अपने लोगों के संग मौजूद थे। काली पांडे के हाथ में रिवाल्वर था। मेरे अंगरक्षक सामान लेकर आगे बढ़ चुके थे। खुद मेरा रिवाल्वर बक्से में बन्द था। मुझे अकेला देखते ही पांडे ने अपने लोगों को हुक्म दिया— "उड़ा दो।" फिर बम विस्फोट हुआ और हमलावर पूरब की तरफ भाग गये। उन लोगों ने समझा कि मेरी मृत्यु हो गयी है। ऐन घटना के दिन काली पांडे ने उच्च न्यायालय से दस दिन के लिए पटना से बाहर जाने की अनुमति ली थी। हादसे के बाद वह भागने की तैयारी में थे कि संयोग से उसी वक्त पुलिस ने उन्हें हिरासत में ले लिया।

माया : काली पांडे का कहना है कि आपकी राजनीति के शुरुआती दिनों में उन्होंने और उनके परिवार ने आपकी काफी मदद की थी ?

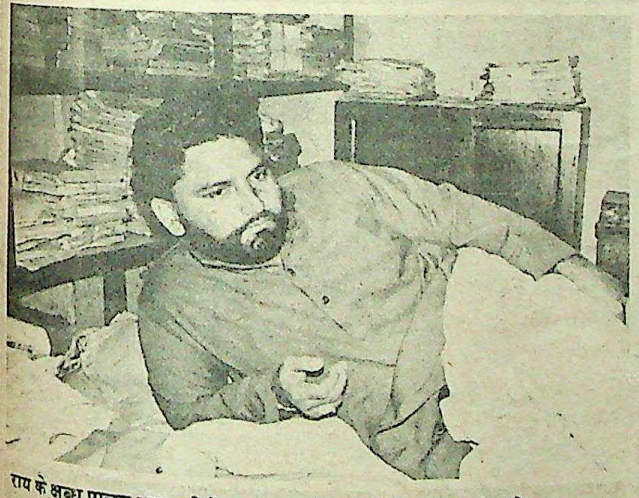
राय : वह झूठ बोलते हैं। जब मैंने राजनीति शुरू की, उस समय तो वह बच्चे थे। न ही उनके परिवार ने मेरी मदद की थी। पांडे चाहे अब जितनी कहानी गढ़ लें।

माया : काली पांडे का कहना है कि संत ज्ञानेश्वर से आपका मनमुटाव था। क्या उनके शिष्यों ने आप पर यह हमला किया है ?

राय : बिलकुल गलत बात है। संत ज्ञानेश्वर से भला मुझे किस बात का बैर ? मैं तो कभी उनके यहां गया तक नहीं।

माया : काली पांडे का कहना है कि आपने उन्हें इस कांड में जबरन उलझाया है ?

राय : मेरी ऐसी कोई नीयत नहीं। पांडे का शुरू से ही आपराधिक चरित्र रहा है। दुःख इस बात का है कि विधायक होने के बाद भी वह अपनी इस प्रकृति से मुक्त नहीं हो सके हैं। अभी मेरी तबीयत ठीक नहीं है। आप बाद में आयें, तो और भी विस्तार से कहूंगा। —वि०झा०



राय के क्षुब्ध पालतू अपराधी ने यह हमला किया : विधायक काली पांडे

अगर मेरा हाथ इसमें साबित होता है, तो मेरी राजनीति छोड़ने की बात तो दूर, बल्कि आम जनता के बीच खड़ा करके मुझे फांसी दे दी जाये।

माया : नगीना राय से इतने कड़े विरोध की पृष्ठभूमि क्या है ?

पांडे : पृष्ठभूमि तो बड़ी लम्बी व विचित्र है। १९६७ में जब नगीना राय स्वतंत्र पार्टी से एम०एल०ए० के चुनाव में खड़े हुए, तो हमारे परिवार ने उनकी भरपूर मदद की। मेरी शादी में जो जीप मिली थी, वह उनके चुनाव-प्रचार में लगी रही। जब तक मैंने और मेरे परिवार ने उनकी मदद की, तब तक तो मैं उनकी दृष्टि में दुनिया का सबसे अच्छा आदमी था, पर आज उनके गलत कदमों का विरोध करने पर 'कुख्यात अपराधी' हूं। मैंने इनका विरोध करना इसलिए शुरू किया, क्योंकि यह कुख्यात अपराधियों को पालते रहे हैं। पारस अवधिया सरीखे अपराधी इन्हीं के आदमी हैं। पिछले दिनों जिला बोर्ड में कुछ अपहृत लड़कियों के पकड़े जाने का प्रसंग सामने आया। उस कांड में भी इन्हीं के पालतू गुंडे थे।

शफी आलम नामक एक एस०पी० गोपीगंज में तैनात हुए। उन्होंने इनके लोगों की गलत हरकतों पर पाबंदी लगानी शुरू की, बस उनका तबादला करवा दिया गया। एस०पी० के तबादले के विरोध में गोपालगंज में एक ऐतिहासिक जुलूस निकला, जिसका नेतृत्व मैंने किया। बस तभी से मैं इनकी आंखों की किरकिरी बन गया। फिर मुझे कई हत्याकांडों में भी इन्होंने उलझाया। मनन राय हत्याकांड जिनमें से एक था। सी०आई०डी० ने जब केस की जांच की, तो रिपोर्ट में कहा कि काली पांडे के खिलाफ पूरा मामला 'पक्षपातपूर्ण' है। उस हत्याकांड में नगीना राय के लोग थे। हालत यह है कि पिछले दिनों जब मैं मुजफ्फरपुर जेल में था, तो मुझे लगा कि जेल में ही किसी बहाने से मेरी हत्या कर दी जायेगी क्योंकि जेल के कुछ वरिष्ठ अधिकारी नगीना राय के रिश्तेदार थे। मैंने इस आशय का निवेदन सरकार से किया और तब मुझे पटना जेल स्थानान्तरित किया गया। मैं खुद अपने को असुरक्षित महसूस करता हूं।

माया : कहते हैं कि जिलाधिकारी को बम से उड़ा देने की घटना के अभियुक्त संत ज्ञानेश्वर आपके चहेते थे और उन्हीं के शिष्यों के जरिए पुनः नगीना राय को बम से उड़ाने का प्रयास किया गया है ?

पांडे : माड़ीपुर में जिन नरसिंह तिवारी की जमीन में संत ज्ञानेश्वर ने जबरन रास्ता बनाया, वह मेरे रिश्तेदार हैं। अब कहिये कि ज्ञानेश्वर मेरे चहेते कैसे हो सकते हैं, जिनको लेकर मेरे रिश्तेदार परेशान हुए ? हां, नगीना राय से उनका मनमुटाव जरूर था। अब यदि संत ज्ञानेश्वर के शिष्य नगीना राय पर बम फेंकने आये तो इस बिन्दु पर भी जांच होनी चाहिए। मुझे ईश्वर पर भरोसा है। सच तो सामने आयेगा ही। —विकास कुमार झा छाया : कृष्ण मुरारी किशन

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

पिपरिया

प्रतिशोध का भयानक सिलसिला

४ जनवरी, १९८४ को दिन दहाड़े पिपरिया (मुंगेर) के ग्यारह बच्चों के सनसनीखेज अपहरण और कथित हत्या की घटना इस क्षेत्र में जारी जातीय संघर्ष का ताजा उदाहरण है। इस क्षेत्र में जातीय संघर्ष की शुरुआत कैसे हुई और बच्चों से प्रतिशोध की जड़ें कहां हैं?

"गंगा माय के कोख हमर बच्चा सभके खून से भरि गेलै...!" यह थी सुमित्रा जो अपने १२ वर्षीय बेटे गणेश यादव के लिए रो-रोकर बेहाल थी। सुमित्रा का पति इन दिनों जेल की सजा काट रहा है। बेटे का सहारा वह भी छिन गया। दुख तो प्रेमा का भी कम नहीं है। १८ वर्ष की उम्र में ही प्रेमा विधवा हो गयी। उसके पति मधुसूदन के टुकड़े कर हत्यारों ने गंगा में बहा दिया। बदहवास प्रेमा रो-रोकर बस एक ही रट लगाये रहती है—'गंगा माई, हमर सेनुर, हमर चुड़ी तूं वापस करि दै!'

विपत्ति सिर्फ सुमित्रा या प्रेमा पर ही टूटी हो, ऐसा नहीं, बल्कि ६० वर्षीय लीला यादव के अतिरिक्त पुनीत यादव, हरेराम, भगवान, उपेन्द्र, कीर्तन, विजय, जगदीश और भाला यादव आदि १४-१५ वर्षीय किशोरों के परिजन भी अपने लापता बच्चों के कारण आहत हैं।

आततायियों का धावा : विगत ४ जनवरी को दिन के ग्यारह बजे गंगा पार कर मवेशियों के लिए चारा काटने गये पिपरिया गांव के बच्चों में तेरह यादव जाति के थे और सिर्फ एक बच्चा धानुक जाति का था। गंगा के दूसरे तट पर नाव से उतरते ही झाड़ी से एकबारगी दौड़ते हुए पचासों व्यक्तियों के सशस्त्र जत्थे ने सबको घेर कर हुक्म दिया कि सब अपना डंडा व हंसुली फेंक दें। फिर सबकी जमकर पिटाई शुरू हो गयी। सशस्त्र जत्था धानुक जाति समर्थित कुख्यात गिरोह कज्जल धानुक का था। चौदहों अपहृतों को खुटहा दियरा की तरफ ले जाया गया। कुछ दूर जाकर गिरोह में से ही एक व्यक्ति ने पहले तीन बच्चों—कैलू यादव, कृष्णा व यदु—की आंखों पर पट्टी बांध दी और फिर बाकी बच्चों की आंखों पर भी पट्टी बांध दी गयी। कैलू, यदु व कृष्णा को उस व्यक्ति ने लक्ष्मीपुर गांव के नलकूपवाले कमरे में बंदकर दिया। तीन दिन तक भूख-प्यास से तीनों बच्चे वहां यातना भुगतते रहे। ७ जनवरी को कौतूहलवश उसी गांव के किसी व्यक्ति ने कमरे की कुंडी खोल दी और तीनों बच्चे किसी तरह लुकते-छिपते अपने गांव पिपरिया पहुंचे। इन बच्चों ने सूचना दी कि शेष ग्यारह बच्चों के टुकड़े कर गंगा में विसर्जित कर दिया गया है। लेकिन बिहार के मुंगेर जिले के बड़हिया थाना के अन्तर्गत आने वाले पिपरिया में आजादी के बाद से ही स्थापित पुलिस आउट पोस्ट के लोग तब तक शांत भाव से पड़े रहे।

मौत के मुंह से बाहर : यदु और उसकी मां (बायें) कृष्णा और उसकी मां

कैलू, कृष्णा व यदु के भाग आने से अपहरणकर्ता बेहद बौखलाये। तत्काल तीन सशस्त्र अपराधी घोड़ों पर सवार होकर पिपरिया पहुंचे और पूरे गांव में चक्कर काटकर लौट गये। दहशत से भरे पिपरिया के लोग पूरे दिन दम साधे छिपे रहे।

ग्यारह लोगों की मौत की घटना को लेकर एक बुजुर्ग ग्रामीण बलराम राय ने १२ मौत की बड़हिया थाने में प्राथमिकी दर्ज करायी और जिन ४४ व्यक्तियों को मामले में अभियुक्त बनाया गया है, वे सब धानुक हैं। धारा ३०७, ३८४, ३४१, १४७, १४८, १४९, ३४ और २५/२६ कानून के तहत की गयी प्राथमिकी में घटना का मूल कारण यह बताया गया है कि विगत दिनों में पिपरिया के बुजुर्ग स्वतंत्रता सेनानी और यादवों के नेता रामेश्वर यादव और उनके पुत्र संजय यादव की हत्या धानुकों द्वारा की गयी थी। हत्या के मुकदमे को वापस लेने की धमकी लगातार धानुकों द्वारा दी जाती थी और अंततः मुकदमा वापस न लेने पर यादवों का रक्तपात किया गया।

रंजिश की जड़ : रामेश्वर यादव व उनके पुत्र की हत्या धानुक व यादवों के आपसी अदावत की परिणति थी। रामेश्वर यादव की हत्या कैसे हुई इसे जानने के लिए बड़हिया थाने में दर्ज प्राथमिकी को जानना आवश्यक है जो रामेश्वर यादव के पुत्र अजय यादव ने करायी थी। केस नं० ११६/८३ के अनुसार २९ अगस्त, १९८३ को दि के वक्त रामेश्वर यादव अपने अंगरक्षक तथा

(शेष पृष्ठ ८७ पर)

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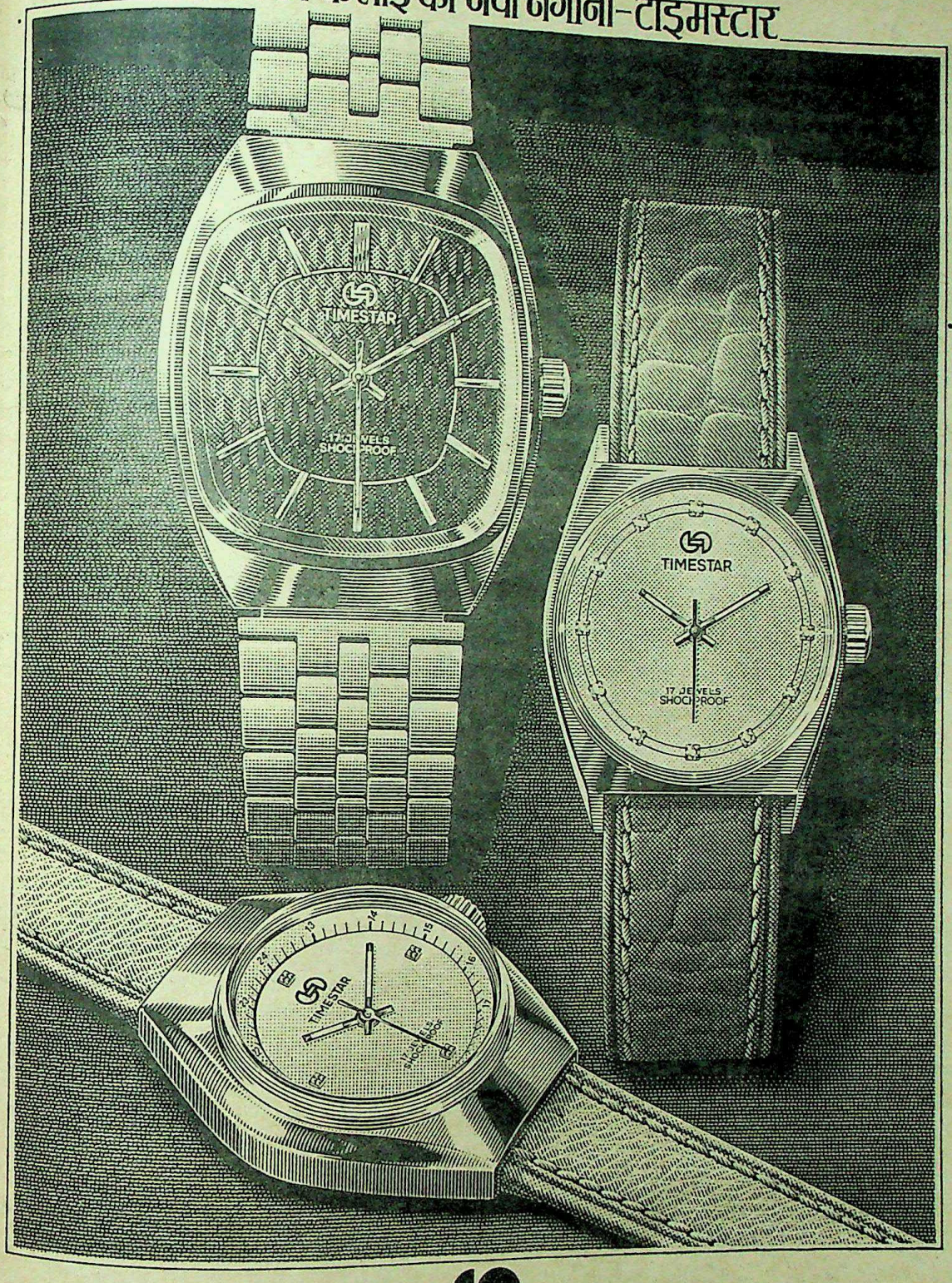
आपकी कलाई का नया नगीना-टाइमस्टार



टाइमस्टार

टाइमस्टार की बढ़िया से बढ़िया घड़ियां बहुत ही वाजिबी दामों में। अधुनिक, आकर्षक डिज़ाइन और स्टाइल। तरह तरह की घड़ियां ही घड़ियां। रोल्ड गोल्ड, क्रोम और स्टील-पसन्द आपकी। अपने पास के टाइमस्टार डीलर से जाकर एक बार एक नज़र तो डालिए इन नगीनों पर।

ध्यान रखिए : हमेशा असली टाइमस्टार घड़ी ही लीजिए। कैश मेमो और टाइमस्टार का गारन्टी कार्ड ज़रूर मांगिए।

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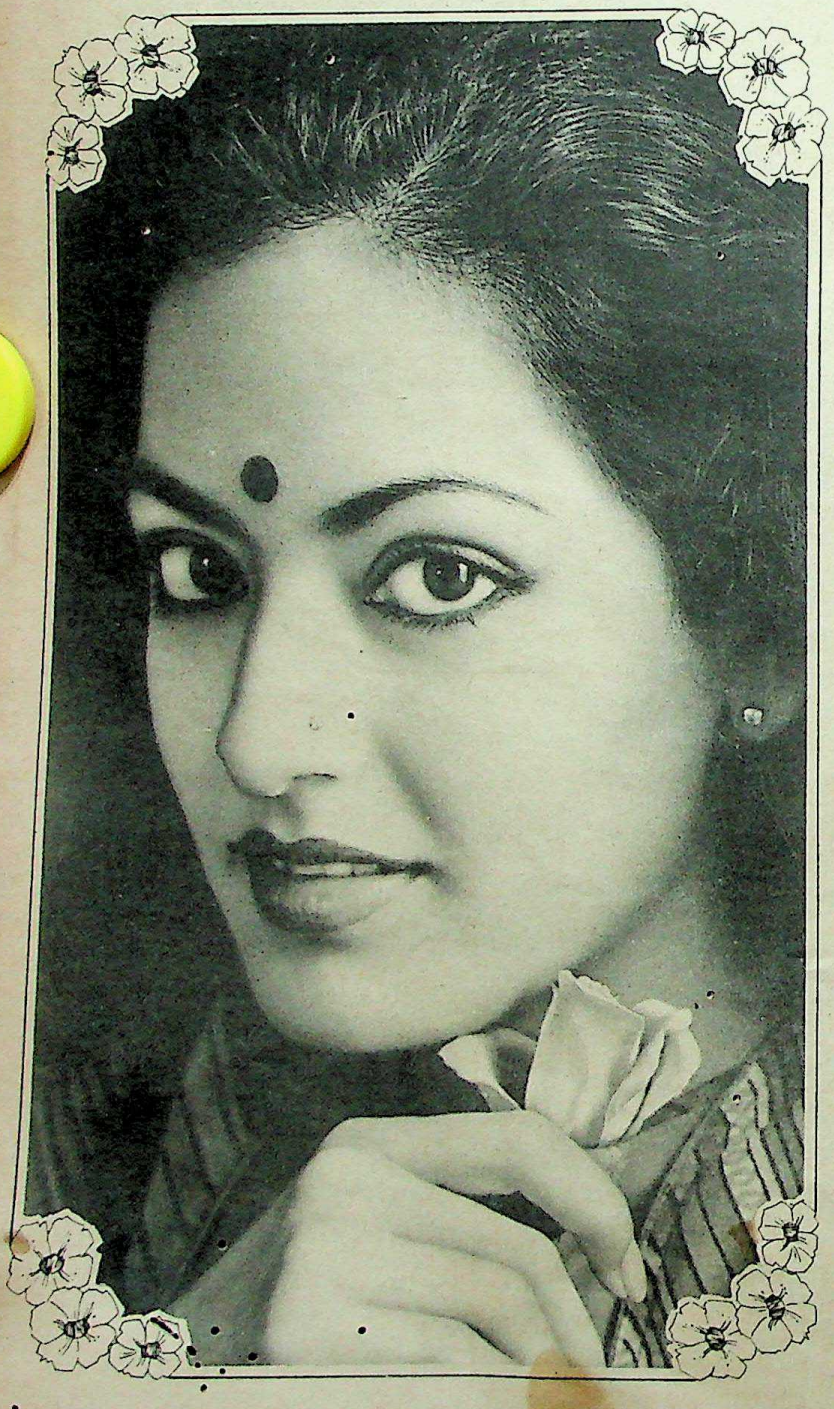
क्या बेसन आपको सचमुच गोरा बनाता है?

बेसन, नींबू व ग्लिसरीन, हल्दी और मलाई या खीरे का रस—ये हैं वे आम तरीके जिन्हें सदियों से औरतें ज़्यादा गोरी होने के लिए आज़माती रही हैं. इनसे ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा आपकी त्वचा कोमल हो सकती है, पर क्या ये घरेलू साधन आपको सचमुच ज़्यादा गोरा बना सकते हैं?

आपकी त्वचा के रंग का राज़?

आपकी त्वचा में एक काला पिगमैंट होता है—मैलॅनिन. किसी की त्वचा में यह ज़्यादा फैलता है, किसी में कम. यह जितना ज़्यादा फैलता है, आप उतनी ही सांवली नज़र आती हैं. इसके अलावा कई बाहरी कारण भी हैं जो आपकी त्वचा के रंग को प्रभावित करते हैं.



हर बार जब आप बाहर निकलती हैं तो सूरज की अल्ट्रावॉयलेट [illegible] आपकी त्वचा को प्रभावित करती हैं जिससे आप ज़्यादा सांवली हो

क्या गोरा बनाने का कोई नया तरीका भी है?

जी हां, पहली बार एक ऐसी नयी वैज्ञानिक खोज सामने आ जो सांवलेपन की प्रक्रिया को न केवल रोकती है बल्कि इसे उलट भी वह है गोरेपन की क्रीम—फ़ेयर एंड लवली. एक अनोखी खोज. [illegible] तरीके से गोरा बनाने वाली एकमात्र क्रीम।

फ़ेयर एंड लवली त्वचा के लिए सुकोमल है क्योंकि इसमें [illegible] कोई अन्य तेज़ पदार्थ नहीं है.

फ़ेयर एंड लवली कैसे गोरा बनाती है?

दो तरह से:

त्वचा के भीतर: फ़ेयर एंड लवली त्वचा में समा जाती है और भीतर ही भीतर सांवलेपन की प्रक्रिया को उलटकर कोमलता और आपको ज़्यादा गोरा बनाती है ऐसा कि सभी को नज़र आए.

त्वचा के बाहर: साथ ही फ़ेयर एंड लवली में 'सनस्क्रीन' [illegible] अनोखा मिश्रण है जो सूरज की अल्ट्रावॉयलेट किरणों से आपकी त्व सांवली होने से बचाता है, जबकि त्वचा को सूरज के भरपूर गुण मि

क्या यह सचमुच गोरा बनाती है?

गोरेपन के लिए दुनिया भर में इतना सुरक्षित और असरदा दूसरा नहीं है. पिछले सात सालों से भारत व विदेशों में इसके अनो गुणों की धाक है.

केवल ६ हफ़्ते का इस्तेमाल, करे कमाल!

केवल ६ हफ़्तों के इस्तेमाल में फ़ेयर एंड लवली आपको [illegible] गोरा बनाती है, ऐसा कि सभी को नज़र आए, बेहतर परिणाम पाने लिए रोज़ाना दिन में दो बार फ़ेयर एंड लवली का इस्तेमाल कीजि

- मुंह धोकर अच्छी तरह पोंछ लें.
- फ़ेयर एंड लवली को धीरे-धीरे उंगलियों के पोरों से ऊपर की [illegible] हुए अपनी त्वचा पर लगाएं.
- आप फ़ेयर एंड लवली पर अपना सामान्य मेक-अप कर सकती बेहतरीन फ़ाउन्डेशन का काम भी करती है.

पहले आपको एक हल्की-सी सनसनाहट महसूस होगी—यह फ़ेयर एंड लवली का असर शुरू। ६ हफ़्ते के भीतर आप तो फ़र्क दूसरे भी देखेंगे.

हमेशा लगाती रहिए और मनचाही प्यारी, गोरी दिखती रहिए फ़ेयर एंड लवली से.

अगर आप फ़ेयर एंड लवली के बारे में और कुछ जानना चाहती हैं तो इस पते पर लिखें:
फ़ेयर एंड लवली सलाहकार,
पो. ऑ. बॉक्स ७५८, बंबई-४०० ०२१.

फ़ेयर एंड लवली
गोरेपन की क्रीम

प्राकृतिक कोमलता से गोरा बनाए...ऐसा कि सभी को नज़र आए.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and

अजीज कुरैशी के साथ दुर्व्यवहार

झगड़े के लिए बहाना चाहिए

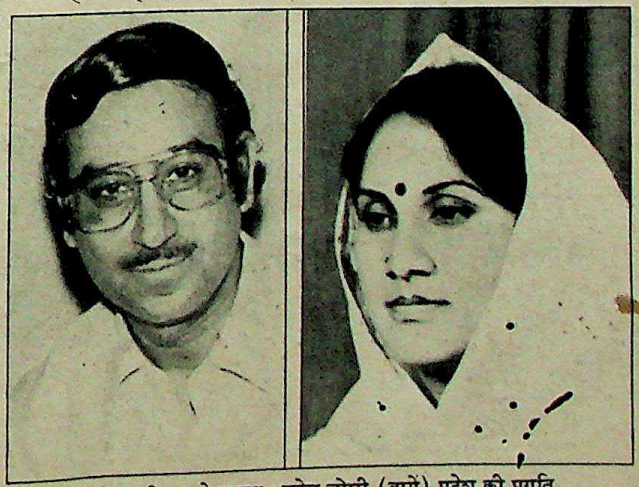
रायपुर रेलवे स्टेशन पर मत्स्य उद्योग विकास निगम के अध्यक्ष अजीज कुरैशी के साथ युवा कांग्रेस-इ का एक गुट जिस तरह से पेश आया, वह किस बात का संकेत है ?

शत्रुओं का सफाया : अर्जुन सिंह शिव-पूजन करते हुए

काफी लंबे अभियान के बाद भी अर्जुन सिंह को न हटा पाने के कारण इंका के असंतुष्टों की खामोशी और मायूसी अब खीज और बौखलाहट में बदलने लगी है। नव वर्ष के दूसरे ही दिन (२ जनवरी) रायपुर में जो कुछ हुआ, वह इसी का नमूना है। उस दिन भूतपूर्व राज्यमंत्री तथा इस समय मत्स्य उद्योग विकास निगम के अध्यक्ष अजीज कुरैशी को युवा कांग्रेस के लोगों ने न केवल जूतों की माला पहनायी, बल्कि उनके साथ हाथापाई भी की। कुरैशी, अर्जुन सिंह-समर्थक हैं और उनका आरोप है कि यह सब 'विद्याचरण शुक्ल के ईशारे पर हुआ है।' कुरैशी का कहना है कि विद्याचरण शुक्ल उनसे इसलिए चिढ़े हुए हैं, क्योंकि 'मैं उनके गुट में शामिल नहीं हुआ।' उन्होंने आरोप लगाया है कि रायपुर की घटना 'उनकी हत्या का प्रयास और डकैती की पूर्वनियोजित साजिश थी।'

रायपुर की घटना के पीछे भोपाल में आयोजित (२-३ दिसम्बर १९८३) कांग्रेस-इ के क्षेत्रीय सम्मेलन स्थल का नामकरण था। भोपाल में जिस स्थान पर यह सम्मेलन आयोजित हुआ था, उस स्थल का नाम प्रसिद्ध स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी बरकतुल्ला खान के नाम पर 'बरकतुल्ला नगर' रखा गया था और यह प्रस्ताव अजीज कुरैशी ने ही रखा था। कुछ लोगों ने इस स्थल का नाम प्रदेश के प्रथम मुख्यमंत्री पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल के नाम पर रखने का प्रस्ताव किया था। बताया जाता है कि जब कांग्रेस-इ की कार्यकारिणी में नामकरण पर विचार-विमर्श हो रहा था, तो कुरैशी ने पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल के सम्बन्ध में अपमानजनक बातें कही थीं और इसी कारण कांग्रेस-इ के कुछ लोग उनसे क्रुद्ध थे। हालांकि कुरैशी ने इस बात से इनकार किया है कि उन्होंने कार्यकारिणी की बैठक में पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल के सम्बन्ध में कोई अपशब्द कहे थे। उन्होंने अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा है कि बैठक में ऊर्जा विकास निगम के अध्यक्ष एवं विधायक मथुरा प्रसाद दुबे को गलतफहमी हो गयी थी कि मैंने पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल के सम्बन्ध में कोई अशोभनीय बात कही है। इस गलतफहमी के कारण मैंने खेद भी व्यक्त किया था। "मेरा अनुरोध सिर्फ इतना ही था कि काबुल में गठित भारत की पहली निर्वासित सरकार के भोपालवासी प्रधानमंत्री मौलाना बरकतुल्ला खान की स्मृति में सम्मेलन-स्थल का नाम 'बरकतुल्ला नगर' रखा जाये।" कुरैशी ने इस घटना को साम्प्रदायिकता के साथ जोड़कर भी देखा है—"अगर एक अल्पसंख्यक स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी के नाम पर किसी स्थान का मात्र दो दिनों के लिए किया गया नामकरण भी कुछ लोग बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते, तो सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि हमारी धर्म-निरपेक्षता का क्या भविष्य होगा ?"

लेकिन रायपुर रेलवे स्टेशन पर जो हंगामा हुआ, उससे यह साफ है कि मध्य प्रदेश कांग्रेस-इ के परस्पर विरोधी गुटों में किस कदर खूंखार दुश्मनी व्याप्त है। कुरैशी कलकत्ता अधिवेशन से ज्यों ही हावड़ा बम्बई मेल से स्टेशन पर पहुंचे, युवा कांग्रेस का एक उग्र दस्ता उनको ढूंढ़ निकालने के लिए बेचैन हो उठा। जब इन क्रुद्ध युवकों को पता चला कि कुरैशी प्लेट फार्म के बाहर पहुंच गये हैं और अपनी कार में रवाना होने वाले हैं, तो वे दौड़ कर तुरंत कार के पास आ धमके और कुरैशी को खींच कर कार से बाहर निकाल लिया। उनकी टोपी उछाल दी गयी और ऐनक खींच लिया गया। कुरैशी ने बार-बार कहा कि उन्होंने पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल के संदर्भ में कोई अशोभनीय बात नहीं कही है, लेकिन प्रतिशोध पर उतारू युवक कब मानने वाले थे। उन्होंने कुरैशी के गले में जूतों की माला डाली और ठेल-ठाल कर उन्हें फिर उसी ट्रेन में लाद दिया गया। हालांकि कुरैशी का रायपुर में ठहरने का तीन दिन का कार्यक्रम था। कहते हैं कुरैशी ने उग्र युवकों के आतंककारी तेवर देखकर माफी भी मांग ली थी और यह भी कहा था कि भोपाल पहुंच कर वह लिखित रूप से माफी मांग लेंगे।



अर्जुन सिंह की शालीनता के कायल : महेश जोशी (बायें) प्रदेश की प्रगति प्रदर्शनियों में देखिए : माया शालवार

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Re

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

ये युवक इंदिरा गांधी-राजीव गांधी जिंदाबाद, पं० रविशंकर शुक्ल अमर रहे, कुरैशी वापस जाओ और विद्या भैया से माफी मांगो आदि नारे लगा रहे थे। यद्यपि युवा कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारियों का कहना है कि उन्होंने नहीं, बल्कि स्टेशन पर खड़े कुछ लोगों ने भीड़ की आड़ में कुरैशी के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया है। राजनीतिक प्रेक्षकों का कहना है कि अर्जुन सिंह के विरोधी, मुख्यमंत्री-हटाओ अभियान में विफल होने के कारण अब हताश होकर मार-पीट पर उतर आये हैं और इससे अंदाज लगाया जा सकता है कि चुनाव के समय कांग्रेस-इ के परस्पर विरोधी धड़े किस कदर एक दूसरे की कब्र खोदने में जी-जान लगायेंगे। इस घटना के संदर्भ में पार्टी के एक वरिष्ठ सदस्य का कहना है—"रोना तो इस बात का है कि यहां हर गुट 'इंदिराजी' और 'राजीवजी' के हाथ मजबूत करने के नाम पर उनकी जड़ें उखाड़ने में लगे हैं। इंदिरा गांधी-राजीव गांधी जिंदाबाद के नारों की ओट में पार्टी की बर्बादी के बीज बोये जा रहे हैं, जिनके कड़वे फल आगामी चुनाव के समय चखने पड़ सकते हैं।"

इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि अर्जुन सिंह अपनी जगह मजबूती से जमे हैं और इस तरह की घटनाओं से हाई कमान की नजरों में उनके विरोधियों की स्थिति और कमजोर होगी। अर्जुन सिंह ने राणा नटवर सिंह को राज्य सड़क परिवहन निगम का अध्यक्ष बनने के लिए राजी करके शुक्ल-गुट की और कमर तोड़ दी है। आज से चार माह पूर्व जब राणा नटवर सिंह के सामने पंचायती राज वित्त एवं विकास निगम के अध्यक्ष बनने का प्रस्ताव रखा गया था, तो उन्होंने यह कह कर इनकार कर दिया था कि मुख्यमंत्री सार्वजनिक कोष से पार्टी की एकता खरीदना चाहते हैं। उस समय राणा साहब को मुख्यमंत्री के स्तर का रुतबा दिया गया था, लेकिन अब काबीना मंत्री के स्तर पर रखे जाने की उम्मीद है, शायद इसीलिए उन्हें अब अर्जुन सिंह के व्यक्तित्व और नेतृत्व में चार महीने बाद कोई खामी नजर नहीं आती।

जाहिर है अर्जुन सिंह के विरोधियों को अब कोई उम्मीद नहीं रही कि उनको मुख्यमंत्री-पद से हटाया जा सकता है। इसलिए अब खुलकर उनके विरोध में बोलने के लिए राधेश्याम शुक्ल जैसे एक-दो व्यक्तियों को छोड़कर कोई तैयार नहीं है। अर्जुन सिंह-विरोधियों को अब यह भी डर है कि आम चुनाव करीब हैं और उनके टिकट के लाले पड़ सकते हैं। विद्याचरण शुक्ल गुट की युवा एवं प्रखर महिला विधायक (जबलपुर) माया शालवार से जब प्रश्न किया गया कि क्या अब भी आप नेतृत्व-परिवर्तन की पक्षधर हैं, तो उनका जवाब था—"अब थोड़ा समय बाकी है, क्या करना है।" जब उनसे पूछा गया कि अर्जुन सिंह के नेतृत्व में राज्य की प्रगति के सम्बन्ध में आपकी क्या राय है, तो उन्होंने अपने खास लहजे में व्यंग्य किया—"प्रदेश कितनी प्रगति पर है, यह तो आपने क्षेत्रीय अधिवेशन के समय आयोजित प्रदर्शनी में देखा ही होगा!"

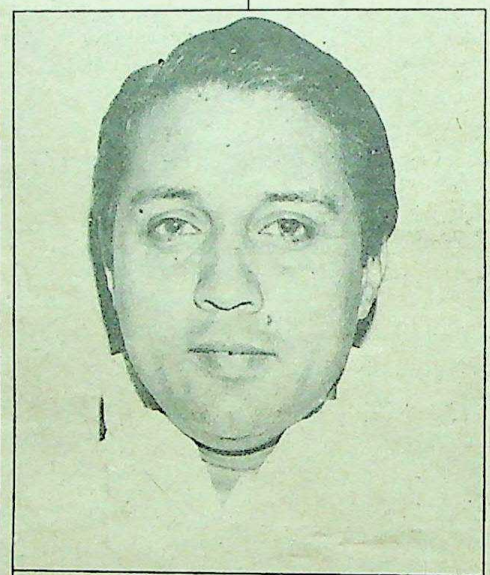
शुक्ल खेमे के तेज-तर्रार युवा विधायक (शिवपुरी) हरिबल्लभ शुक्ल ने अर्जुन सिंह के बारे में अपनी राय जाहिर करते हुए कहा—"आइंस्टीन के बाद यदि कोई बड़ा आविष्कारक हुआ है, तो वह हमारे मुख्यमंत्री अर्जुन सिंह हैं। पता नहीं मुख्यमंत्रीजी ने इतनी समितियां ईजाद की हैं कि बहुत से विधायकों को तो यह तक पता नहीं कि वह किस समिति के सदस्य हैं।"

अर्जुन सिंह के मंत्रिमंडल में वन राज्यमंत्री महेश जोशी बेखौफ और बेमुहफट हैं। वह अर्जुन सिंह को सबसे शालीन और शिष्ट मुख्यमंत्री मानते हैं। "मैं मंत्रिमंडल में नहीं था, तब भी उनका प्रशंसक था और अब भी हूं। मैं पहली बार अनुभव कर रहा हूं कि ब्यूरोक्रेसी काफी टाइट हुई है। इंदिराजी के कार्यक्रम ठीक ढंग से चल रहे हैं—और मैं तो साफ कहता हूं कि जो आदमी मुझे इज्जत नहीं देता, वह कोई भी हो, मैं उसे पसंद नहीं करता। मैं अर्जुन सिंह का इसीलिए कायल हूं कि वह अपने साथियों का आदर करते हैं।"

लोकनिर्माण राज्यमंत्री बालेन्दु शुक्ल का मत है—"मुख्यमंत्री के बदलने की चर्चा अपनी मौत मर चुकी है। विकास के लिए यह अनिवार्य है कि स्थिरता रहे और इसमें मुख्यमंत्री को बड़ी सफलता मिली है। अर्जुन सिंह एक करिश्माई व्यक्ति हैं।"

मध्य प्रदेश इंका के महामंत्री कन्हैयालाल मेहता प्रकाश चन्द्र सेठी के करीब हैं। उनका कहना है—"आन द होल अर्जुन सिंह का काम ठीक है। नेतृत्व परिवर्तन की बात करना मूर्खता है।" लेकिन अंदरूनी सूत्रों का कहना है कि मंत्रियों और मुख्यमंत्री के बीच कोई तालमेल नहीं है। मुख्यमंत्री कदम-कदम पर मंत्रियों को और विशेषकर अध्यक्ष रामगोपाल तिवारी की उपेक्षा करते हैं। यहां तक

क्या कुरैशी का आरोप सही है ? : विद्याचरण शुक्ल



नेतृत्व-परिवर्तन की जरूरत क्या है ? : बालेंदु शुक्ल

उन्नति की संभावना : माधव राव सिंधिया

कि क्षेत्रीय अधिवेशन में भी पार्टी अध्यक्ष को महत्व नहीं दिया गया।

अर्जुन सिंह का विरोध करने वालों में विधायक राधेश्याम शुक्ल आज भी उतने ही मुखर हैं। उनका कहना है कि प्रदेश में ब्यूरोक्रेसी पर कोई अंकुश नहीं, समर्पित कार्यकर्ताओं की अवहेलना हो रही है और संदिग्ध चरित्र के लोगों को बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के क्रियान्वयन का काम सौंप रखा है। जनता में किसी आक्रोश है, इसका अर्जुन सिंह को कोई इल्म नहीं है। दरअसल हवाई जहाज करने वालों को जमीन पर चलने वालों का क्या पता! मंत्रियों की हालत यह है कि वे ऐसे 'जनरल' हैं, जिनके पास न तोप है न पिस्तौल। पार्टी का भगवान ही मालिक है।

यों तो कुल मिलाकर प्रदेश में कांग्रेस-इ के सभी गुटों की जबान बंद है, लेकिन शुक्ल गुट मुख्यमंत्री के खिलाफ अब भी गुरिल्ला युद्ध लड़ रहा है। प्रकाश चन्द्र सेठी अपने को प्रदेश की राजनीति से निर्लिप्त रखने की कोशिश में लगे हैं। बताया जाता है कि उन्हें हाईकमान ने यही हिदायत दी है। वह इसलिए कि वक्त-बेवक्त राज्य की कमान संभालनी पड़े, तो वह किसी एक लॉबी के न माने जायें। युवा सांसद माधवराव सिंधिया के 'उठान' की काफी संभावना व्यक्त की जा रही हैं। बहरहाल, वह आजकल चाहे विमान यात्रा हो या पद यात्रा अकसर मुख्यमंत्री के साथ रहते हैं।

—विशेष प्रतिनिधि

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अब पेश है
नई नेस्कैफ़े सिलेक्ट
नेस्कैफ़े से भी बेहतर इन्स्टैंट कॉफी

कॉफी बनाने की कला में माहिर नेस्कैफ़े के निर्माता अब इस कला में और भी निखार लाए हैं। कॉफी के और भी बेहतर बीजों को चुनना, सही मिश्रण करना और कॉफी बनाने की कलात्मक प्रक्रिया में कॉफी की सारी खूबियों को बचाए रखना—यही है नई नेस्कैफ़े सिलेक्ट।

शौक से पीजिए, शौक से पिलाइये
जीवन में नया आनन्द पाइये

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का रंग आसानी से नहीं भुलाया जा सकता ।
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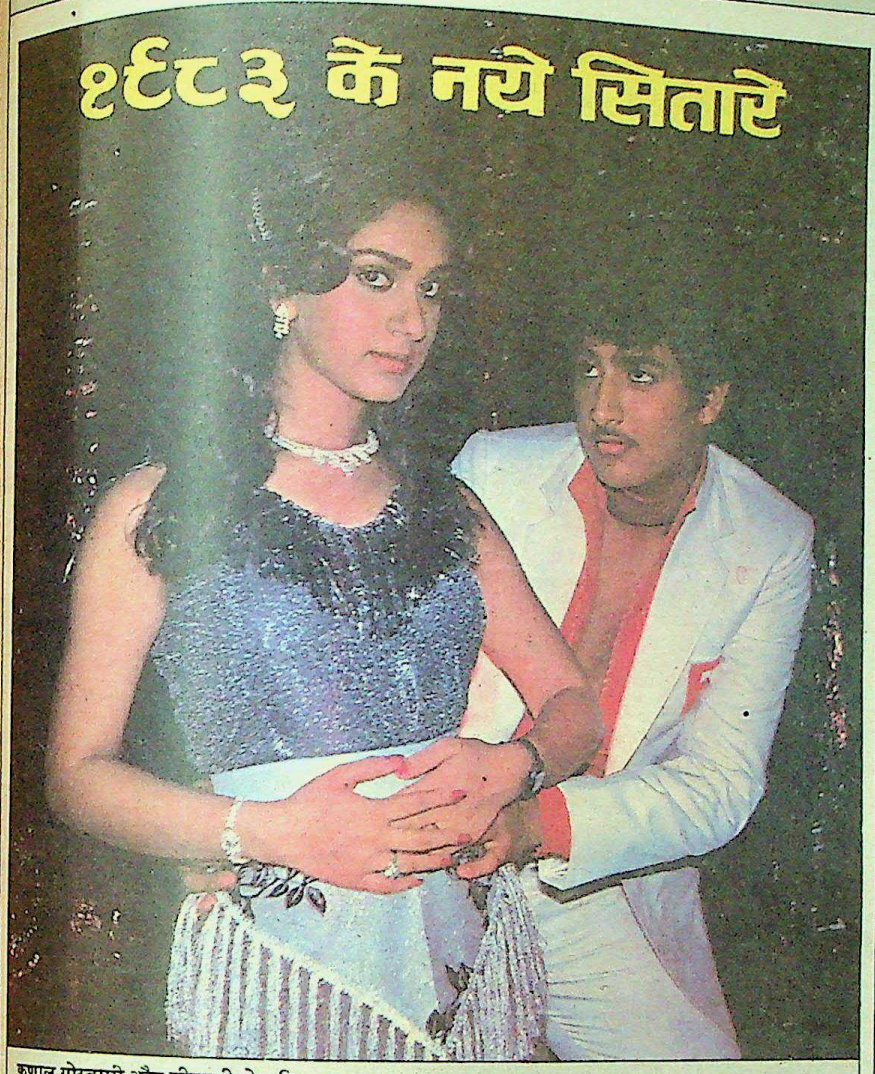

कुणाल गोस्वामी और मीनाक्षी शेषाद्रि

तीन साल पहले 'स्टारसंस' का जो सिलसिला शुरू हुआ था, वह १९८३ में भी जारी रहा। कुमार गौरव और संजय दत्त जब बतौर 'फ्लॉप हीरो' मशहूर हो गये, तो दर्शकों की दिलचस्पी 'स्टारसंस' में लगभग खत्म हो गयी थी, मगर तभी फिल्मी आकाश में एक नयी रोशनी के साथ उदय हुआ धर्मेन्द्र का बेटा सन्नी दिओल। पिछले वर्ष अगस्त में जब उसकी फिल्म 'बेताब' रिलीज़ हुई, तो सब को यही उम्मीद थी कि सन्नी भी कोई खास कमाल नहीं दिखा पायेगा और 'फ्लॉप स्टारसंस' की लम्बी कड़ी में गुंथ कर रह जायेगा। फिर भी लोग धर्मेन्द्र के बेटे को देखना चाहते थे और इसीलिए फिल्म देखने गये। मगर बाहर निकले, तो सब वाह-वाह कर रहे थे। फिल्म 'हिट' हो गयी। साथ ही यह भी मान लिया गया कि सन्नी में वे सारी खूबियां हैं, जिनकी अपेक्षा एक 'टॉप स्टार' में की जाती हैं। इस समय वह 'सवेरे वाली गाड़ी', 'जोशीले', 'मंज़िल-मंज़िल', 'ज़बर्दस्त', 'अर्जुन' आदि अनेक फिल्मों में काम कर रहा है।

'बेताब' ने ही फिल्म जगत को एक हीरोइन भी दी है—अमृता सिंह। अमृता राज़नीतिक क्षेत्र में बहुचर्चित रुखसाना सुल्ताना की बेटी है। रुखसाना सुल्ताना ने सर शोभा सिंह के पोते के साथ प्रेम-विवाह किया था। बाद में न प्रेम रहा, न विवाह रहा—अमृता के रूप में यह निशानी जरूर उसके पास रह गयी। अमृता अपने मर्दाना चेहरे, मांसल जिस्म और छिटपुट अभिनय-भंगिमा से छाप छोड़ने में सफल रही। 'बेताब' के लेखक जावेद तो यहां तक कहते हैं: "अमृता सिंह ने तो सचमुच कमाल किया है। वह तो जन्मजात अभिनेत्री है। विश्वास नहीं होता कि यह उसकी पहली फिल्म है।" सीधी-सी बात यह है कि अमृता का भविष्य उज्ज्वल है। वह गिनी-चुनी, पर अच्छे सैटअप की फिल्मों में ही काम कर रही है—'सन्नी', 'अर्जुन', 'दुनिया' और 'शुक्रिया' में।

पिछले वर्ष एक 'स्टारसन' सन्नी से पहले भी आ चुका था—मनोज कुमार का बेटा कुणाल गोस्वामी, जिसने बाल कलाकार के रूप में 'क्रांति' में प्रशंसा पायी थी। उसकी पहली फिल्म 'घुंघरू' प्रदर्शित हुई थी जुलाई में और तब से कुणाल की दो और फिल्में प्रदर्शित हो चुकी हैं—२५ नवम्बर को 'दो गुलाब' और ९ दिसम्बर को 'कलाकार'। इन तीनों फिल्मों को देखने के बाद यही निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि कुणाल गोस्वामी न स्टार बन सकता है, न कलाकार। उसमें सबसे बड़ा अभाव व्यक्तित्व का है और अभिनय तो उसे आता ही नहीं।

'दो गुलाब' में कुणाल के साथ एक नयी लड़की ने काम किया—मनीषा कोहली ने। मनीषा चरित्र अभिनेता देवकुमार की बेटी है। वह फर्स्ट ईयर कामर्स की स्टूडेंट है और उसने अभिनेत्री बनने के बाद भी पढ़ाई नहीं छोड़ी है। यह उसकी अक्लमंदी है। क्योंकि 'दो गुलाब' के प्रदर्शन के बाद यह साबित हो गया है कि एक्टिंग उसके बस की बात नहीं।

पिछले वर्ष १९ अगस्त को एक और स्टारसन की फिल्म आयी थी—नूतन के बेटे मोहनीश बहल की 'बेकरार'। वैसे यह फिल्म संजय दत्त की थी, मोहनीश ने तो इसमें एक साइड रोल किया था। लेकिन मोहनीश से बहुत अधिक उम्मीदें इसलिए बांधी गयी थीं, क्योंकि वह नूतन जैसी मंजी हुई अभिनेत्री का बेटा है। मगर उसके अभिनय को देखकर निराशा ही हाथ लगती है। मोहनीश का कहना है कि उसका मूल्यांकन उस फिल्म के आधार पर नहीं, बल्कि इससे पहले 'साइन' की गयी फिल्म से किया जाना चाहिए, जिसमें उसने नायक की भूमिका निभायी है। वह फिल्म है—'ब्लू लेगून' की हिन्दी नकल 'तेरी बांहों में'। यह फिल्म पिछले वर्ष तो रिलीज़ नहीं हुई, इस वर्ष होने वाली है।

सितम्बर में 'एक जान हैं हम' के साथ आया राजीव कपूर—राजकपूर का तीसरा और सबसे छोटा बेटा। राजीव हमेशा यही कहता रहा है कि एक्टिंग से अधिक उसकी दिलचस्पी डायरेक्शन में है—वह चार साल राहुल रवेल के साथ बतौर असिस्टेंट डायरेक्टर काम करता रहा है। 'एक जान हैं हम' देखकर यही लगा कि यदि वह एक्टर के बजाय डायरेक्टर बनता तो बेहतर रहता।

रुखसाना सुल्ताना की बेटी अमृता सिंह

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हर फ्रेम में राजीव ने अपने चाचा शम्मी कपूर के 'याहू' स्टाइल की नकल की है। वैसे वह इस समय ढेर सारी फिल्मों में काम कर रहा है, जिनमें सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है उसके पिता राजकपूर की फिल्म 'राम तेरी गंगा मैली।'

'एक जान हैं हम' में राजीव कपूर के साथ नायिका की भूमिका निभायी है दिव्या राना ने। दिव्या का असली नाम सलमा है। दिव्या नाम राजीव का दिया हुआ है। दिव्या जूते बनाने के लिए प्रसिद्ध दाउद परिवार की लड़की है। वह अपने अभिनय से दर्शकों को प्रभावित करने में असफल रही, पर अपने सौंदर्य से राजीव को अवश्य प्रभावित कर लिया। कहते हैं, इन दिनों दोनों में रोमांस ज़ोरों पर है। 'राम तेरी गंगा मैली' में वह सह-नायिका की भूमिका निभा रही है।

पिछले वर्ष एक 'स्टारब्रदर' भी आया—मनोज कुमार का भाई राजीव गोस्वामी। अपने भाई के लिए मनोज कुमार ने 'पेंटर बाबू' स्वयं लिखी, बनायी और इसका निर्देशन सौंपा अपने साले अशोक को। पिछले साल २९ अप्रैल को यह फिल्म रिलीज़ हुई और दर्शकों ने राजीव गोस्वामी को अनदेखा कर दिया। हां, फिल्म की नायिका मीनाक्षी शेषाद्रि ज़रूर सामने आयी। मीनाक्षी का वास्तविक नाम है शशिकला शेषाद्रि। १९८१

'एक जान हैं हम' में राजीव कपूर और दिव्या राना

जब जनरल जिया ने फिल्म में दिलचस्पी ली

भांडा फूट गया : रीना राय

रीना राय और मोहसिन खान के प्रणय सम्बन्धों की चर्चा के बाद भारत और पाकिस्तान में यह खबर काफी गर्म थी कि दोनों ने चुपके-चुपके शादी कर ली है। लेकिन असलियत यह है कि इस बारे में लोग महज अटकलें ही लगा रहे थे। निश्चित रूप से किसी को भी पता नहीं था कि वास्तव में निकाह कहां और कब किया गया।

रीना और मोहसिन दोनों ने ही कहा था कि वे १९८४ में शादी करने वाले हैं। लेकिन सितम्बर १९८३ में ही दोनों के गुप्त विवाह का भांडा फूट गया।

वास्तव में इस गुप्त विवाह के रहस्योद्घाटन में पाकिस्तान के वर्तमान शासक जनरल ज़िया-उल-हक़ का मुख्य हाथ है। यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि खुद रीना और मोहसिन की गलतियों ने इस गुप्त विवाह का भांडा फोड़ने में सहायता दी।

हुआ यह कि जब पाकिस्तानी टीम भारत के दौरे पर आयी, तो मोहसिन खान ने मैनेजर इंतिखाब आलम से रीना को भी टीम के साथ रखने की इजाजत मांगी। इंतिखाब आलम ने पूछा कि आखिर यह भारतीय अभिनेत्री किस हैसियत से टीम के साथ रहेगी? इस पर मोहसिन ने मोहब्बत के उन्माद में कह दिया, "बीवी की हैसियत से।" और मैनेजर इंतिखाब आलम ने रीना को मोहसिन के साथ रहने की इजाज़त दे दी।

पाकिस्तानी क्रिकेट टीम के साथ आये पत्रकारों के हवाले से जब यह खबर पाकिस्तानी अखबारों में छपी, तो वहां एक बावेला खड़ा हो गया। समाचारपत्रों ने यह सवाल उठाया कि क्या बिना विवाह किये कोई पाकिस्तानी खिलाड़ी किसी औरत के साथ अकेले कमरे में सो सकता है? क्या यह इस्लाम के नियमों के खिलाफ नहीं है? अखबारों ने इस बात को मज़हबी ही नहीं, बल्कि राष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा का भी प्रश्न बना दिया।

यह सवाल इस क़दर चर्चा का विषय बन गया कि जनरल ज़िया ने टीम के भारत से लौटते ही पाकिस्तानी क्रिकेट कंट्रोल बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष एयर मार्शल नूर खान से इस बारे में जांच करने को कहा। जब तक नूर खान इस सम्बन्ध में पूछ-ताछ करें, पाकिस्तानी क्रिकेट टीम आस्ट्रेलिया पहुंच चुकी थी। जनरल के हुक्म और पाकिस्तानी अखबारों में उठे तूफान को देखते हुए एयर मार्शल नूर खान ने मेलबोर्न ट्रंककाल मिलाया और टीम के मैनेजर इंतिखाब आलम से रीना और मोहसिन के सम्बन्धों की सचाई जाननी चाही। इंतिखाब आलम ने खुद कुछ न कह कर फोन का चोगा मोहसिन को थमा दिया। मोहसिन घबरा गया और स्वीकार कर लिया कि उसने २ अगस्त, १९८३ को लंदन में इस्लाम धर्म के अनुसार रीना से शादी कर ली थी। इसीलिए रीना टीम के साथ मिसेज़ मोहसिन खान के रूप में भारत के दौरे के समय ठहरी थी।

रीना और मोहसिन कब मिले और कैसे उनमें प्यार हुआ, यह किस्सा तो अब काफी पुराना पड़ चुका है। लेकिन शादी के बारे में कहा जाता है कि जून १९८३ के अंतिम सप्ताह में अमिताभ बच्चन के 'स्टेज शो' में भाग लेने के लिए रीना जब लंदन पहुंची, तो विश्व कप के सिलसिले में मोहसिन भी वहां मौजूद थे। कहते हैं कि वहीं दोनों की अंतिम मुलाकातें हुईं और निकाह हो गया। बताया जाता है कि निकाह के समय जया बच्चन, ज़हीर अब्बास, जलाल द्दीन आदि मौजूद थे। हालांकि निकाह के समय तय हुआ था कि इसे कुछ महीने गुप्त रखा जायेगा लेकिन रीना और मोहसिन की आपस में मिलने की बेताबी ने निकाह का भांडा पहले ही फोड़ दिया। बहरहाल अब मोहसिन के मां-बाप ने रीना को बहू के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया है।

—नरेन्द्र उपाध्याय

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में एक सौंदर्य प्रतियोगिता में वह 'मिस इंडिया' चुनी गयी थी और उसके बाद ही उसे 'पेंटर बाबू' में नायिका की भूमिका मिल गयी थी। मीनाक्षी के पास अनूठी अभिनय-प्रतिभा भले ही न हो, 'स्टार चार्म' तो है ही—यह बात 'पेंटर बाबू' के बाद 'हीरो' फिल्म में भी उसने जता दी है।

सुभाष घई की फिल्म 'हीरो' में मीनाक्षी के साथ हीरो बना है 'माडलिंग' की दुनिया से आया जैकी श्राफ। पहले घई का विचार इस फिल्म में संजय दत्त को लेने का था, पर 'विधाता' के निर्माण के दौरान उसने इतना सताया कि घई ने तौबा कर ली। जैकी के बारे में यह बात निस्संकोच कही जा सकती है कि वह संजय दत्त ही नहीं, कई 'स्टारसंस' से अच्छा है।

गैर स्टारसंस में एक और नाम १९८३ में आया मयूर, जो पहले मास्टर मयूर और जूनियर अमिताभ कहलाता था—उसने 'मुकद्दर का सिकंदर', 'लावारिस' और 'बेमिसाल' फिल्मों में अमिताभ बच्चन के बचपन की भूमिकाएं निभायी थीं। वह लेखिका और रंगमंच अभिनेत्री स्नेहलता वर्मा का बेटा है। नायक के रूप में हालांकि उसने पहली फिल्म जगदीश खुराना की 'ऊंची उड़ान' साइन की थी, पर रिलीज़ हुई सबसे पहले 'लव इन गोआ'। फिल्म तो बाक्स आफिस पर साधारण रही, पर मयूर अपना एक प्रभाव छोड़ने में सफल रहा। 'तुम लौट आओ' में उसने एक छोटी-सी भूमिका में भी प्रशंसा पायी।

भीम सेन की फिल्म 'तुम लौट आओ' में नायक-नायिका की एक नयी जोड़ी सामने आयी—निशांत और कविता चौधरी की। दोनों से काफी संभावनाएं हैं।

'लव इन गोआ' में मयूर के साथ नायिका की भूमिका निभायी अनुराधा ने। वह अशोक कुमार की नातिन है। इस फिल्म में तो उसकी भूमिका ऐसी न थी कि वह कोई विशेष प्रभाव छोड़ पाती, मगर वह जिन ढेर सारी फिल्मों में काम कर रही है, उनमें दो बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं : शशिकपूर की फिल्म 'उत्सव' और सिम्मी ग्रेवाल के निर्देशन में बन रही प्रथम फिल्म।

पिछले वर्ष छोटी फिल्मों में सबसे अधिक सफल रहीं शिवकुमार द्वारा निर्देशित 'बेआबरू।' इस नायिका-प्रधान फिल्म में सामने आयी एक नयी लड़की अपेक्षा, जिसे 'एंग्री यंग वुमेन' कहा जा रहा है, जिस तरह अमिताभ को कहा जाता रहा है। अपेक्षा कई फिल्में 'साइन' कर चुकी है और आशा है कि वह बड़े 'सैटअप' की फिल्मों में भी पहुंच जायेगी।

'बेआबरू' में अपेक्षा के साथ नायक की भूमिका निभायी मराठी के जाने-माने अभिनेता रवीन्द्र महाजनी ने। इस प्रथम हिन्दी फिल्म में वह एक अच्छा प्रभाव छोड़ गया। शायद यही वजह है कि शिवकुमार ने अपनी एक नयी फिल्म में भी अपेक्षा और रवीन्द्र महाजनी की जोड़ी ही ली है।

रवीन्द्र महाजनी यदि मराठी फिल्मों से हिन्दी में आया, तो दक्षिण भारत के सुपरस्टार रजनीकांत का भी प्रवेश हिन्दी फिल्मों में पिछले वर्ष हुआ। उसकी पहली फिल्म 'अंधा कानून' को बॉक्स आफिस पर 'सुपर' सफलता मिली, पर सफलता का श्रेय मिला अमिताभ बच्चन को, जिसने इस फिल्म में एक अतिथि की भूमिका निभायी थी। 'जीत हमारी' के साथ यह स्पष्ट हो गया कि रजनीकांत हिन्दी फिल्मों में अपने लिए जगह बना सकता है।

'ज़रा-सी ज़िन्दगी' बॉक्स आफिस पर रह गयी, लेकिन इसके माध्यम से एक अच्छा अभिनेता सामने आया करण राजदान। 'तुम लौट आओ' में भी करण के काम को बहुत पसंद किया गया।

निर्देशक सी०एल० धीर के बेटे पंकज धीर की पहली फिल्म 'बेखबर' भी पिछले वर्ष प्रदर्शित हुई। फिल्म तो असफल रही, पर पंकज के प्रभावपूर्ण चेहरे और अच्छी आवाज़ ने लोगों का ध्यान अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया।

'अर्ध सत्य' के प्रदर्शन के साथ ही चर्चा शुरू हो गयी है सदाशिव अमरापुरकर की। उसने इस फिल्म में राम शेट्टी के नाम से खलनायक की भूमिका अत्यंत प्रभावपूर्ण ढंग से निभायी है।

—अशोक चोपड़ा

आंवले के गुण! च्यवनप्राश का इतिहास!
दोनों ही आप जानते हैं!

अब जरा देखिए हमदर्द का च्यवनप्राश क्या है!

अब! एक नए आकर्षक पैक में

किसी दवा का पुराना फारमूला होना एक बात है, उसे साइन्टिफ़िक रूप देना दूसरी बात है।

हमदर्द का विश्वास है कि च्यवनप्राश की तैयारी के लिए फारमूले की विशेषता के साथ और भी कई बातें महत्व रखती हैं। इसी कारण हमदर्द में च्यवनप्राश को अधिक प्रभावशाली बनाने के लिए तीन बातों पर विशेषकर ध्यान दिया जाता है:

- आंवलों और दूसरे द्रव्यों की गहरी छानबीन जिससे कि साफ सुथरी और उच्च श्रेणी की चीज़ें काम में लाई जा सकें।
- साइन्टिफ़िक विधि से निमार्ण।
- क्लीनिकल अनुसंधान।

हमदर्द च्यवनप्राश
प्राकृतिक टॉनिक। वैज्ञानिक विधि से निर्मित।

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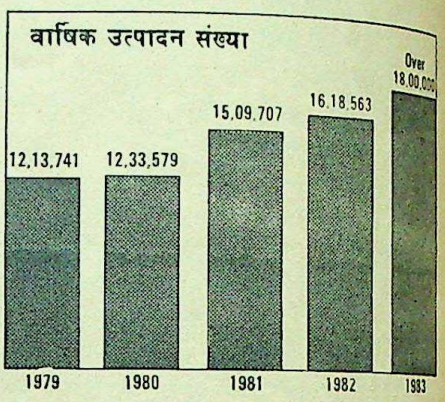
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

मीलों मील आगे

अत्याधिक प्रतियोगी एवम् क्वालिटी के प्रति सजग विश्व में उन्नति के शिखर पर पहुँचने के लिए भरसक निश्चय व समर्पण की आवश्यकता है.



और यह साधारण उपलब्धि एक चौथाई शताब्दी से निरन्तर अनुसंधान, विकास, अभियन्त्रण और विपणन आदि क्षेत्रों में पूर्ण समर्पण एवम् व्यावसायिक सूझ-बूझ की गाथा का स्वाभाविक परिणाम है.

अत्याधुनिक मशीनरी, उपकरण व कार्यकुशलता के नितान्त ठोस मापदण्ड ने हीरो शब्द को सर्वोत्तम क्वालिटी, अत्याधिक किफ़ायत, अधिक टिकाऊपन तथा व्यापक शृंखला का द्योतक बना दिया है. इसके अनोखे स्टायल, सुदृढ़ टिकाऊपन, आकर्षक बनावट व हल्की चाल ने देश-विदेश में लाखों का मन मोह लिया है.

वर्षों से अर्जित हीरो की विश्वव्यापी साख से प्रेरित हमने देश के कोने कोने में सर्वसाधारण के लिए किफायती सवारी प्रदान करने का दृढ़ संकल्प कर लिया है. निःसन्देह इस संकल्प को हम पूरा करेंगे!

हीरो

भारत में सर्वाधिक बिकने वाली साइकिल.

केवल हीरो ने ही एक वर्ष-१९८३ में एशिया और यूरोप में

१८,००,०००

से भी अधिक साइकिलों का निर्माण किया है

एक और ऐतिहासिक उपलब्धि !

हीरो साइकिल्स प्राइवेट लिमिटेड, लुधियाना

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क्रिकेट

क्या गावस्कर जानबूझ कर आउट हो रहे थे?

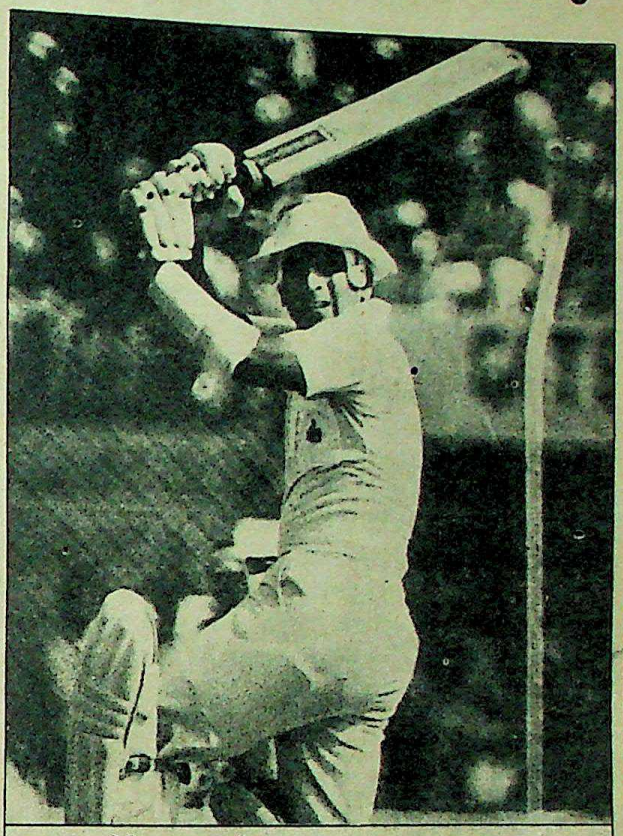
इंग्लैण्ड में कपिलदेव ने प्रूडेंशल कप में यह सिद्ध कर दिया था कि गावस्कर के बिना भी भारतीय क्रिकेट टीम विश्वविजेता वैस्टइंडीज पर महान विजय प्राप्त कर सकती है, लेकिन गावस्कर ने भारत में उसी वैस्टइंडीज के साथ हुई टैस्ट मैच शृंखला में एक अजीबोगरीब कमाल करके दिखाया। उन्होंने बल्लेबाजी के विश्व रिकार्ड तोड़ते हुए यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि कपिल देव की कप्तानी में भारत की टैस्ट मैचों में शर्मनाक पराजय के बाद भी वह स्वयं महानतम है। क्या ऐसा करने के पीछे कोई सोची-समझी चाल थी? क्या कपिल देव की कप्तानी पर इससे आंच आ सकती है?

प्रूडेंशल कप में महान सफलता के बाद विश्व-विजयी भारतीय क्रिकेट टीम को अपने ही मैदान पर क्लाइव लायड की उसी टीम के हाथों शर्मनाक पराजय झेलनी पड़ी, जिसे उसने इंग्लैंड में लार्ड्स के मैदान पर करारी शिकस्त दी थी। दिलचस्प बात यह है कि इस शर्मनाक पराजय के बावजूद भारत के 'स्टार बैट्समैन' सुनील गावस्कर के सिर पर उपलब्धियों के अनेक सेहरे बंधे। मद्रास में अंतिम और छठे क्रिकेट टैस्ट मैच में तो गावस्कर ने पिछले पांच टैस्ट मैचों में लगभग सभी प्रमुख भारतीय बल्लेबाजों पर हावी मार्शल और होल्डिंग की गेंदबाजी की धज्जियां उड़ा कर रख दीं और २३६ रन बनाकर भी 'आउट' नहीं हुए।

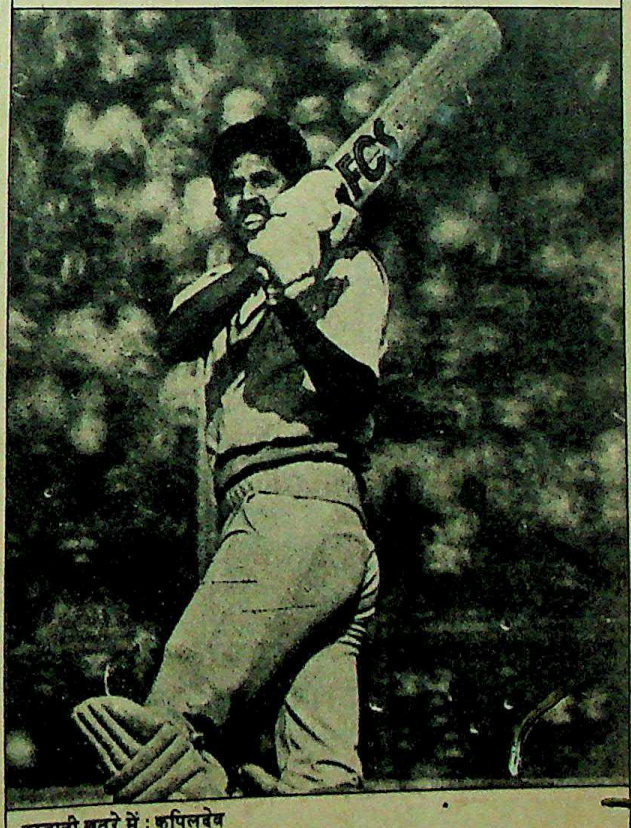
यह गावस्कर के शानदार क्रिकेट जीवन का ९९वां टैस्ट था और पिछले १३ वर्षों में संभवतः पहला अवसर था, जब उसने पारी की शुरुआत नहीं की थी और १७४ टैस्ट पारियों में चौथी बार वह बल्लेबाजी के क्रम में नीचे खेलने आया था। इसी टैस्ट में उसने छठे विकेट के लिए रवि शास्त्री के साथ और नौवें विकेट के लिए सैयद किरमानी के साथ शतकीय साझेदारियां निभायीं जो वैस्ट-इंडीज के विरुद्ध एक नया रिकार्ड है। २३६ रन की गावस्कर की यह अविजित टैस्ट पारी गावस्कर की ही नहीं, किसी भी भारतीय खिलाड़ी का एक टैस्ट पारी का उच्चतम व्यक्तिगत स्कोर है। इस पारी से गावस्कर ने आल राउंडर वीनू मांकड़ का करीब २८ वर्षों से चला आ रहा २३१ रन का भारतीय टैस्ट रिकार्ड तोड़ दिया।

लेकिन इस तरह के व्यक्तिगत प्रदर्शनों से जीत नहीं हासिल होती। किसी टीम की विजय के लिए बल्लेबाजी, गेंदबाजी और क्षेत्ररक्षण से कहीं ज्यादा जरूरत अनुशासन और टीम भावना की होती है, जिसका भारतीय टीम में अभाव रहा है। अंतिम टैस्ट मैच से पहले अहमदाबाद और दिल्ली टैस्ट मैचों को छोड़कर गावस्कर का निजी प्रदर्शन निराशाजनक रहा है। इस टैस्ट शृंखला की ११ पारियों में से आठ पारियों में उसका उच्चतम स्कोर महज २० रन था।

गावस्कर के कतिपय आलोचक कहते हैं कि उसने जानबूझ कर बेहतर पारियां नहीं खेलीं। ऐसे लोगों का आरोप है कि कप्तानी से हटाये जाने के बाद वह टीम भावना से नहीं, बल्कि व्यक्तिगत ख्याति अर्जित करने के मकसद से खेलने लगा था। इसका प्रमाण यह है कि डॉन ब्रेडमैन के २९ शतकों की बराबरी करने के साथ ही उसने घोषणा कर दी थी कि अब वह टैस्ट मैचों से संन्यास लेने की सोच रहा है। इसी तरह की बात उसने कलकत्ता टैस्ट के दौरान एक अंग्रेजी साप्ताहिक के साथ भेंट में भी कही। लेकिन साथ ही उसने यह भी कह दिया कि वर्तमान शृंखला के बाद नयी शृंखला शुरू होने में अभी दस महीने का अंतराल है, इसलिए पक्के तौर पर वह कुछ नहीं कह सकता। और अब तीसवां शतक लगाने के बाद मद्रास दूरदर्शन पर फिल्म अभिनेता कमल हासन द्वारा ली



भारत हारा, लेकिन गावस्कर जीता



कप्तानी खतरे में : कपिलदेव

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गयी एक भेंटवार्ता में उसने साफ कहा है कि अभी वह एक साल और खेलेगा।

गावस्कर की इस असमंजस मानसिक स्थिति के पीछे आखिर कौन-सी भावना काम कर रही है? वे कौन से कारण हैं, जिनकी वजह से उसके पांव आगे-पीछे हो रहे हैं? इस शृंखला में उसके द्वारा बनाये गये रिकार्डों से तो ऐसा नहीं लगता कि वह चुक गया है।

कप्तान कपिलदेव का चण्डीगढ़ में यह कहना कि टीम के कुछ सदस्य खेल में दिलचस्पी लेने की बजाए टैस्ट खिलाड़ी होने की अपनी स्थिति को भुना रहे हैं किस ओर इशारा है? कपिलदेव की शिकायत है कि भारतीय खिलाड़ी माडल बनने या निजी लाभ के लिए समारोहों का आयोजन करने में लगे हैं। कपिलदेव ने हालांकि किसी खिलाड़ी का नाम नहीं लिया है, मगर उसका इशारा साफतौर से सुनील गावस्कर की ओर था।

दरअसल जब से कपिलदेव के हाथों गावस्कर की कप्तानी छिनी है, तभी से वह रुष्ट है और नकारात्मक खेल खेल रहा है। हाल की शृंखला में क्रिकेट समीक्षकों ने यह महसूस किया है कि उसने टैस्ट मैचों में एक दिन के मैच की तरह और एक दिन के मैचों में टैस्ट मैच की तरह खेलने का रवैया अपनाया। वह कपिलदेव की कप्तानी से भी नाखुश लगता है। अपनी हाल की एक लम्बी भेंटवार्ता में उसने कहा है कि जब मैं कप्तान था, तो टैस्ट मैच शुरू होने के एक दिन पहले टीम के सदस्यों से इस बारे में विचार-विमर्श करता था कि मैच में क्या नीति अपनायी जाये, लेकिन कपिलदेव ऐसा कभी नहीं करता। उसका कहना है कि बिना समुचित योजना के कोई मैच नहीं जीता जा सकता। उसने कपिलदेव को ऐसा कप्तान बताया जो तात्कालिक प्रेरणा से फैसले करता है।

गावस्कर और कपिल के बयानों से साफ जाहिर है कि हमारी टीम में फूट थी और वह एकजुट होकर नहीं खेली। यह भी कहा जाता है कि वरिष्ठ खिलाड़ियों ने टीम के सदस्यों को एक-दूसरे के विरुद्ध उकसाया भी।

भारतीय क्रिकेट हमेशा से प्रांतवाद के चंगुल में रहा है। उसका इतिहास गवाह है कि जिस प्रांत के लोगों का चयन समिति में दबदबा रहा, उस प्रांत के खिलाड़ियों को टीम में तरजीह दी गयी। कप्तान भी खिलाड़ियों के चयन में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करता है। और कप्तान अगर गावस्कर जैसा खिलाड़ी हो, तो उसकी तो निर्णायक भूमिका होगी ही। लेकिन कप्तानी से हटाये जाने के बाद उसकी चल नहीं रही थी जिससे पश्चिम क्षेत्र के उसके सहयोगी खिलाड़ी परेशानी महसूस कर रहे थे।

बेदी के चयन समिति में शामिल होने के बाद तो पश्चिम क्षेत्र का प्रभाव बिलकुल कम हो गया था और उत्तर क्षेत्र के खिलाड़ी उभर कर सामने आने लगे थे। प्रूडेंशल कप के दौरान खासतौर से उत्तर क्षेत्र के खिलाड़ियों—कपिलदेव, मोहिन्दर अमरनाथ और मदनलाल—को जो वाहवाही मिली, उसे पश्चिम क्षेत्र के खिलाड़ी पचा नहीं सके। गावस्कर को कुछ मैचों में न खिलाये जाने ने आग में घी का काम किया। हालांकि कपिलदेव ने तब एक भेंट में कहा था कि गावस्कर को इसलिए नहीं खिलाया गया क्योंकि वह उन दिनों स्वस्थ नहीं था, लेकिन गावस्कर ने इसका खंडन कर दिया।

प्रूडेंशल कप के दौरान फूट के जो बीज बोये गये थे, वर्तमान शृंखला के दौरान वे अंकुरित हो गये। दो टेस्ट मैचों में असफलता को लेकर उत्तर क्षेत्र के मोहिन्दर अमरनाथ, यशपाल शर्मा और मदनलाल के खिलाफ ऐसा माहौल बनाया गया कि उन्हें टीम से बाहर कर दिया गया, जबकि वर्तमान टीम में ऐसे कई खिलाड़ी बने हुए हैं, जिनका लगातार निराशाजनक प्रदर्शन रहा है।

इन तीनों खिलाड़ियों के टीम से बाहर किये जाने के बाद कपिलदेव अकेले पड़ गया। वह पुराने खिलाड़ियों के असहयोग के कारण मानसिक तनाव में रहा। कहते हैं कि अहमदाबाद टैस्ट में पाली उमरीगर की देखरेख में 'पिच' तैयार की गयी थी। पाली उमरीगर ने कहा था कि जो टीम पहले खेलेगी वह लाभ में रहेगी, इसलिए अगर भारत 'टॉस' जीते, तो उसे पहले खेलना चाहिए, लेकिन गावस्कर सहित टीम के प्रमुख खिलाड़ियों ने कपिलदेव पर पहले न खेलने के लिए जोर दिया और परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारत को हार का सामना करना पड़ा। हो सकता था कि पहले खेलने पर भारत जीत जाता और अहमदाबाद टैस्ट में कानपुर की हार का बदला ले लेता।

गावस्कर के बारे में कई बार यह कहा गया है कि वह लोगों को अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक चलने को मजबूर करता रहा है। स्पिन गेंदबाज सुशील दोशी ने आरोप लगाया है कि गावस्कर ने मेरा कैरियर खत्म करने के लिए ऐसे मैच में गेंदबाजी नहीं करने दी, जबकि मैं मैच जीत सकने जैसी गेंदबाजी करने की स्थिति में था।

और अब कपिलदेव की कप्तानी खतरे में है। प्रूडेंशल कप के बाद अब वैस्टइंडीज के साथ वर्तमान शृंखला में कपिलदेव को थोड़ी भी सफलता मिली होती, तो उसे हटाना मुश्किल होता। लेकिन एक दिन के अंतरराष्ट्रीय मैचों में ५-० से और टैस्ट मैचों में ३-० से हार जाने के बाद उसे कौन बचा सकता है। पिछले दशक में अजित वाडेकर, बिशन सिंह बेदी और खुद गावस्कर हार का जिस तरह का कड़वा स्वाद चख चुके हैं, उस स्वाद के चखने की अब बारी कपिलदेव की है।

—खेल समीक्षक द्वारा

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

सांस की बदबू हटाइए...
दांतों की सड़न रोकिए

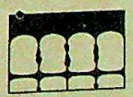
Colgate DENTAL CREAM

Colgate

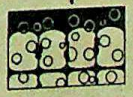
STOPS BA

कोलगेट से जब भी
आप दांत साफ करते हैं, उसका
भरोसेमंद फ़ार्मूला आपकी
सांसों को महकाता है...
उनमें ताज़गी लाता है. साथ ही आपके
दांतों को मज़बूत व स्वस्थ बनाता है.

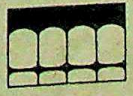
ये देखिए कैसे :



दांतों में छिपे अन्नकणों में सांस में बदबू और दांत में सड़न पैदा करनेवाले कीटाणु बढ़ते हैं.



कोलगेट का अनोखा असरदार झाग दांतों के कोने में छिपे हुए अन्नकणों और कीटाणुओं को निकाल देता है.



नतीजा : आपकी सांस तरोताज़ा, दांतों का सड़न से बचाव, दांत स्वस्थ और मज़बूत.

इसीलिए हर भोजन के बाद बिना भूले कोलगेट डेंटल क्रीम से
दांत साफ कीजिए. सांस की बदबू हटाइए, दांतों की सड़न रोकिए.

कोलगेट का ताज़ा पेपरमिंट जैसा स्वाद मन में बस जाता है!

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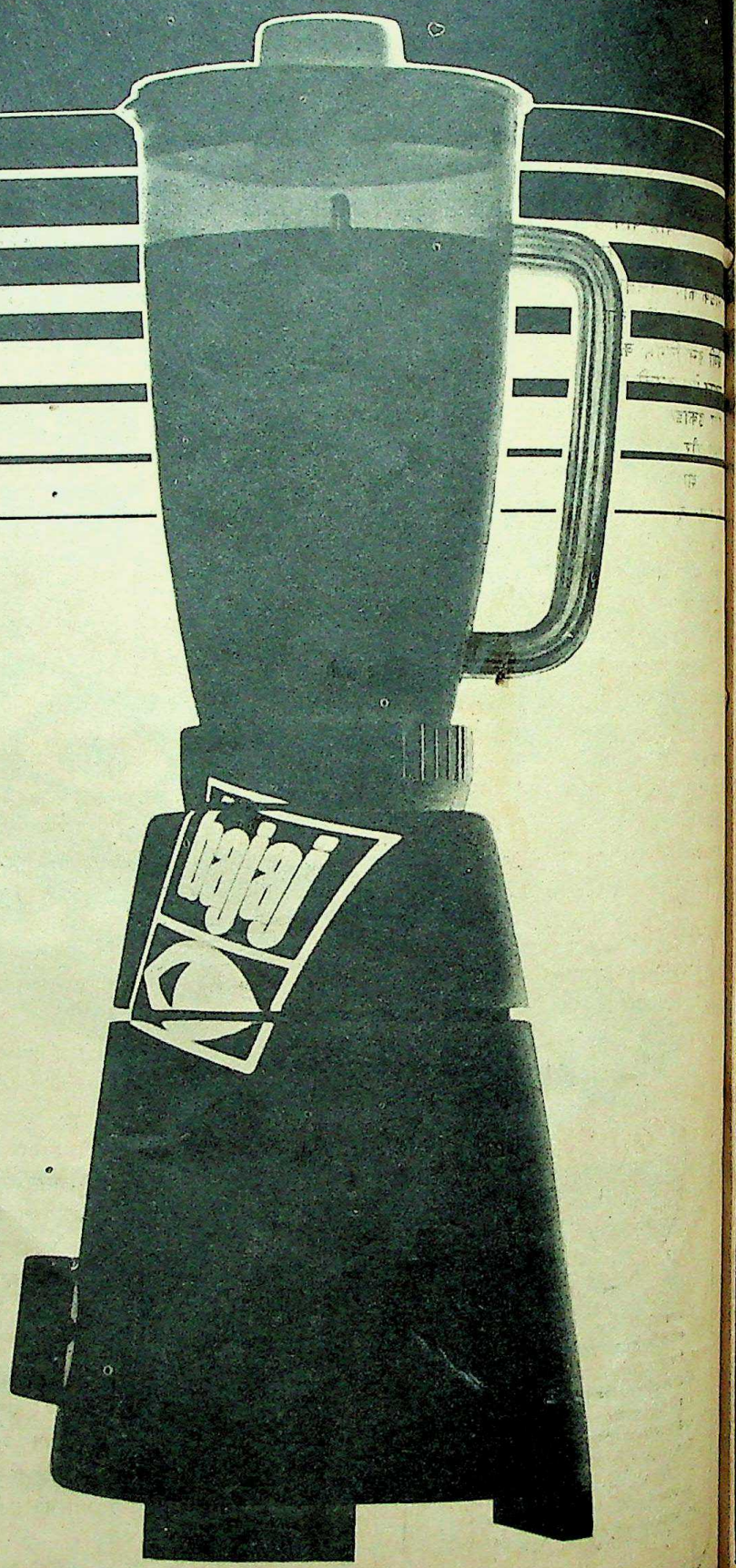
यदि किसी मिक्सर की रफ्तार 10,000 चक्कर प्रति मिनट हो तो उसकी मजबूती का विश्वास आपको कौन दिला सकता है ?



हम दिलाते हैं इसका विश्वास !

मिक्सर को यदि १०,००० चक्कर प्रति मिनट की रफ्तार से लगातार चलाया जाय तो कई बातें हो सकती हैं। आपका तनाव बढ़ सकता है। मिक्सर की मोटर जलकर नष्ट हो सकती है। ब्लेड ढीले होकर जानलेवा हो सकते हैं। इन स्थितियों से बचने का एकमात्र उपाय है—मिक्सर खरीदने से पहले विश्वसनीय नाम की खातरी।

जैसे कि बजाज।

भारत में बजाज ही उन कुछ नामों में से है जिनके पास २५ से भी अधिक वर्षों का अनुभव है। हर बजाज उत्पादन में इस अनुभव का प्रमाण आपको मिलेगा। घरेलू साधनों की हमारी सबसे विस्तृत श्रेणी में भी यह उत्कृष्टता मौजूद है। और फिर देश भर में हमारी सत्रह शाखाओं व ३५०० विक्रेताओं के जरिए विक्री के बाद की तत्पर सेवा भी उपलब्ध है।

यही कारण है कि घरेलू साधनों की उत्कृष्टता, मजबूती व सुरक्षा के लिए एक ही प्रमाण पत्र काफी है—बजाज।

bajaj

आज ही खरीदें: बजाज ही खरीदें

बजाज मिक्सर, बजाज-प्रेशर कुकर, बजाज आयरन, बजाज हीटर, बजाज फैन, बजाज ओवन, बजाज गॅस स्टोव, बजाज वाटर

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क्या जीवन बीमा निगम का विभाजन होना चाहिए ?

पांच इकाइयों में जीवन बीमा निगम का विभाजन क्या इस बीमार तंत्र को नीरोग कर सकेगा ?

जीवन बीमा निगम अनेक रोगों का शिकार है, जिनके कारण हर बीमाशुदा व्यक्ति को किसी-न-किसी चरण में मुसीबतें उठानी पड़ती हैं। ये मुसीबतें इसलिए और भारी लगती हैं, क्योंकि निगम के कर्मचारी देश में सबसे अच्छी तनख्वाहें पाने वाले समझे जाते हैं, हालांकि उनमें अन्य क्षेत्रों के कर्मचारियों की तुलना में कोई अधिक कार्यकुशलता नहीं पायी जाती।

इस स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर नौकरशाह श्रेणी इस निगम को पांच भागों में बांट देने का सुझाव पेश करती आ रही है। दलील है कि अगर पांच इकाइयां होंगी, तो उनमें आपस में होड़ होगी और इस तरह उनकी कार्यकुशलता में वृद्धि होगी। शायद वे अपने कार्य क्षेत्र में बीमा बढ़ाने के लिए इसको ग्रामीण जनता तक ले जायें। चूंकि इकाइयां अपेक्षाकृत छोटी होंगी, उनकी प्रबंध व्यवस्था में सुधार किया जा सकेगा और कर्मचारियों पर अनुशासन एवं नियंत्रण लागू कर उनकी कुशलता बढ़ायी जा सकेगी।

निदान, गलत या सही ? : संसद में इस प्रावधान के कानून का प्रतिपक्ष के ४८ सांसदों ने संयुक्त रूप से विरोध किया है। इन हस्ताक्षरकर्ताओं में मधु दण्डवते (जनता), अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (भाजपा), के०पी० उन्नीकृष्णन (कांग्रेस-एस), इंद्रजीत गुप्त (भाकपा), जगपाल सिंह (लोकदल), चित्त बसु (फारवर्ड ब्लाक), सुशीला गोपालन (माकपा) भी हैं। उनके स्मृतिपत्र में कहा गया है कि जीवन बीमा निगम के रोग का गलत निदान किया गया है। इससे रोग घटने के बजाय, बढ़ने की संभावना अधिक है, क्योंकि एक तो, पांचों इकाइयों में ऊंचे अफसरों की भारी-भरकम फौज का खर्च बढ़ जायेगा, दूसरे, बीमा से प्राप्त रकम को राष्ट्रीय हित में लगाने की बजाय, क्षेत्रीय आधार पर निवेश की भ्रष्ट और संकुचित प्रवृत्ति पैदा होगी।

वास्तव में, रोग का कारण यह नहीं है कि जीवन बीमा निगम कोई असाधारण रूप से बड़ा संगठन है। निगम में कुल ८२६ शाखाएं तथा ५५,५०० कर्मचारी हैं। कुल मिलाकर वह ६,५०० करोड़ रुपये की रकम का प्रबंध कर रहा है। इसकी तुलना में स्टेट बैंक कहीं बड़ा संगठन है। उसकी ५,६०० शाखाएं हैं और १,५०,००० कर्मचारी हैं जो निगम से कई गुनी अधिक रकम संभालते हैं। स्टेट बैंक का प्रबंध जितनी कुशलता से चल रहा है, उससे निगम तो क्या, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के अन्य सभी उद्योग ईर्ष्या कर सकते हैं। तो फिर जीवन बीमा निगम का मूल रोग क्या है? १९६८ में प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग के कार्यकारी दल ने इस सम्बन्ध में अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा था :

"निगम के काम की कमजोरियां उसकी इजारेदारी या एकात्मक प्रकृति अथवा उसके विराट आकार के कारण नहीं, बल्कि कल्पनाशून्य विकासात्मक तथा प्रशासनिक नीतियों एवं राष्ट्रीयकरण के उद्देश्य को समझ पाने की कमी के कारण हैं।"

ध्यान देने योग्य है कि निगम को पांच हिस्सों में बांटने का प्रस्ताव स्वयं उसकी स्थापना के समय से आज तक बीसियों बार उठाया जा चुका है। १९५६ में जब प्राइवेट बीमा कम्पनियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने का कानून पेश किया जाने वाला था, तब राष्ट्रीयकरण के विरोधियों ने अकस्मात प्रस्ताव रखा कि पांच स्वतंत्र निगम बनाये जायें। उस समय प्रधानमंत्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू और वित्तमंत्री चिंतामणि देशमुख इस प्रस्ताव के पीछे छिपी मंशा को समझे बिना नहीं रहे। वित्तमंत्री देशमुख ने कानून पेश करते हुए कहा था :

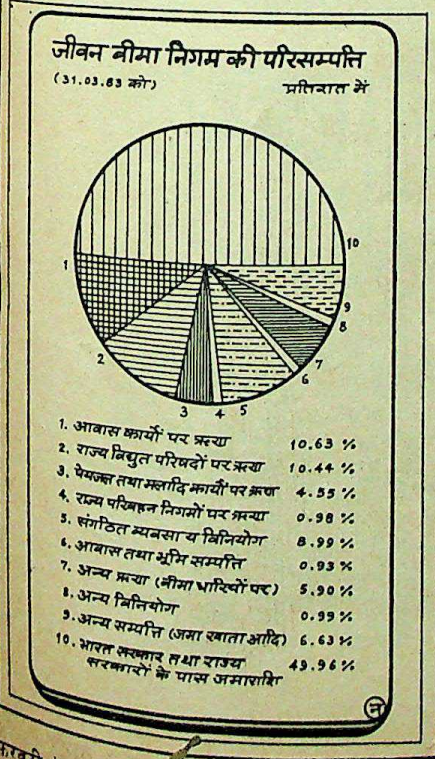
"हमारा तजुर्बा है कि केन्द्रीकरण की प्रक्रिया के मुकाबले विकेन्द्रीकरण की प्रक्रिया आसान है, क्योंकि (विकेन्द्रीकरण की स्थिति में) कुछ निहित स्वार्थ पैदा हो जाते हैं और हालांकि वह विशेष प्रयोग बड़े स्पष्ट रूप से विफल सिद्ध हो चुका है, तब भी वे केन्द्रीकरण के प्रयत्नों को कठिन बना देते हैं।"

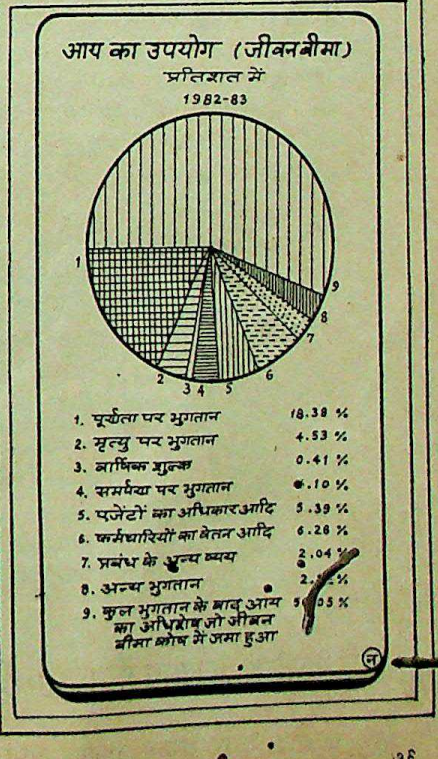
१९६१ में जब आकलन समिति (एस्टीमेट कमेटी) निगम के काम का मूल्यांकन कर रही थी, तब एक बार फिर निगम के बांटने का प्रश्न उठाया गया था, मगर समिति ने उसको अस्वीकार कर दिया। उसने सुझाव दिया कि संगठन को अर्द्ध-स्वायत्त पांच क्षेत्रीय इकाइयों में बांटकर संघीय ढांचा बनाया जाये। उसने और १९६८ की प्रशासनिक सुधार समिति ने निगम के काम में सुधार के लिए अनेक सुझाव दिये, मगर उन पर अमल के लिए किसी ने प्रयत्न नहीं किया। १९६९ में निगम के खर्चे की दृष्टि से एक बार फिर जांच करने के लिए कमेटी बिठायी गयी, जिसने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा :

"निगम के खर्चे के तौर-तरीकों के अध्ययन से हम इस नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंचे कि खर्चे का वर्तमान स्तर निगम के एकात्मक ढांचे के कारण है और न हम यह कहने की स्थिति में हैं कि पांच या अधिक स्वायत्त या स्वतंत्र इकाइयां बना देने से आवश्यक रूप से खर्चे में कमी होगी।"

सोने के अंडे देने वाली मुर्गी : १९८० आते-आते सरकार के चिंतन में एक मोड़ आ गया और सितम्बर में (जब कांग्रेस-इ सरकार फिर सत्ता में आ गयी थी) एरा सेझियान समिति ने निगम के टुकड़े करने का प्रस्ताव फिर पेश कर दिया। इस बार सरकार ने उसको स्वीकार कर लिया। इसके पहले १९६५ में जब सार्वजनिक उद्योग समिति ने इसकी सिफारिश की थी, तब कांग्रेस सरकार ने उसको स्वीकार नहीं किया था।

एरा सेझियान समिति ने कुछ ऐसी भी





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सरदर्द
बदन का दर्द
सर्दी-ज़ुकाम
इससे मिले
फौरन आराम

१० वर्षों से विश्वसनीय

अमृतांजन

पीड़ा से जल्द आराम.
हानिकारक प्रभाव से मुक्त!

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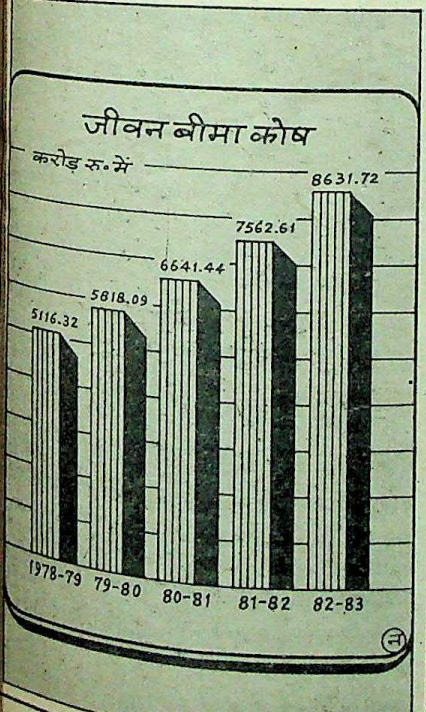
सिफारिशें की हैं, जिनसे बीमाशुदा जनता को लाभ पहुंच सकता है, मगर सरकार ने उनको तो स्वीकार नहीं किया, मात्र उन सिफारिशों को माना है, जिनसे बीमाशुदा लोगों तथा कर्मचारियों को गंभीर हानि पहुंचने की संभावना हो सकती हैं।

सबसे पहले तो यह ध्यान देने योग्य है कि पांच कम्पनियां बना देने से प्रशासन का खर्च बढ़ जायेगा। अभी कुल १५ डायरेक्टर हैं, मगर पांच अलग-अलग इकाइयां बन जाने से उनकी संख्या ९१ हो जायेगी। ऊपरी स्तर पर किये जाने वाले इस परिवर्तन का नीचे तक प्रभाव पड़ेगा। ध्यान देने योग्य है कि अभी तक प्रशासनिक खर्च बराबर घटता आ रहा था। १९५५ में यह १३.५० प्रतिशत था, १९६९-७० में ११.३४ प्रतिशत हो गया और १९७९-८० में ९.२० प्रतिशत। १९८१-८२ में प्रशासनिक खर्च ९.२० प्रतिशत और १९८२-८३ में ६.२८ प्रतिशत ही रह गया।

इस प्रक्रिया को कुछ और आंकड़ों से देखा जा सकता है। सारे खर्चे (जिसमें वेतन, भत्ते, कमीशन, अदायगियां आदि सब कुछ शामिल हैं) काटने के बाद निगम के पास जो निवेश योग्य रकम बचती है, वह बराबर बढ़ती गयी है। मार्च १९७४ में यह रकम २७०४.४२ करोड़ रुपये थी, तो मार्च, १९८३ में ८६३२.०० करोड़ तक पहुंच गयी, यानी सरकार जिस रकम को विभिन्न कामों में लगाने के लिए इस्तेमाल कर सकती है, वह रकम पिछले दस बरस में चार गुना बढ़ गयी। बीमा निगम सोने के अंडे देने वाली मुर्गी है, जिसको हलाल करने में नौकरशाह और शासक नेता इस समय बड़ी दिलचस्पी ले रहे हैं। इस रकम का एक हिस्सा प्रशासन के खर्चे बढ़ाकर बरबाद करने की योजना तो बन रही है, किंतु उसका लाभ बीमा कराने वालों को देने की बात कोई नहीं सोच रहा है।



बीमा निगम में सरकार ने ५ करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी लगायी है और उस पर अब तक १३२ करोड़ रुपये कमा लिये हैं। अगर व्यक्तिगत क्षेत्र में इस तरह के मुनाफों को हम नाजायज मानते हैं, तो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में वह जायज कैसे है? एरा सेझियान समिति ने सिफारिश की है कि सरकार को हर साल एक करोड़ रुपये मुनाफा लेना चाहिए और शेष बीमाशुदा लोगों को बांट देना चाहिए और ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में बीमा फैलाने के लिए लगाना चाहिए। मगर इस सिफारिश पर सरकार ने कोई अमल नहीं किया।

पांच कम्पनियां बना देने से बीमाशुदा जनता को एक और हानि होगी। पांचों कम्पनियां अपनी बीमाशुदा जनता को बराबर बोनस दे सकें, यह संभव नहीं हो सकेगा। इसको निगम के पांच क्षेत्रों में नयी पालिसी हासिल करने के खर्चे के आंकड़ों से देखा जा सकता है। मसलन, उत्तरी क्षेत्र में एक नयी पालिसी हासिल करने का औसत खर्च ९४.५९ रु० पड़ता है, तो पूर्वी क्षेत्र में एक नयी पालिसी हासिल करने में औसत खर्च ९८.४७ रु० पड़ता है। स्पष्ट ही, शहरों में यह खर्च कम पड़ता है, क्योंकि वहां बीमाशुदा लोग एक सीमित क्षेत्र में घनी संख्या में रहते हैं और ग्रामीण या कस्बाई क्षेत्रों में दूरियों के कारण खर्च अधिक पड़ता है। मसलन, दिल्ली में यह खर्च ७५.९७ रु० है, तो बिहार के ग्राम-प्रधान क्षेत्र मुजफ्फरपुर में ११८.२८ रु०। इसका अर्थ है कि पांचों कम्पनियों का बोनस रेट अलग-अलग होगा। एक व्यक्ति जो पहले अच्छे बोनस वाली कम्पनी के क्षेत्र में रहता है, वह अगर दूसरी कम्पनी के क्षेत्र में किसी कारण चला जाता है, तो उससे उसको हानि होगी। शुरू में तो और भी गड़बड़ी होगी, क्योंकि किसी व्यक्ति को क्या पता कि कौन-सा क्षेत्र लाभप्रद रहेगा। दूसरी तरफ बीमाशुदा लोग बोनस प्राप्ति में एकरूपता के अधिकारी नहीं होंगे—यह स्थिति पूंजी-लाभ में विभिन्नतावाद को जन्म देगी। मतलब यह कि जीवन बीमा निगम में बचत करने वाले बैंकों, राष्ट्रीय बचत पत्रों, अथवा यूनिट ट्रस्ट में पैसा लगायें, तो कई गुना अधिक लाभ पाते हैं। सरकार ने निगम को उन्हीं जितना आकर्षक बनाने की कोई योजना नहीं बनायी है।

जनता बनाम बीमा कर्मचारी : बीमा निगम के करोड़ों रुपयों को नियंत्रित करने के उत्सुक नौकरशाह इस मामले में बीमा कर्मचारियों का हौवा खड़ा कर रहे हैं। उनकी दलील है कि बीमा कर्मचारियों को भारी तनख्वाहें मिल रही हैं, इसलिए जनता को बीमा का लाभ नहीं मिल रहा है। ऊपर देख चुके हैं कि बीमा निगम में प्रशासनिक खर्च का अनुपात कम होता जा रहा है। काम के लिहाज से भी देखा जा सकता है : तृतीय श्रेणी का एक कर्मचारी १९७४ में औसतन ४७३ पालिसियों को संभालता था, १९८२ में ६३० पालिसियां, यानी काम अधिक कर रहा है। क्या इससे कार्यक्षमता घट गयी है? आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट होता है कि नहीं। प्रति हजार पालिसियों में शिकायतों की दर १९८०-८१ में ०.४९ थी और १९८२-८३ में ०.४०। इसी तरह प्रति हजार पालिसियों के दावों में से जो उसी वर्ष तय नहीं किये जा सके, उनकी संख्या १९५७ में ५६.७५ प्रतिशत थी, मगर अब वह १३.०६ प्रतिशत रह गयी है। मूल प्रश्न कार्यक्षमता का नहीं, बल्कि कार्यकुशलता का है। और यह समस्या सरकारी क्षेत्र के सभी निकायों में है—बीमा निगम कोई अपवाद नहीं है।

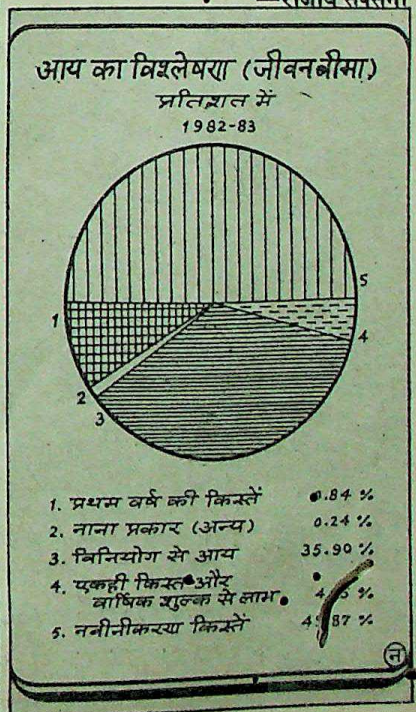
सरकार का यह प्रचार भी सही नहीं है कि निगम के कर्मचारी सबसे अधिक वेतन पा रहे हैं। निगम के तृतीय श्रेणी (क्लर्क श्रेणी) के कर्मचारी भेल, इस्पात उद्योग, इंडियन आयल, सीमेंट, ताप विद्युत और कोयला उद्योगों के कर्मचारियों की तुलना में कुछ कम ही तनख्वाह पाते हैं। निगम और बैंकों के कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाहों में १६ रुपये से लेकर ३०० रुपये तक का अंतर है। भत्तों में भी यही अंतर है।

लेकिन यह सब होते हुए भी, सरकार ने १९ दिसम्बर, १९८३ को जीवन बीमा निगम को विभाजित करने सम्बन्धी विधेयक को विचार के लिए लोकसभा में पेश कर दिया। विपक्षी सदस्यों के कड़े प्रतिरोध के बावजूद २६ के मुकाबले ६८ मतों से बिल विचारार्थ पारित हो गया।

विधेयक के अनुसार प्रत्येक नये निगम की अधिकृत पूंजी ५ करोड़ रुपये और पेड-अप पूंजी एक करोड़ रुपये की होगी। हां, परिस्थितियों के अनुसार इसमें वृद्धि की जा सकेगी। प्रत्येक नये निगम को केन्द्र की मंजूरी से नये निगम बनाने का भी अधिकार होगा।

अब देखना यह है कि यह बिल बीमार जीवन बीमा निगम को नीरोग बनाता है, अथवा वर्तमान एक के स्थान पर पांच नये रोगी तैयार कर देता है।

—राजीव सक्सेना



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पी०एल०ओ०

अराफात फिर गर्दिश में ?

अराफात के पतन के साथ ही फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति संगठन का अ[illegible] खतरे में पड़ गया है। क्यों और कैसे ?

अस्तित्व दांव पर : अराफात छाया : क्रिएटिव आई

फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति संगठन के अध्यक्ष यासर अराफात को लेबनान के बंदरगाह त्रिपोली से चले जाने को उन्हीं लोगों ने बाध्य कर दिया जो कल तक उनके वफादार थे। बागी सिपाहियों के कमांडर कैप्टन अहमद जबरीन ने यहां तक कहा कि "हम अराफात से कोई समझौता नहीं करेंगे। अगर वह ट्यूनिस भाग जायेंगे, तो हम वहां भी उनका पीछा करेंगे।"

यासर अराफात फिलिस्तीनी जनता के सर्वोच्च नेता माने जाते हैं और इसरायल द्वारा बेमुल्क बना दी गयी इस कौम के राष्ट्रपति की तरह उन्हें अरब बिरादर मुल्कों, सभी गुट-निरपेक्ष राष्ट्रों और समाजवादी देशों में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त है। स्वाभाविक था कि इन सभी देशों में फिलिस्तीनी नेताओं की आत्मघाती लड़ाई से बेहद चिंता पैदा हुई और अनेक राष्ट्रों ने, जिनमें इटली, यूनान, साइप्रस आदि हैं, संयुक्त राष्ट्र के झण्डों वाले जहाजों में अराफात और उनके सैनिकों को त्रिपोली से बाहर निकालने का प्रस्ताव पेश किया। फलस्वरूप २० दिसम्बर को अराफात को अपने चार हजार साथियों के साथ त्रिपोली से विदा लेनी पड़ी।

उत्थान और पतन : ५५ वर्षीय इंजीनियर अराफात (सांकेतिक नाम आबू अमर) राष्ट्रपति नासिर के शासनकाल में मिस्र की फौज में अफसर रहे और तभी इसरायल के अधिकार से अपने देश को मुक्त करने के उद्देश्य से उन्होंने सशस्त्र संघर्ष छेड़ने का संकल्प किया। अल फतह के नाम से संगठित गुरिल्ला जत्थों की ओर से उन्होंने १९६५ में पहली फौजी विज्ञप्ति प्रकाशित की और अगले पांच वर्षों में इसरायल के अंदर और बाहर अनेक आतंकवादी कार्यवाहियों के धमाके के साथ फतह का नाम सारी दुनिया में फैल गया। धीरे-धीरे अन्य फिलिस्तीनी गुटों ने उनका नेतृत्व स्वीकार कर लिया और फतह के साथ फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति संगठन (पी०एल०ओ०) में शामिल हो गये।

१९७४ में मोरक्को की राजधानी [illegible] अरब राष्ट्रों के शिखर सम्मेलन ने पी०ए[illegible] को फिलिस्तीनी जनता का एकमात्र [illegible] स्वीकार कर लिया। उसी वर्ष उन्हें संयु[illegible] ने अपने विचार प्रकट करने का निमंत्रण [illegible] शीघ्र ही, पी०एल०ओ० को संयुक्त राष्ट्र में [illegible] का दर्जा मिल गया। अराफात आतंक[illegible] प्रतिष्ठित राजनेता बन गये और अजीब [illegible] हुई कि शीघ्र ही उन्हें एक नरम और लो[illegible] विचारों का राजनीतिज्ञ माना जाने लगा। [illegible] के नस्लवादी नेताओं के लिए आतंकवादी [illegible] उतने खतरनाक नहीं थे (क्योंकि उनको [illegible] जनमत में निंदनीय बनाया जा सकता [illegible] जितने कि नरमपंथी अराफात, क्योंकि [illegible] स्वतंत्रताप्रेमी, शांतिकामी और विवेक[illegible] माने जाने लगे जिनसे वार्ता कर फिलिस्तीनी [illegible] का हल निकाला जा सकता है। अरा[illegible] लोकप्रियता बढ़ने लगी।

किंतु इसी मुद्दे को लेकर कुछ उग्रपं[illegible] नेता अराफात का विरोध करने लगे, [illegible] सीरिया के राष्ट्रपति हाफिज असद और [illegible] के राष्ट्रपति गद्दाफी प्रमुख रहे हैं। पश्चि[illegible] का कहना है कि स्वयं पी०एल०ओ० [illegible] इसरायली एजेंटों ने उग्रपंथी दृष्टिकोण से [illegible] के विरोध की आग सुलगाने में मदद की।

पश्चिम एशिया का चक्रव्यूह

फिलिस्तीनी जनता : संकट पर संकट

यहूदी नस्लवादियों ने १९४८ में फिलिस्तीनी जनता को स्वयं उनकी मातृभूमि से निकाल कर खानाबदोश बना दिया और वर्षों तक (लगभग १९८० तक) इन ५० लाख अभागों की समस्या महज शरणार्थियों के पुनर्वास की समस्या समझी गयी। संयुक्त राष्ट्र में विकासशील, नवस्वतंत्र देशों की संगठित शक्ति के उदय और अराफात के नेतृत्व में पी०एल०ओ० के संगठन के विकास के साथ स्थिति बदली और इस समस्या को फिलिस्तीन की पुनर्स्थापना और स्वतंत्रता का प्रश्न माना गया।

मगर बड़े राष्ट्रों की, विशेषकर अमरीका और सोवियत संघ की, इस क्षेत्र में प्रतिद्वंद्विता और दिलचस्पी तथा अरब राष्ट्रों की आपसी खींचातानी (कि इस क्षेत्र में नेता कौन हो) के कारण फिलिस्तीनी जनता को कई बार विनाशकारी संकटों का सामना करना पड़ा।

पहला बड़ा संकट पैदा हुआ १९७० में, जब युर्दान के शाह हुसैन ने अमरीका के उकसावे में आकर अपने देश में फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति संगठन (पी०एल०ओ०) के क्रांतिकारी और लोकतांत्रिक विचारों से अपनी गद्दी खतरे में महसूस की और अमरीका के उकसावे में आकर फिलिस्तीनी खेमों पर हमला कर दिया। इसके कारण फिलिस्तीनी गुरिल्ला सैनिकों और बड़ी तादाद में फिलिस्तीनी [illegible] को पड़ोस के लेबनान में शरण लेनी पड़ी और पी०एल०ओ० का सद[illegible] यहीं कायम हुआ। सैकड़ों फिलिस्तीनी सैनिक और असैनिक जनता को [illegible] से हाथ धोने पड़े।

१९७५-७६ में फिलिस्तीनियों पर लेबनान में विपत्ति टू[illegible] फिलिस्तीनियों के आ जाने के कारण ईसाई जनता को संकट महसूस [illegible] कि उन्हें इस्लामी लेबनानी जनता ने घोर अल्पमत में कर दिया है। [illegible] और इसरायल ने ईसाई साम्प्रदायिकता को उकसाया और देश में [illegible] गृहयुद्ध छिड़ गया। तेल अल ज़ातार में हजारों फिलिस्तीनियों (ना[illegible]) को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया। पी०एल०ओ० के उग्रपंथी मांग [illegible] कि उन्हें फिर आतंकवाद का सहारा लेने दिया जाये, मगर यासर [illegible] उनको शांत करने में सफल हो गये। अराफात ने इस बीच युर्दान [illegible] भी अपने सम्बन्ध सुधार लिये।

फिलिस्तीनियों और पी०एल०ओ० के लिए सबसे गंभीर चु[illegible] हुई १९७९ में जब कैम्प डेविड में अमरीकी राष्ट्रपति की मध्यस्थता [illegible]

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में लेबनान [illegible] इसरायल के हमले के बाद जब फिलिस्तीनी गु[illegible]रिल्लों को ट्यूनीशिया भाग जाने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया गया, तब अराफात की नरमपंथी नीतियों से अनेक स्वतंत्रताप्रेमी फिलिस्तीनी नेताओं की आस्था डिग गयी। सीरियाई नेता मजाक में कहा करते थे कि अराफात शांतिपूर्वक फिलिस्तीनी राज्य स्थापित करने के लिए [illegible] हैं। फिर चाहे वह राज्य आसमान में एक गुब्बारे पर ही क्यों न कायम हो।

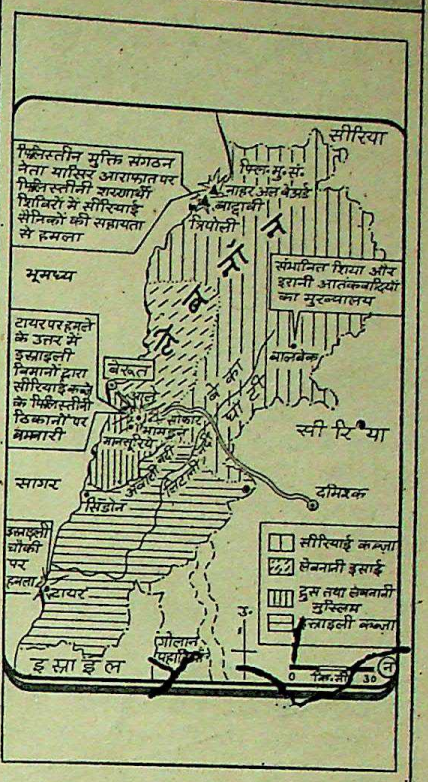
सचमुच, अराफात पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हर शांतिपूर्ण हल के प्रस्ताव पर विचार करने के लिए तैयार दिखायी देने लगे थे। राष्ट्रपति रीगन ने गाजा पट्टी और युर्दान नदी के पश्चिमी तट पर इसरायल के मातहत फिलिस्तीनी प्रांत बनाने का प्रस्ताव रखा, तो अराफात ने उसको ठुकराया नहीं और उस पर मिस्र के राष्ट्रपति होसनी मुबारक से बातचीत तक करने लगे। उधर युर्दान के शाह हुसैन ने गाजा पट्टी और पश्चिमी तट के फिलिस्तीनी क्षेत्रों को युर्दान के अधीन रख कर इसरायल से अलग करने का प्रस्ताव रखा, तो अराफात उस पर भी विचार करने के लिए सहमत हो गये। उन्होंने अपनी ओर से इसरायल तथा अमरीका से बात करने का अधिकार शाह हुसैन को दे दिया। फ़ैज में अरब राष्ट्रों के शिखर सम्मेलन ने सशस्त्र संघर्ष का मार्ग छोड़कर सभी पक्षों की वार्ता की घोषणा की, तो अराफात ने उसको चुपचाप शिरोधार्य कर लिया।

इस रुख पर फिलिस्तीनी स्वतंत्रता-योद्धाओं की पांत में कितना असंतोष बढ़ गया था, उसका पहला संकेत पिछले अप्रैल में मिला, जबकि पी०एल०ओ० की १४ सदस्यों वाली कार्यकारिणी ने युर्दान के शाह हुसैन से उनके समझौते पर स्वीकृति की मुहर लगाने से इनकार कर दिया। कार्यकारिणी ने घोषणा की कि केवल पी०एल०ओ० को ही फिलिस्तीनी जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने का अधिकार है, उसकी तरफ से अमरीका से बातचीत करने का अधिकार शाह हुसैन को नहीं दिया जा सकता। और बातचीत का विषय स्वतंत्र फिलिस्तीन की स्थापना हो सकता है, केवल स्वायत्त शासन नहीं।

फौजी बगावत : यासर अराफात शायद यह महसूस कर रहे थे कि फतह का नेतृत्व उनके हाथ से निकला जा रहा है। फतह के गुरिल्ला जत्थों के ट्यूनिस चले जाने के बाद लेबनान में सीरियाई फौजों द्वारा नियंत्रित बेक्का घाटी में लगभग १०,००० फिलिस्तीनी गुरिल्ले और रह गये थे। अराफात को इनके नेता आबू मूसा और आबू सालेह पर शक हुआ कि वह सीरियाई नेताओं के प्रभाव में आ गये हैं। अतः मई, १९८३ के शुरू में अराफात ने इनको बर्खास्त कर दिया और आबू हाजिम को लेबनान स्थित फतह गुरिल्लों का सर्वोच्च कमांडर नियुक्त कर दिया। आबू मूसा और आबू सालेह ने पांच अन्य ब्रिगेड कमांडरों के सहयोग से बगावत कर दी और अंततः समस्त फिलिस्तीनी शिविरों पर अधिकार कर लिया। सीरिया की फौजों ने खुल कर उनका साथ दिया।

आबू मूसा की सफलता का एक कारण यह था कि अराफात द्वारा नियुक्त नये कमांडर आबू हाजिम पर पहले से आरोप लगाये जा रहे थे कि १९८२ में लेबनान पर इसरायली हमले के समय वह पीठ दिखाकर भाग खड़े हुए थे। इससे कमांडरों में यह भावना घर कर गयी कि अराफात अपने 'आदमियों' को नियुक्त करके अपनी स्थिति सुदृढ़ करने में लगे हैं, फिर चाहे उससे फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति संग्राम कमजोर हो।

अराफात पर भाई-भतीजावाद और भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप पहले से ही लगाये जा रहे थे। मसलन, जिस क्रांतिकारी परिषद में स्वयं अराफात सर्वोच्च



नेता हैं, उसमें उनका चचेरा भाई हज मुतालिक भी एक सदस्य है। उनकी बहन का पुत्र नासेर कुदवा भी सदस्य है। १९८२ में उन्होंने अपने भाई फतही को सदस्य बना लिया। उनके एक और चचेरे भाई मूसा अराफात पहले से ही परिषद के सदस्य हैं।

पी०एल०ओ० को दुनिया के अनेक देशों से, विशेषकर सऊदी अरब जैसे अमीर देश से, आर्थिक सहायता मिली है। अराफात के विरोधियों का आरोप है कि इसका कोई हिसाब-किताब नहीं रखा जाता। वित्त समिति के सदस्य आबू उसमा,

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[illegible] और इसरायल ने अन्य अरब राष्ट्रों को छोड़कर आपसी शांति संधि कर [illegible]। खतरा था कि अन्य प्रतिक्रियावादी अरब सरकारें भी मिस्र के चरण-चिह्नों [illegible] चल कर इसरायल से समझौता कर लेंगी और पी०एल०ओ० को नेस्तनाबूद [illegible] देंगी। अराफात ने मिस्र के तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति सादात के खिलाफ प्रचार [illegible]यान शुरू किया और उनको अरब लीग की सदस्यता से निकलवा दिया। [illegible] में सादात की हत्या हो गयी। नये राष्ट्रपति मुबारक सावधान हो गये। [illegible] डेविड संधि खटाई में पड़ती नजर आने लगी। इसरायल और अमरीका [illegible]शान हो गये।

तभी अमरीका और इसरायल ने लेबनान से पी०एल०ओ० को निकालने [illegible] कोशिश की और एक अराफात-विरोधी फिलिस्तीनी गुट फ्रांस में आतंकवादी [illegible]वाही करने के लिए प्रेरित कर, उसके बहाने लेबनान पर हमला कर दिया, [illegible]का उद्देश्य था कि लेबनान से फिलिस्तीनियों को हटाया जाये। १९८२ [illegible] हमले में पी०एल०ओ० की सेना तीन महीने तक घिरी रही—उसको [illegible]-पानी तक मिलना दूभर हो गया। और अंततः पी०एल०ओ० को अपनी [illegible]एं वहां से हटाकर दूर ट्यूनीशिया ले जाने का समझौता करना पड़ा।

इस समझौते के बाद यासर अराफात नरमदली अरब नेताओं का, विशेष-[illegible] युर्दान के शाह हुसैन और मिस्र के राष्ट्रपति होसनी मुबारक का सहारा [illegible] लगे। इसी समय (सितम्बर, १९८२) में अमरीकी राष्ट्रपति रीगन ने एक योजना रखी, जिस पर अराफात ने नरम रुख लिया। उग्रपंथी सीरिया और लीबिया को महसूस होने लगा कि अराफात राष्ट्रपति सादात के रास्ते पर चले जायेंगे और फिलिस्तीनी प्रश्न पर उन्हें कोई नहीं पूछेगा। सीरिया विशेष रूप से चिंतित था, क्योंकि उसको भय हुआ कि अगर अराफात ने समझौता कर लिया, तो इसरायल का उसकी गोलान पहाड़ियों पर अधिकार स्थायी हो जायेगा। इसलिए उसने पी०एल०ओ० के उग्रपंथियों से बातचीत शुरू कर दी। अराफात ने इन उग्रपंथियों को फौजी कमान से निकाल दिया, तो बगावत शुरू हो गयी। अराफात आज इस विद्रोह के शिकंजे में फंसे हुए हैं।

इस पूरे काण्ड में सोवियत संघ की स्थिति सांप-छछूंदर जैसी बनी रही। कैम्प डेविड संधि के बाद से ही पश्चिमी एशिया में उसकी कोई भूमिका नहीं रह गयी और सारी बागडोर अमरीका ने संभाल ली। सोवियत संघ को लीबिया और सीरिया अभी कुछ हद तक पूछ रहे थे। इसलिए जब सीरिया ने अराफात के खिलाफ विद्रोह भड़काया, तो वह सीरिया को रोकने के लिए कुछ नहीं कर सका। वास्तव में, अब अगर सोवियत संघ को पश्चिमी एशिया में कोई भूमिका प्राप्त हो सकती है, तो सीरिया के माध्यम से।

और इस चक्रव्यूह में फंसे हुए मर रहे हैं फिलिस्तीनी, जिनका एकमात्र प्रतीक हैं अराफात—और उनके सितारे भी फिलहाल गर्दिश में हैं।

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

आबू आला और फौद शौबाकी ने करोड़ों डालर की पूंजी लगा रखी है, जिसके मुनाफे फतह को नहीं जाते बताये जाते हैं। यासर अराफात के एक चचेरे भाई मूसा ने पी०एल०ओ० के पैसे से दमिश्क के करीब एक फार्म खरीदा। अराफात के विरोधियों का दावा है कि फतह के नेताओं में २० व्यक्ति करोड़पति हैं और वे सभी अराफात के 'चमचे' हैं।

निस्संदेह, इन आरोपों के बल पर बागी फौजी कमांडर आम गुरिल्ला सैनिक को अपने साथ लेने में सफल हो गये हैं। लेकिन क्या इसके बाद अराफात का नामोनिशां मिटाया जा सकेगा?

कोई विकल्प नहीं: यह सच है कि अराफात लेबनान में हार गये हैं, किंतु क्या बागियों के सामने कोई विकल्प है? अराफात को त्रिपोली में मौत के घाट उतारना उनको शहीद बनाना था, क्योंकि फिलिस्तीनी जनता में अराफात की प्रतिष्ठा आज भी बहुत है। वह फिलिस्तीनी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के प्रतीक हैं। उनकी मृत्यु के घातक परिणाम हो सकते हैं, यहां तक कि इससे फिलिस्तीनी जनता बागी बन सकती है।

इसके कुछ उदाहरण स्वयं लेबनान में फिलिस्तीनी कैम्पों में मिलते हैं। अराफात के समर्थकों और विद्रोहियों के बीच मुठभेड़ों में जिस जनता के घर-बार बरबाद हो रहे हैं, वह विद्रोहियों को गालियां देती है और अराफात की जय बोलती है। नाहर अल बारीद कैम्प के पास एक ग्यारह वर्षीय लड़के को दफनाया जा रहा था, तो उपस्थित शोकग्रस्त जनता अराफात की प्रशंसा का गीत गा रही थी। एक अन्य स्थल पर विद्रोहियों के सशस्त्र सैनिकों की मौजूदगी के बावजूद १,००० फिलिस्तीनियों ने अराफात-

पी०एल०ओ० को दुनिया के अनेक देशों से आर्थिक सहायता मिली है। अराफात के विरोधियों का आरोप है कि इसका कोई हिसाब-किताब नहीं रखा जाता। उनका दावा है कि फतह के नेताओं में २० व्यक्ति करोड़पति हैं और वे सभी अराफात के 'चमचे' हैं।

समर्थक जुलूस निकाला। सीरिया की राजधानी दमिश्क तक में फिलिस्तीनी जनता ने इसी तरह के प्रदर्शन किये।

खुद इसरायल के अंदर युर्दान के पश्चिमी तट के फिलिस्तीनी-बहुल क्षेत्र में हमदर्दी अराफात के साथ है। यहां के फिलिस्तीनियों के एक महत्वपूर्ण नेता बास्सम शाका को एसोशिएटेड प्रेस के संवाद-दाता ने यह कहते बताया कि इसरायली क्षेत्रों में फिलिस्तीनी जनता यासर ही समर्थन करेगी, क्योंकि उनकी अराफात के बिना पी०एल०ओ० में एकता नहीं बनी रह सकती।

पी०एल०ओ० में शामिल दो वामपंथी फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति जन-मोर्चा और फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति जनतांत्रिक मोर्चा, आज भी अराफात का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

अराफात की इसी लोकप्रिय स्थिति को देखते हुए सोवियत संघ और भारत ने (जो क्रमशः समाजवादी खेमे और गुट-निरपेक्ष खेमे के नेता हैं) पी०एल०ओ० में एक बार फिर एकता स्थापित करने की अपील की है। अरब देश भी सीरिया पर इसी पक्ष में दबाव डाल रहे हैं।

इस स्थिति में यह स्वाभाविक लगता है कि अंततः पी०एल०ओ० के विभिन्न गुटों को एक बार फिर अपनी एकता स्थापित करनी पड़े, किंतु यह भी सही है कि अब अराफात की पुरानी स्थिति वापस नहीं लौट सकेगी। अराफात को व्यक्तिगत ढंग से काम करने की शैली के बजाय सामूहिक नेतृत्व की शैली अपनानी होगी, जिसकी मांग वामपंथी फिलिस्तीनी संगठन बहुत जोर से कर रहे हैं।

—राजीव सक्सेना

साइकिल कोई भी लीजिए पर उसमें लगाइए

भारत का सबसे ज्यादा बिकनेवाला १२ वोल्ट साइकिल डायनॅमो लाइट

Sankya

जोरदार रोशनी के लिए

आपके साइकिल के लिए सबसे ज्यादा भरोसेमंद और टिकाऊ सैंक्यो डायनॅमो लाइट।

विभिन्न मॉडलों में १२ वोल्ट/६ वॉट और ६ वोल्ट/३ वॉट—दो बल्ब और एक बल्ब के साथ उपलब्ध।

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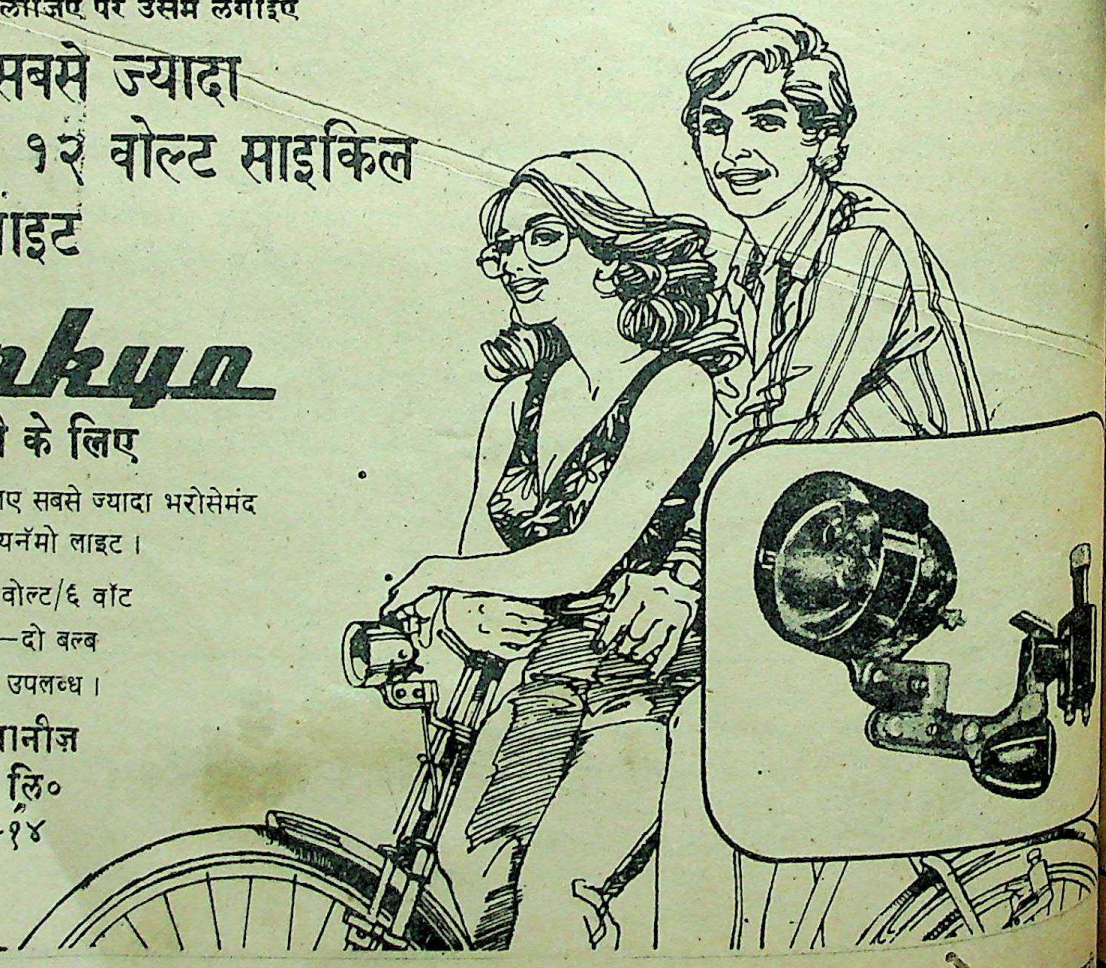

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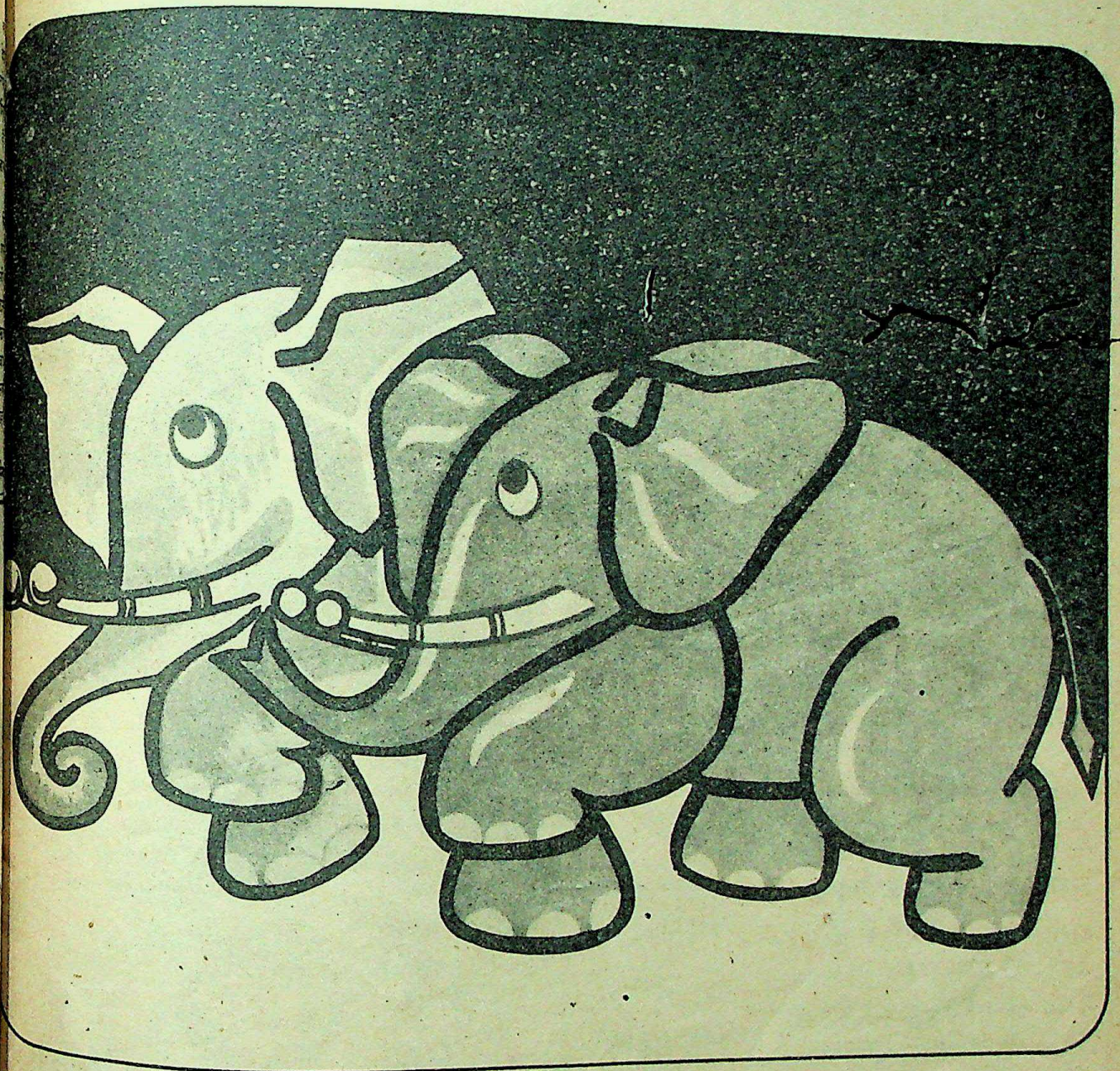

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उपाय है।

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लम्बे, चमकीले,
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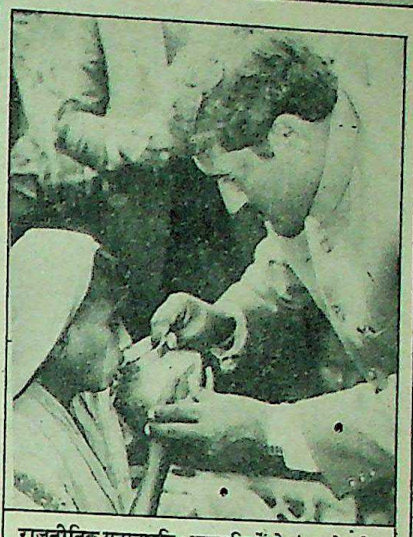
(...शेष)

...जय के साथ खेत से आ रहे थे। कुछ ही ... ४०-५० लोगों का एक सशस्त्र ... रामेश्वर यादव को देखते ही ... गयी ? रामेश्वर वहीं ढेर हो ... अजय यादव ने प्राथमिकी में जिन २७ व्यक्तियों के नाम दर्ज कराये, उनमें धानुक व भूमिहार ही थे। इतना ही नहीं, रामेश्वर यादव की हत्या के पूर्व १७ फरवरी, १९८२ को रामेश्वर के पुत्र संजय यादव की हत्या में भी धानुकों का ही हाथ माना जाता है। बदले में अधिक यादव के गिरोह ने पिपरिया के चार धानुकों—जुल्मी राय, कुशोराय, रामस्वरूप राय व रघुराय की हत्या कर दी। इस कांड के ठीक दसवें दिन रामेश्वर यादव को गोली मार दी गयी। इस तरह पिपरिया में जातीय युद्ध का खूनी सिलसिला और तेज होता गया। आरोप है कि रामेश्वर यादव की हत्या में भूमिहार समर्थित जयप्रकाश सिंह गिरोह ने भी धानुकों की मदद की।

संघर्ष की शुरुआत : १९४६ में पिपरिया में स्व० जयप्रकाश नारायण, रामनन्दन मिश्र आदि के नेतृत्व में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की ओर से वहां के बेजमीन पिछड़ों के सवाल पर पिपरिया के एक बड़े भूमिहार सामंत बैद्यनाथ सिंह के विरुद्ध भूमि आंदोलन छेड़ा गया था। आंदोलन तो अंततः समाप्त हो गया, लेकिन गरीब-अमीर का वह आंदोलन भूमिहार व यादवों की स्थायी लड़ाई के रूप में तब्दील हो गया। मृतक रामेश्वर यादव यादव मोर्चे के नेता हो गये थे। भूमिहार-यादव युद्ध में यादवों का साथ धानुक व बिंद आदि पिछड़ी जातियों ने भी दिया। पिछड़ों की यह संयुक्त ताकत भूमिहारों के लिए बड़ी सरदर्द साबित हुई। क्योंकि अपनी शक्ति के बूते पर यादव-धानुक भूमिहारों की जमीन पर जबरन कब्जा करने लगे या खेतों में लगी फसलें लूटने लगे। इस बीच भूमिहार मोर्चे के नेता बैद्यनाथ सिंह को बिजुलिया दियरा के फिरंगी सिंह की हत्या के आरोप में फांसी की सजा सुना दी गयी। बैद्यनाथ सिंह ने अपील की। उनको फांसी तो नहीं हुई, लेकिन उम्र कैद की सजा मिली। फिर जेल में ही उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी। बैद्यनाथ सिंह की मौत के बाद भूमिहार पहले से और भी कमजोर हो गये। इसी के बाद १८ जनवरी, १९६८ को पिपरिया के ही एक अन्य भूमिहार लखन सिंह की हत्या कर दी गयी। हत्या में यादव व धानुक शरीक थे। इस हत्या कांड को लेकर पिपरिया के छह यादवों को सजा भी हुई, जिसमें एक स्व० रामेश्वर यादव के बड़े पुत्र चन्द्रदेव यादव भी थे। लखन सिंह की हत्या का बदला भूमिहारों ने वहीं के घुटर यादव की हत्या करके तत्काल ही ले लिया।

इसी खूनी दौर की शुरुआत के समय यादव समर्थित अधिक यादव का गिरोह उभरा। अब यही गिरोह यादवों की तरफ से हत्या करने लगा। अधिक यादव गिरोह ने पिपरिया के पड़ोसी गांव पथुआ में एक हत्या की और मुकदमे में भूमिहार व धानुक जाति के ३२ लोग फंसा दिये गये। इससे धानुक जाति जो यादवों की समर्थक थी यादवों से क्षुब्ध हो गयी। ४ दिसम्बर, १९८१ को अधिक यादव गिरोह ने पथुआ में बिंद जाति के घरों को लूटा और इसके पूर्व यही गिरोह पथुआ के स्वराज बिंद की हत्या कर चुका था। पथुआ में डाका डालकर अधिक यादव गिरोह पिपरिया पहुंचा और भूमिहारों के घरों में आग लगाकर भूमिहार जाति के ही सुबोध सिंह की हत्या (केस नंबर १७६/८१) कर दी। इस कांड के बाद पुलिस ने पिपरिया में फाइरिंग की, जिसमें अधिक यादव का साला मारा गया। अधिक यादव के गिरोह के रवैये को देख धानुक व अन्य पिछड़ी जाति के लोग बौखला उठे थे, क्योंकि इस गिरोह के बल पर इलाके के यादव अब इन लोगों को भी परेशान करने लगे थे। इसी क्रम में कज्जल धानुक ने जो कभी अधिक यादव का सहयोगी था, उससे अलग होकर अपना गिरोह बना लिया। अब तो धानुकों का भी अपना गिरोह तैयार था। नयी रणनीति के तहत यादवों से त्रस्त भूमिहारों ने धानुकों को अपनी तरफ यादवों से मोर्चा लेने के लिए मिलाया। भूमिहार समर्थित प्रकाश सिंह का गिरोह भी कज्जल की मदद करने लगा। अब रोज-ब-रोज इन जातियों के गिरोहों की आपसी मुठभेड़ ठनने लगी। इन गिरोहों के अतिरिक्त रजना चांय और रामजी ढांड़ी के भी गिरोह हैं जो अधिक यादव की मदद करते हैं। इसी जातीय मुठभेड़ की ताजा घटना ४ जनवरी को घटित हुई और धानुक गिरोह इस प्रकरण में यादवों से 'लीड' ले गया।



राजनीतिक सहानुभूति : अपराधियों के चंगुल से बचे कल्लू को जल पिलाते हुए अश्विनी कुमार शर्मा

तनाव की वजह सरकारी नीति या राजनेता : १९७७ में कांग्रेस की टिकट पर विधानसभायी चुनाव लड़ चुके अर्जुन प्रसाद सिंह का आरोप है कि अधिक यादव गिरोह को खुले तौर पर इंका सांसद डी०पी० यादव का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त है। वहीं कज्जल व प्रकाश गिरोह को भूमिहार नेताओं का समर्थन प्राप्त माना जाता है। जनता पार्टी नेता अनिल कुमार सिंह इस स्थिति का कारण सरकारी नीति को मानते हैं। अनिल के मुताबिक 'गंगा पुल' बनने के कारण बड़हिया थाने के अन्तर्गत ४०,००० एकड़ भूमि गंगा के कटाव में चली गयी। खुशहाल टोला, चेतन टोला व पिपरिया के लोगों की जमीनें तो कट ही गयीं, घर भी बह गये। सरकार ने इन उजड़े लोगों के पुनर्वास का वादा किया था, लेकिन किया कुछ भी नहीं। पिपरिया दियरा के बसौना टोला की जमीन पर सरकार ने २८४ परिवारों को बसने के लिए अधिकृत किया। पर १९ मई, १९८३ को जब उजड़े लोग झोंपड़ी खड़ी करने गये, तो भूस्वामियों ने गोली चलायी और उल्टे पुलिस ने आहत लोगों पर मुकदमा भी ठोंक दिया।

बहरहाल, बच्चों के अपहरण और कथित हत्या के संदर्भ में स्थानीय सांसद श्रीमती कृष्णा शाही की अनोखी भूमिका रही। न तो वह घटना स्थल पर गयीं, न ही कोई बयान ही दिया। स्थानीय लोगों का कहना है कि कृष्णा शाही को गांवों की धूल-गर्द में जाना नहीं भाता। मुंगेर मुख्यमंत्री का गृह जिला है। पर मुख्यमंत्री भी घटना के पांच दिन बाद तक पटना से ही बयान दागते रहे। बड़हिया के विधायक अश्विनी शर्मा ने जब बड़हिया से मुख्यमंत्री निवास पर हादसे की सूचना दी, तो वहां से उन्हें मायूसी ही हाथ लगी। आश्चर्य की बात है कि अभी तक (१४ जनवरी तक) पुलिस इस बात का पता नहीं लगा सकी है कि अपहृत बच्चे जीवित हैं या कत्ल कर दिये गये।

—विकास कुमार झा

छाया : राजीव

हत्या के आरोप में गिरफ्तार अपराधी

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बड़हिया : मौत का द्वीप

बिहार में कुछ जगह की चीजें बेहद मशहूर हैं। जैसे—मुजफ्फरपुर की लीची, हाजीपुर का केला, दरभंगा का पान और...बड़हिया के अपराधी। चुनावों के दौरान अधिकांश क्षेत्रों के प्रत्याशी बूथ कब्जा करवाने के लिए बड़हिया से अपराधियों के जत्थों को भाड़े पर ले जाते हैं। 'अपराधियों का माल गोदाम' के रूप में विख्यात इस छोटे से कस्बे के बसने की एक विचित्र ही कथा है। कहते हैं कि दरभंगा जिले के संदहपुर डीह के दो भाई जयजय ठाकुर व पिरथु ठाकुर देवघर (बाबाधाम) की पैदल यात्रा करते हुए इस रास्ते से गुजर रहे थे। उन दिनों आज के इस बड़हिया का नाम था, डीह शेरपुर। दोनों भाई यहां आकर विश्राम करने के उद्देश्य से 'महारानी स्थान' पर रुके। तभी उन्होंने वहां एक अद्भुत दृश्य देखा कि बिल्ली व चूहे में जम कर लड़ाई हो रही है और अन्ततः बिल्ली चूहे से पराजित [illegible] भाग गयी। दोनों [illegible] हुआ कि यह स्थान कुछ विचित्र है। उन दिनों पालवंश राज्य के अन्तिम दिन थे और यह इलाका राजा इन्द्रपाल के राज्य के अन्तर्गत था। इन्द्रपाल के कोई संतान नहीं थी। रास्ते से गुजर रहे उन दो भाइयों को जब राजा के इस दुःख का पता चला, तो दोनों ने राजा को जाकर संतानोत्पत्ति के लिए आशीर्वाद दिया। फिर दोनों भाई देवघर चले गये। साल भर बाद पुनः देवघर से जब दोनों भाई वापस लौटे, तो उन्हें ज्ञात हुआ कि राजा को पुत्ररत्न की प्राप्ति हो चुकी है। राजा ने दोनों भाइयों को दरबार में ससम्मान बुलाया और कहा—"आप जो चाहें मांग लें।" दोनों भाई अनिर्णय की स्थिति में थे कि क्या मांगा जाये। अन्ततः उन लोगों ने डीह शेरपुर (आज के इस बड़हिया) को लेने की इच्छा प्रकट की और इच्छा व्यक्त की कि इस जगह का नामकरण उनकी जाति के नाम पर कर दिया जाये। इस तरह बड़हिया नामकरण हुआ, जिसे आज बड़हिया के रूप में 'कुख्याति' मिली हुई है।

बड़हिया के हर नुक्कड़ पर रोजमर्रा की बातचीत का सामान्य मुद्दा यह होता है कि कब अमुक की हत्या कर दी जायेगी...किसका अपहरण हुआ...। हत्या...अपहरण तो यहां की संस्कृति है और बम विस्फोट होना, तो यहां के लिए रोज का त्योहार है। इधर पिछले दिनों बड़हिया में अपहरण की अनगिनत वारदातें हो रही हैं। अपहरणकर्त्ताओं का खुले आम एलान होता है—'फिरौती दो या बेटे की लाश लो।' आतंक की इन्हीं स्थितियों से निबटने के लिए विगत ३० नवम्बर, '८३ को वहां के कुछ नौजवा[illegible] रेजीमेंट' का गठन किया है। इस रेज[illegible] हैं युवा कार्यकर्त्ता उमेश कुमा[illegible] रेजीमेन्ट द्वारा प्रकाशित एक पच[illegible] कि—"यहां के विद्यार्थी, नौजवान, मजदू[illegible] और पूरा अवाम इस बात के लिए कसम [illegible] है कि या तो कातिलों, खूनी, राजनेताओं [illegible] पुलिस वालों की मनमानी को दफन कर [illegible] हमेशा के लिए कफन ओढ़कर सो जायेंगे। [illegible] पड़ने पर सशस्त्र मुकाबला भी कर सकते [illegible] बड़हिया रेजीमेंट' की ओर से 'कफन जुलूस' [illegible] भी अनोखा आयोजन किया गया।

बड़हिया में आतंककारियों की तीन [illegible] हैं—'टिक्कर सिंह', 'लालमोहन सिंह' और [illegible] सिंह'। इसके पूर्व भाजो सिंह बड़हिया के [illegible] दादा थे। लेकिन एक दिन उनकी गोली मार [illegible] हत्या कर दी गयी। इसके बाद उभरा मृतक [illegible] सिंह का भतीजा देवन सिंह। काफी पहले [illegible] में बड़हिया के 'रंगदार' केदार पहलवान का [illegible] हुआ। केदार खुद एक गिरोह का सरगना [illegible] केदार की हत्या के बाद से ही अपराधियों [illegible] आपसी मुठभेड़ यहां और तेज हो गयी। [illegible] नगरपालिका के दो युवा वार्ड आयुक्त [illegible] नाथ सिंह और शिवदानी सिंह बच्चन का [illegible] है कि—"बड़हिया मौत का द्वीप है और हम [illegible] मौत की बाट जोहते हुए जी रहे हैं।" —वि[illegible]

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वेव!
झाग का लहराता समुन्दर...
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हर किसी पर छा जाए.
आज ही आज़माएं.

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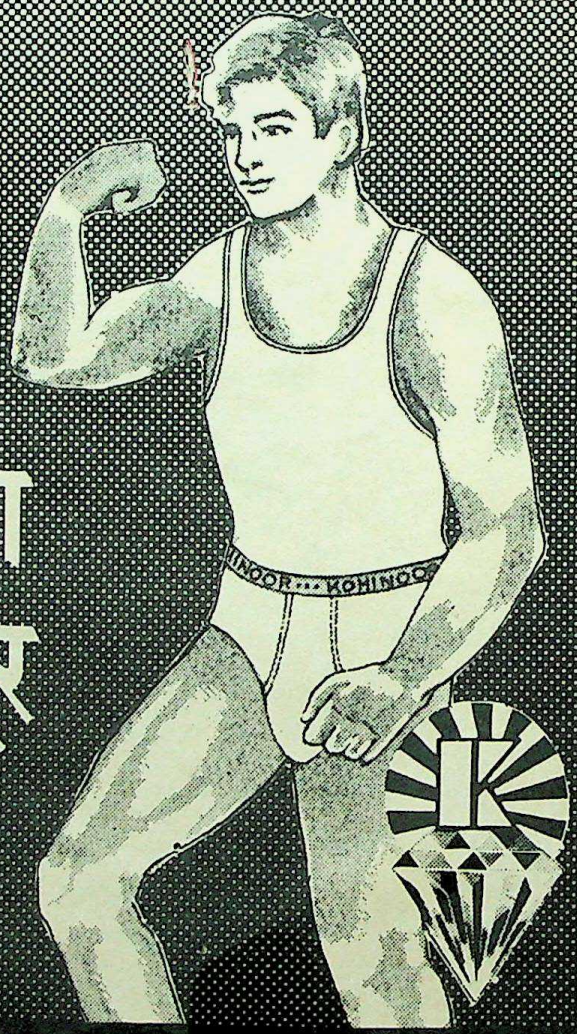

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☐ रामकृष्ण शारदा मिशन मातृभवन एक धर्मादा प्रसूति अस्पताल है । यह अस्पताल १८६० के एक कानून के तहत, १९६० में पंजीकृत धर्मीय संस्था रामकृष्ण शारदा मिशन, दक्षिणेश्वर कलकत्ता-७०० ०७६ द्वारा संचालित है ।

☐ १९५० में १० शैयाओं से शुरू हुए इस अस्पताल ने बड़ी तेजी से प्रगति की । अभी इसमें ६४ शैयाएं हैं जिनमें से ३२ शैयाएं निःशुल्क हैं । इसके अतिरिक्त एक ऑपरेशन थियेटर, लेबर रूम, एक क्लीनिकल लैबोरेटरी, आउटडोर क्लीनिक्स और स्पेशल बेबी क्लीनिक्स है । यहां अभावग्रस्त रोगियों और बच्चों को मुफ़्त औषधियां देने की व्यवस्था है ।

☐ पथ्य, औषधियों और अन्य सेवाओं का खर्च दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ता जा रहा है । आज एक निःशुल्क शैया पर साल भर में १० हजार रुपये खर्च होते हैं । कुछ समय से मातृभवन प्रतिष्ठान घाटे के बजट में चल रहा है । इसके अतिरिक्त इस प्रतिष्ठान ने १९६७ से दरिद्र बच्चों के कल्याण की एक योजना भी शुरू की है । इसके तहत प्रतिदिन निम्नवित्त क्षेत्रों के २०० बच्चों और ५६ गर्भिणी महिलाओं में पौष्टिक-प्रोटीनयुक्त पावरोटी बांटी जाती है ।

☐ और भी सुचारु रूप से जनता की सेवा करने के लिए, इस अस्पताल के विस्तार की आवश्यकता है । अस्पताल के पास के एक प्लाट को खरीदने, कुछ महत्वपूर्ण निर्माण कार्यों और अस्पताल के वार्डों के रख-रखाव पर १२ लाख रुपये खर्च आने का अनुमान है ।

☐ हम उदार हृदय महानुभावों से इस योग्य कार्य के लिए उदारता से दान करने का विनम्र अनुरोध करते हैं ।

☐ दान की राशि १९६१ के आयकर कानून की ८० जी धारा के अंतगर्त आयकर से मुक्त है ।

☐ चेक **रामकृष्ण शारदा मिशन मातृभवन** के वास्ते-सचिव रामकृष्ण शारदा मिशन मातृभवन, ७ए, श्री मोहन लेन, कलकत्ता-७०००२६ के पते पर भेजें ।

प्रव्राजिका मुक्तिप्राणा
महासचिव
रामकृष्ण शारदा मिशन

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nati...

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

आनंद बाजार प्रकाशन
मूल्य 3 रुपये : त्रिपुरा में 3.15 रुपये
उत्तर-पूर्व के अन्य राज्यों में 3.25 रुपये

संपादक
उदयन शर्मा

संयुक्त संपादक
योगेंद्र कुमार लल्ला

सहायक संपादक
हरिवंश
राजकिशोर
रामकृपाल

मुख्य उपसंपादक
अनिल ठाकुर

मुख्य संवाददाता
कमर वहीद नकवी

वरिष्ठ उपसंपादक
राजेश [illegible]रिया

उपसंपादक
जयशंकर गुप्त
अजय चौधरी
असीम चक्रवर्ती

विशेष संवाददाता
दिल्ली : संतोष भारतीय
बंबई : अनुराग चतुर्वेदी

प्रमुख संवाददाता
दिल्ली : राजीव शुक्ल
लखनऊ : शैलेश कुमार
भोपाल : स्वामी त्रिवेदी

संवाददाता
पटना : विकास कुमार झा
जयपुर : अनिल शुक्ल

छायाकार
राकेश सहाय

संपादकीय सहयोगी
निर्मलेंदु साहा
रामहित तिवारी

कला निदेशक
बिपुल गुहा

कला उपनिदेशक
अमिय भट्टाचार्य

आनंद बाजार पत्रिका के लिए विजित कुमार बोस द्वारा 6 तथा 8 प्रफुल्ल सरकार स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता-700001 में मुद्रित तथा प्रकाशित

केवल वर्मा विवादास्पद, लेकिन महान 8 **ज्ञानी जैल सिंह** वैसी सहृदयता
विभाजन के बीज बोये 20 **आरिफ मुहम्मद खां** मैं इंदिरा गांधी के साथ क्यों
30 **इंद्रकुमार गुजराल** रूस में बेहद लोकप्रिय हैं इंदिरा गांधी 36 **कपूर**
42 **रश्मि सक्सेना** पुपुल जयकर की यादों में इंदिरा 44 **माधवराव सिंधि**
था 53 **कुमार प्रशांत** इंदु कभी इतनी 'बड़ी' न हो सकी कि जयप्रकाश को पहचान
आदत किसी को नहीं रही 66 **अशोक वाजपेयी** इंदिरा जी का संस्कृति-प्रेम जगज
धरोहर है 72 **मोतीलाल वोरा** मध्यप्रदेश से उन्हें गहरा लगाव था 75 **मुहम्मद**
गांधी 84 **जनार्दन ठाकुर** अगर वह 'भारत की साझ

आमुख तथा यह चित्र : सुव्रत गंगोपाध्याय, मध्यवर्ती पृष्ठ छाया : सुनील दत्त

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Funding: Tattva Hol

रविवार वर्ष 9 अंक 9 □ 27 अक्तूबर-2 नवंबर 1985

प्रसाद मिश्र इंदिरा गांधी को प्रधानमंत्री बनवाना कामराज की मजबूरी थी **14 अतुल्य घोष** 1969 के राष्ट्रपति चुनाव ने कांग्रेस की इंदिरा **24 नारायणदत्त तिवारी** इंदिरा जी सुनती बहुत थीं, बोलती कम थीं **28 मधु लिमये** सफल और सक्षम विदेश नीति की तसवीरों को जूते मारे, वे आज मंत्री बने बैठे हैं **38 राजीव शुक्ल** इंदिरा जी को वरुण का विछोह असहनीय हो गया था **45 कुलदीप नैयर** इंदिरा और संजय से राजीव कितने अलग हैं **48 शरद यादव** उन्हें लोकतंत्र से अधिक अपने परिवार से प्रेम कमजोर वर्गों की मसीहा **58 तारिक अनवर** इंदिरा जी की बेलछी यात्रा **63 खुशवंत सिंह** इस परिवार में अखबार पढ़ने की बुरी ण नहीं था **68 जितेंद्र प्रसाद** उन्हें भारतीय भाषाओं से प्यार था **71 अमिताभ बच्चन** उनकी ममता आज मेरी सबसे बड़ी त सुनती थीं **76 दिनेश सिंह** इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस का बंटवारा **80 अली मुहम्मद खुसरो** धर्मनिरपेक्षता और इंदिरा

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nati

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रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से

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इंदिरा गांधी के मायने

इस हफ़्ते श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या हुए एक साल पूरा हो जायेगा. इन बारह महीनों में देश ने काफी उथल-पुथल और नये ढंग की राजनीति का स्वाद चखा है. नये प्रधानमंत्री ने देश की राजनीति को टकराव के रास्ते से हटा कर समझौते के रास्ते पर डाला है. मां और बेटे की राजनीति और तौर-तरीकों में गुणात्मक फर्क है. फिर भी इस बात से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता है कि बीसवीं सदी में भारतीय राजनीति को महात्मा गांधी के बाद श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने सबसे ज्यादा प्रभावित किया है. 1966 से 1984 तक देश की पूरी राजनीति उन्हीं के इर्द-गिर्द घूमती रही. 1977 से 79 तक जब वह सत्ता में नहीं थीं, तब भी भारतीय राजनीति का केंद्र-बिंदु वह ही थीं. 1966 से पहले नेहरू के प्रधानमंत्रित्वकाल में भी वह कांग्रेस की हर छोटी-बड़ी घटना से जुड़ी रहीं. अपने अनुयायियों में उनका व्यक्तित्व अगर लड़ाकू, संघर्षशील और महान नेता का था, तो उनके विरोधी उन्हें भारतीय राजनीति में कलह और टकराव की राजनीति की शुरुआत के लिए जिम्मेदार मानते हैं. दरअसल, जिस टकराव की राजनीति में वह जीती रहीं, वही उनके अंत का कारण बनी.

अगर श्रीमती गांधी की घरेलू राजनीति पर उंगली उठायी जा सकती है, तो उनकी वैदेशिक नीति उनको नेहरू से भी बड़ा राजनेता साबित करती है. श्रीमती गांधी ने दक्षिणपंथियों, अमरीका की विस्तारवादी और विघटनकारी नीतियों से कभी भी समझौता नहीं किया. राष्ट्रीय सम्मान को उन्होंने सर्वोपरि माना और हिंदुस्तान को एक बड़ी शक्ति बनाना संभवतः उनका सबसे बड़ा सपना था. उनका व्यक्तित्व बहुआयामी था. तीसरी दुनिया में अविकसित और शोषित देशों की वह सबसे बड़ी नेता थीं. विरोध न सहने की हठधर्मी और पूर्वाग्रह की मानसिकता के बावजूद उन्हें भारतीय लोकतंत्र पर गर्व था. 1977 के लोकसभा चुनाव इसके सबूत हैं. वह अगर चाहतीं तो ये चुनाव कभी न होते. धर्मनिरपेक्षता, गरीबों के उत्थान, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों के विस्तार, आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के कल्याण के प्रति वह प्रतिबद्ध थीं. इन्हीं बातों ने उन्हें इतना आत्मविश्वास दिया कि जब इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो ने उनको अपने सुरक्षाकर्मियों में से बेअंत सिंह और सतवंत सिंह को हटाने की सलाह दी, तो उन्होंने ऐसा करने से इनकार कर दिया था. श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या विश्वास की मौत थी. भारतीय राजनीति का हर पक्ष आज भी इंदिरा गांधी से सराबोर है— सत्ता पक्ष भी और विरोधी थी. 31 अक्तूबर 1985 को उनकी शहादत का एक साल पूरा हो जायेगा. उनके साथ काम करनेवाले, उनके आलोचक और तटस्थ जानकार उन्हें आज किस दृष्टि से देखते हैं, *रविवार* के इस अंक में श्रीमती गांधी के व्यक्तित्व के विभिन्न पहलुओं को समेटने की कोशिश की गयी है.

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nation

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

विवादास्पद, लेकिन महान

केवल वर्मा

इंदिरा गांधी बीसवीं शताब्दी की सबसे विवादास्पद भारतीय राजनीतिज्ञ रही हैं. उनकी मृत्यु के एक वर्ष बाद भी यह संभव नहीं है कि इतिहास में उनकी जगह के बारे में कोई निष्पक्ष और आग्रहरहित बातचीत की जा सके. उनका नाम लेते ही माहौल गरम हो जाता है और उनके समर्थन या विरोध में शब्दावलियां निःसृत होने लगती हैं. लेकिन समकालीन इतिहासकार, बुद्धिजीवी, पत्रकार और राजनीतिक कर्मी चाहे जो कहे, आधुनिक भारत के इतिहास में इंदिरा गांधी को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान मिलेगा. आधुनिक भारत के निर्माण में उनका योगदान महात्मा गांधी और जवाहरलाल नेहरू से थोड़ा ही कम है. इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू और इंदिरा गांधी जो कुछ बन सके, वह भारतीय जनता के सामंती और रूढ़िवादी संस्कारों के बिना संभव न था. हमारे यहां इस बात का बहुत खयाल किया जाता है कि व्यक्ति के मां-बाप कौन हैं, उसका कुल क्या है. नेहरू ने इन स्थिति का कुछ हद तक और श्रीमती गांधी ने काफी हद तक लाभ उठाया . लेकिन परिवार और कुल की सीढ़ियों का इस्तेमाल करने के बावजूद इंदिरा गांधी में कुछ ऐसा जरूर था, जिसने उन्हें इंदिरा गांधी बनाया और इतिहास में अपनी जगह तराशने में मदद की.

श्रीमती गांधी को अपने पिता से जो कुछ मिला, उसके अलावा उनके पास अपना भी कुछ था. वे सिर्फ जवाहरलाल की बेटी नहीं हैं, यह उन्होंने अपने राजनीतिक जीवन की शुरुआत में ही दिखला दिया था. 1958 में वे कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष थीं और हालांकि उनके पिता को यह पसंद नहीं था और यही बेहतर भी था, फिर भी उन्होंने केरल की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार गिरा दी और महाराष्ट्र तथा गुजरात को विभाजित करा दिया. लेकिन जब नेहरू को अपने आसपास मौत के साये मंडराते दिखाई पड़ने लगे, उन्होंने अपना यह रुझान स्पष्ट रूप से व्यक्त कर दिया था कि वे इंदिरा गांधी के बजाय लालबहादुर शास्त्री को अपना उत्तराधिकारी बनाना चाहेंगे. इंदिरा गांधी ने भी इस मामले में कोई उत्सुकता नहीं दिखायी और शांत रहीं. शास्त्री सरकार में वे सूचना मंत्री थीं, लेकिन इसका कोई खास राजनीतिक महत्व नहीं था. और जब एक ऐतिहासिक दुर्घटना यानी ताशकंद में लालबहादुर शास्त्री की मृत्यु ने उन्हें 1966 में प्रधानमंत्री पद पर पहुंचा दिया, उनमें आत्मविश्वास की कमी साफ दिखाई देती थी.

अपने प्रधानमंत्रित्व के प्रारंभिक दिनों में इंदिरा गांधी ने अपने वामपंथ -विरोधी रुझानों का परिचय दिया. मनोविश्लेषण करने पर हम पायेंगे कि शुरू का उनका यह वामपंथ-विरोध उनके पिता नहीं, बल्कि उनके पति फीरोज गांधी के वामपंथ की प्रतिक्रिया में उपजा था. सर्वविदित है कि फीरोज गांधी से इंदिरा गांधी के संबंध तनावग्रस्त हो गये थे. यही तनाव बाद में उनके वामपंथ-विरोध के रूप में अभिव्यक्त हुए.

यही वजह है कि केरल की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार की बरखास्तगी का फीरोज गांधी जितना ही विरोध करते थे,श्रीमती गांधी इसके लिए उतनी ही उतावली होती जाती थीं. प्रधानमंत्री बनने के बाद उन्होंने जान-बूझ कर ऐसे लोगों — अशोक मेहता, सी. सुब्रह्मण्यम और लक्ष्मीकांत झा—को अपने प्रमुख सलाहकारों के रूप में चुना, जिनके बारे में मशहूर था कि वे दक्षिणपंथी और कम्युनिस्ट-विरोधी हैं. अमरीकी दमन के खिलाफ वियतनामी संघर्ष के भारतीय समर्थन को उन्होंने जान-बूझ कर कम किया और 1966 में जब अमरीका गयीं, तो तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति जॉनसन के साथ उन्होंने निजी सौहार्द भी स्थपित किया. उस वक्त श्रीमती गांधी के सम्मान में राष्ट्रपति जॉनसन ने ह्वाइट हाउस में जो पार्टी दी, वह बेहद उन्मुक्त हो गयी थी. रुपये का अवमूल्यन श्रीमती गांधी और जॉनसन के घनिष्ठ संबंधों का ही नतीजा था.

यही इंदिरा गांधी बाद में दक्षिणपंथ से एकदम विपरीत दिशा में जाने लगीं, यह उनकी शक्ति, लचीलेपन और संवेदनशीलता का परिचायक है. अपने अंतिम 15 वर्षों में यानी 1969 और 1984 के बीच उन्होंने जो भी किया या नहीं किया और जिन नीतियों पर चलीं, उन पर पांच बड़ी घटनाओं का प्रभाव था. ये घटनाएं थीं— 1969 में संजीव रेड्डी को राष्ट्रपति बनाने की सिंडिकेट की योजना, बांगलादेश की लड़ाई के बाद 1971 की चुनावी विजय, बड़े प्रेस का इंदिरा विरोधी अभियान, चिली के राष्ट्रपति अलेंदे की हत्या और 1977 की हार. इनमें से प्रत्येक घटना ने श्रीमती गांधी को कितना और कैसे प्रभावित किया, इस पर विचार करना जरूरी है.

कांग्रेस के दादा इंदिरा गांधी नाम की इस छोटी-सी लड़की को प्रधानमंत्री बनाने के बाद अपनी मुट्ठी में बंद रखना चाहते थे. उनका हर सामंतवादी था, वे सोचते थे कि इंदिरा गांधी राजकुमारी हैं और उन्हें इस बच्ची के बुजुर्ग अभिभावकों के रूप में काम करना है. ये वृद्ध जिन्हें बाद में सिंडिकेट के नाम से जाना गया, इरादे से एक मंच पर जमा हुए कि संजीव रेड्डी राष्ट्रपति बनाया जाये. यह वस्तुतः उनकी कूटरणनीति का ही एक अंग था. इस माहौल ने श्रीमती गांधी के व्यक्तित्व पर एक स्थायी छाप छोड़ी. वे अपने सहयोगियों के प्रति संदेहशील गयीं और दिल से विश्वास करती थीं कि वे हमेशा उनके खिलाफ कुछ न कुछ षडयंत्र रहते हैं. असुरक्षा की यह भावना उनकी अंतिम सांस तक उनके साथ चिपकी रही (उनके ही अंगरक्षकों द्वारा उनकी हत्या शायद इस संदेहशीलता का औचित्य भी साबित करती है).

1981 में लोकसभा में उनका दो-तिहाई बहुमत था और कांग्रेस संसदीय दल में उनके अत्यंत आज्ञाकारी सेवक ही थे, तब भी उनकी असुरक्षा का आलम यह था कि उन्होंने भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के मुख्यालय अजय भवन को फोन किया और इंद्रजीत गुप्ता को तुरंत अपने कार्यालय में आने को कहा. जब श्री गुप्ता वहां पहुंचे, तो इंदिरा गांधी ने उनसे कहा, 'संजीव रेड्डी मुझे बरखास्त करने की योजना बना रहे हैं. अगर उन्होंने ऐसा कर दिया, तो आपकी पार्टी का रुख क्या होगा ?' इंद्रजीत गुप्ता का जवाब था, 'अगर ऐसा है, तो उसके पहले ही आप संजीव रेड्डी को राष्ट्रपति भवन से निकाल बाहर कीजिए. हम आपका समर्थन करेंगे.'

हेमवतीनंदन बहुगुणा से उनका मन उस वक्त खट्टा हो गया, जब बहुगुणा उत्तरप्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री थे और उन्होंने राज्य के जिला मजिस्ट्रेटों को यह सरकुलर भिजवाया कि मुख्यमंत्री जब दौरे पर हो, तो उसका स्वागत उसी तरह होना चाहिए जैसा प्रधानमंत्री का होता है. जब श्रीमती गांधी को इसका पता चला,तो उन्होंने गुस्से में कहा, 'ये लोग अपने को ही प्रोजेक्ट करने में मशगूल हैं, दूसरों के बारे में नहीं सोचते.' 1973 में तत्कालीन वित्त राज्यमंत्री के. आर. गणेश को काले धन

CC-0. Kamla Nehru Research Institute. Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva

छापा मारने के लिए खूब वाहवाही मिली. आकाशवाणी पर रोज उनका नाम आता. फलस्वरूप इंदिरा गांधी श्री गणेश से इतनी ईर्ष्यालु हो उठीं कि खुद आकाशवाणी पर गयीं और बताया कि काले धन पर छापा मारने का श्रेय किसी और को नहीं, उन्हें ही है. उसके बाद जैसे ही मौका मिला, उन्होंने श्री गणेश को वित्त मंत्रालय से हटा दिया और बाद में तो मंत्रिमंडल से ही निकाल दिया. अपने नजदीक से नजदीक के साथियों के प्रति भी संदेहशील रहने की उनकी मानसिकता 1977 में और मजबूत हुई, जब चुनाव के पहले और बाद उनमें से अनेक लोगों ने उनका साथ छोड़ दिया.

बांगलादेश विजय के बाद 1971 में श्रीमती गांधी को चुनाव में भारी बहुमत मिला और उनकी व्यक्ति-पूजा बढ़ने लगी. इससे उन्हें लगाने लगा कि वे 'नियति-पुरुष' हैं. (दिवंगत फ्रैंक मोरेस ने, जो इंडियन एक्सप्रेस के संपादक थे, एक बार लिखा भी था कि श्रीमती गांधी के मंत्रिमंडल में एकमात्र मर्द वे ही हैं. बहुगुणा ने भी एक बार ऐसा ही कुछ कहा था, 'जब वे अपने प्रतिद्वंद्वी को ललकारने के लिए अखाड़े में उतरती हैं, तो खुद लुंगी पहन लेती हैं और अपने प्रतिद्वंद्वी को चोली पहना देती हैं.') वे मानने लगी थीं कि कांग्रेस का मतलब है इंदिरा गांधी. 'जहां राम वहां अयोध्या, इसी तरह 'जहां इंदिरा गांधी हैं, वहीं कांग्रेस है' इस उक्ति को उन्होंने दो बार चरितार्थ किया— पहले 1969 में और फिर 1977 में. बाद में यह विश्वास विकृत हो कर इस रूप में सामने आया कि इंदिरा गांधी भारत का ही पर्याय हैं. जनता को खुश करने के लिए उन्होंने बाद में जो कुछ भी कहा हो, लेकिन सच यही है कि देवकांत बरुआ की इस उक्ति से कि 'इंदिरा ही भारत हैं' वे जितना आह्लादित होती थीं, उतना किसी और बात से नहीं. नियति ने भी उनके साथ कुछ ऐसा ही खेल खेला और अपने दिमाग में यह विश्वास लिये हुए ही उन्होंने आखिरी सांस ली. अपनी मृत्यु के कुछ ही दिन पहले कहा नहीं था उन्होंने कि 'अगर मेरी हत्या भी कर दी जाती है, तो मेरे खून की हर बूंद देश की एकता की रक्षा करेगी', जो उनकी हत्या के बाद देश भर में प्रतिध्वनित भी हुआ !

श्रीमती गांधी असुरक्षा की भावना से कभी मुक्त नहीं हो पायीं छाया : धर्मवीर जयनर

व्यक्ति-पूजा को प्रश्रय देने के मामले में स्तालिन और माओ से इंदिरा गांधी का काफी साम्य था. स्तालिन और माओ की तरह उन्होंने भी पार्टी की जगह अपने व्यक्तित्व की प्रतिष्ठा की, न कि अपने व्यक्तित्व से पार्टी की शक्ति और प्रतिष्ठा को बढ़ाया (महात्मा गांधी और जवाहरलाल नेहरू इसके ठीक विपरीत थे). श्रीमती गांधी ने संगठन और सरकार के कामकाज को बिल्कुल मनमाने ढंग से चलाया. जैसे कुम्हार मिट्टी के बरतन बनाता है और वह मनोनुकूल न हुए , तो उन्हें नष्ट कर देता है, वैसे ही उन्होंने व्यक्तित्व बनाये और फिर उन्हें भूमिसात कर दिया. नेहरू नाजुक मौकों पर अनिश्चयग्रस्त हो जाते थे, लेकिन अपना वंशगत शासन बनाये रखने में श्रीमती गांधी को कभी हिचक नहीं हुई. उन्होंने यह काम बड़े भोंड़े तरीके से भी किया— पहले संजय गांधी को आगे बढ़ा क़र और बाद में, जब संजय की चिताग्नि ठंडी भी नहीं हुई थी, राजीव गांधी को आगे बढ़ा कर.

श्रीमती गांधी जिस घटना से बहुत ज्यादा प्रभावित हुईं, वह थी 1973 में चिली के राष्ट्रपति अलेंदे की हत्या. इससे उन्होंने यह निष्कर्ष निकाला कि अमरीकी तीसरी दुनिया में किसी मजबूत नेता को जिंदा नही रहने देंगे, बांगलादेश के शेख मुजीब की हत्या और पाकिस्तान के जुल्फिकार अली भुट्टो की फांसी से उनके इस भय की पुष्टि भी हुई. एक बार जब वे अपने स्टॉफ से बातचीत कर रही थीं, तो उन्होंने विषयांतर कर कह भी डाला कि अमरीकी उनकी भी हत्या कर सकते हैं, क्योंकि लुंमुबा (कांगों के नेता), अलेंदे, मुजीब और भुट्टो की हत्या के पीछे वे ही थे. इस संदेह के कारण ही भारत की भू-राजनीतिक विवशताओं की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया और विदेश नीति में तीव्र अमरीका-विरोध का तत्व लाया गया. 1971 के बांगलादेश युद्ध में श्रीमती गांधी को अमरीकी प्रशासन के गुस्से का शिकार भी होना पड़ा. अमरीका के कुछ

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प्रभावशाली संगठन जिस तरह भारतीय प्रतिपक्ष के एक हिस्से को नैतिक समर्थन दे रहे थे, उससे भी श्रीमती गांधी वाशिंगटन के और खिलाफ हो गयीं.

श्रीमती गांधी के दृष्टिकोण को जिस तीसरी चीज ने एक खास सांचे में ढाला, वह था उनके प्रति प्रेस का रवैया. भारतीय प्रेस उनसे प्यार कम करता था और घृणा ज्यादा. 1971 के चुनाव के बाद भारत के बड़े समाचारपत्रों ने उनके खिलाफ एक तरह का अभियान ही छेड़ दिया. यह वह समय था, जब वे जी-जान लगा कर सिंडिकेट से अपने अस्तित्व की लड़ाई लड़ रही थीं. श्रीमती गांधी को पूरा यकीन था कि बड़े समाचारपत्र उनके खिलाफ जो यह जिहाद छेड़े हुए हैं, उसका कारण बड़े उद्योगपति हैं. फलस्वरूप बड़े उद्योगपतियों के प्रति उनके मन में वितृष्णा पैदा हुई और उन्होंने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की वकालत करना शुरू कर दिया. श्रीमती गांधी के शासनकाल में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र जितना आगे बढ़ा, उतना जवाहरलाल नेहरू के जमाने में भी आगे नहीं बढ़ा था. श्रीमती गांधी ने राष्ट्रीयकरण ही कितना किया— 19 बड़े बैंकों का, साधारण बीमा व्यवसाय का, कोयला उद्योग का, तेल उद्योग का, 120 से भी ज्यादा कपड़ा मिलों का, तांबा संयत्र का तथा और भी पता नहीं कितनी औद्योगिक इकाइयों का. सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का दायरा इतना बढ़ा कि मोटरगाड़ी उद्योग (मारुति) और होटल व्यवसाय तक जा पहुंचा. व्यापारिक क्षेत्र में अन्न की खरीद तथा दूध के वितरण में तो वह बहुत ही आगे निकल गया. मदर डेयरी और सुपर बाजारों का ऐसा समां बंधा कि बहुत-से शहरों में लोगों की काफी आमदनी सार्वजनिक व सहकारी क्षेत्र की दुकानों पर ही खर्च होने लगी. ऐसा नहीं है कि श्रीमती गांधी ने कुछ उद्योगपति घरानों पर मेहरबानी नहीं की, लेकिन जहां भी संभव और व्यावहारिक था, उन्होंने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को ही तरजीह दी.

इस सबके बावजूद इंदिरा गांधी 1984 में वही नहीं रह गयी थीं, जो वह 1969 में थीं. उनमें दो बड़े परिवर्तन आये थे. एक, पहले उनमें निर्णय और फैसला लेने के साहस का जो स्पर्श था, वह खत्म हो गया और दो, उनमें सांप्रदायिक झुकाव भी आया. यद्यपि उन्होंने इसे कभी सार्वजनिक रूप से स्वीकार नहीं किया, लेकिन 1977 की हार ने उनके आत्मविश्वास को बुरी तरह प्रभावित

इंदिरा गांधी और लालबहादुर शास्त्री : राजनीति के शुरुआती दिन

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Funding: Tattva

जय गुरुदेव के साथ इंदिरा गांधी : बढ़ता हुआ धार्मिक अंधविश्वास

किया. 1980 की उनकी जीत का श्रेय उन्हें नहीं, विपक्ष को मिलना चाहिए. उन्हें विपक्ष की गलतियों का लाभ मिला, इसे वे भी अच्छी तरह समझती थीं और यही कारण है कि 1980 के बाद वे अपने खोये हुए आत्मविश्वास को पुनः प्राप्त नहीं कर सकीं. साथ ही, उन्होंने सार्वजनिक रूप से यह भी कभी स्वीकार नहीं किया कि इमर्जेंसी मे गलतियां हुई थीं. आत्मविश्वास की इसी कमी के कारण पंजाब में निर्णायात्मक कार्रवाई करने में उन्होंने जरूरत से ज्यादा देर की और इसका भारी खमियाजा पूरे देश को भुगतना पड़ा.

इंदिरा गांधी का वह भाषण संभवतः उनके भाषणों में सबसे अच्छा है, जो उन्होंने भिवंडी और जलगांव के सांप्रदायिक दंगों पर लोकसभा मे बहस के दौरान दिया था. इस भाषण से पता चलता है कि वे कितनी दृढ़ता से सांप्रदायिक ताकतों का मुकाबला कर रही थीं. लेकिन एक ऐसा समय भी आया, जब उनकी धर्मनिरपेक्षता कमजोर पड़ने लगी. उन्होंने इमर्जेंसी के दौरान संजय गांधी को इस बात की अनुमति दी कि वे अपने परिवार नियोजन अभियान को खास तौर से मुसलमानों के बीच ले जायें— 'उनकी देशभक्ति का इम्तहान लेने के लिए,' जैसा कि संजय गांधी कहा करते थे. जब तुर्कमान गेट के मुसलिम आबादीवाले इलाके में गोलियां चलीं, तो पी. एन हक्सर की टिप्पणी थी, 'वे आजकल जो कुछ करने दे रही हैं, उस सबको मैं समझ सकता हूं, लेकिन मुझे यह उम्मीद कभी नहीं थी कि नेहरू की बेटी मुसलमानों के खिलाफ हो जायेगी.' मुसलमानों के प्रति श्रीमती गांधी की उदासीनता मुरादाबाद के दंगों के दौरान भी प्रकट हुई. यहां तक कि जम्मू में चुनाव जीतने के लिए उन्होंने हिंदू सांप्रदायिकता को भी उभारा. इसी तरह धार्मिक अंधविश्वासों में भी उनकी श्रद्धा बढ़ती गयी. 1977 की हार और बाद मे संजय गांधी की मृत्यु ने उन्हें और भी अंधविश्वासी बना दिया. और धार्मिक अंधविश्वास तथा धार्मिक कट्टरता के बीच की विभाजन-रेखा बहुत क्षीण होती है. लेकिन यह भी स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि उन्होंने हिंदू कट्टरता के खतरे को भी पहचाना और हिंदू एकात्मता यात्रा के दौरान खिलाफ अभियान चलाया, हालांकि धार्मिक अंधविश्वास से जुड़े लोगों और आयोजनों से उनके खुले लगाव से हर तरह की सांप्रदायिकता को प्रोत्साहन मिला.

'पिता के पत्र पुत्री के नाम' (इंदिरा गांधी को जवाहरलाल नेहरू द्वारा लिखित पत्रों का संकलन) पढ़ कर पता नहीं कितने भारतीय समाजवादी बन गये, लेकिन 'पुत्री' ही नहीं बनी. इंदिरा गांधी प्रतिबद्ध समाजवादी नहीं थीं. उनके नेतृत्व में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र इसलिए फैला , क्योंकि वे निजी कारणों से पूंजीवाद के बजाय सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को पसंद करती थीं. उन्हें लगता था कि बड़े उद्योगपति उनके पीछे पड़े हैं. सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के प्रति उनकी प्रतिबद्धता भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था के समाजवादी बीजों को अंकुरित करने की इच्छा से नहीं जनमी थी. इसी तरह गरीबी हटाने के उनके कार्यक्रम वर्ग-संतुलन को गरीबों के पक्ष में करने की योजना के परिणाम नहीं थे, बल्कि चुनावी गणित की मजबूरियों से पैदा हुए थे. अमरीका के खिलाफ भी वे भारत की भू-राजनीतिक बाध्यताओं के कारण नहीं, बल्कि इसीलिए हुईं कि उन्हें लगता था कि अमरीकी उनका भी वही हाल करने जा रहे हैं, जो उन्होंने लुमुंबा, अलेंदे, मुजीब आदि का किया. इंदिरा गांधी में अपने पिता की ऐतिहासिक अंतर्दृष्टि नहीं थी, इसीलिए उन्होंने अपने व्यक्तित्व का उपयोग देश के सर्वोत्तम हित में नहीं किया.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू की धार्मिक धर्मनिरपेक्षता वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से उपजी थी और इसलिए उसकी जड़े गहरी थीं. लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी मे धार्मिक अंधविश्वास प्रबल था. अतः उनकी धर्मनिरपेक्षता एक मुलम्मा थी, जो अकसर दरक जाता था. बहरहाल, इतिहास में मूल्यांकन किसी व्यक्ति के इरादों के आधार पर नहीं, बल्कि उसके कामों के नतीजों के आधार होता है और इस लिहाज से इतिहास का फैसला यही होगा कि यद्यपि इंदिरा गांधी ने देर से कार्रवाई की, लेकिन देश की एकता के लिए उन्होंने अपनी जान भी न्योछावर कर दी. अतः उनकी जगह महान नेताओं की उस पंक्ति में होगी, जिसमें अब्राहम लिंकन जैसे लोगों को रखा गया है.

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वैसी सहृदयता और कहीं नहीं देखी–ज्ञानी जैल सिंह

राष्ट्रपति ज्ञानी जैल सिंह इंदिरा गांधी के सबसे नजदीकी लोगों में से रहे हैं. श्रीमती गांधी ने ही 1977 में ज्ञानी जी को पंजाब प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमिटी का अध्यक्ष बनाया था. बाद में श्रीमती गांधी के जोरदार समर्थन करने पर उन्हें पंजाब का मुख्यमंत्री चुना गया.

राष्ट्रपति भवन में ज्ञानी जैल सिंह की मौजूदगी अंगरेजी माहौल में देशी मिट्टी की खुशबू की तरह है. वे साफ-साफ बात कहना और सुनना पसंद करते हैं, 'इंदिरा जी की यह खासियत थी कि वे अनेक मुद्दों पर मेरी असहमति को सुनती थीं और मेरे सुझावों पर अमल भी करती थीं.' श्रीमती गांधी पर राष्ट्रपति से *उदयन शर्मा* की लंबी बातचीत के महत्वपूर्ण अंश.

□ **सवाल :** *आप श्रीमती गांधी से सबसे पहले कब मिले थे ?*

□ **जवाब :** इंदिरा जी के साथ मेरे रिश्तों की बात करीब 1950-52 से शुरू होती है. मुझे यह सौभाग्य प्राप्त था कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू मुझे अपने बच्चे की तरह प्यार करते थे. आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान ही मैं उनके नजदीक आया था. उन्हीं दिनों वे फरीदकोट आये थे. तब हम लोग फरीदकोट के रजवाड़े के खिलाफ संघर्ष कर रहे थे. पंडित जी ने खुद आ कर मुझे आशीर्वाद दिया था.

आजादी मिलने के बाद अकसर मैं पंडित जी से मिलने जाता था. जब भी मैं जाता था, तो इंदिरा जी से भी मुलाकात होती थी. वे ही उस घर में अपनी सदाबहार मुसकान के साथ स्वागत करती थीं. 1952 में पहली बार मेरी उनसे राजनीति पर बात हुई. उस दिन से अपने जीवन के अंतिम क्षण तक बिना झिझक के उन्होंने मेरी भरपूर सहायता की. मैंने उनको आखिरी बार 22 अक्तूबर 1984 की सुबह देखा था. वे मुझे पालम हवाई अड्डे पर विदा करने आयी थीं— उनके चेहरे पर वही सहृदयता थी, वही सदाबहार मुसकान थी, जो मैंने पहली बार देखी थी.

□ **सवाल :** *राष्ट्रपति जी, कुछ यादें ऐसी होती हैं, जिन्हें व्यक्ति भुला नहीं पाता. आपकी ऐसी कोई याद है ?*

□ **जवाब :** 1954 में पेप्सू से लोकसभा के लिए उपचुनाव था. मैं दिल्ली आया और तत्कालीन कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष यू. एन. ढेबर से मिला. मैंने मशविरा दिया कि कांग्रेस के टिकट पर वहां से श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को चुनाव लड़ाया जाये. मैंने इस प्रस्ताव पर श्रीमन्नारायण सहित अनेक वरिष्ठ कांग्रेसी नेताओं से बात की. मैंने इंदिरा जी से भी गुजारिश की कि वे मेरे प्रस्ताव को मान जायें. वे इसके लिए एकदम तैयार नहीं हुईं. लेकिन मेरे कहने पर उन्होंने रामकृष्ण गुप्ता के नाम का पुरजोर समर्थन किया, जबकि कई बड़े नेता अन्य नाम पेश कर रहे थे. गुप्ता एक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी थे. इन घटनाओं के बाद मैं लगातार इंदिरा जी के संपर्क में रहा. जब प्रतापसिंह कैरों की जगह कॉमरेड रामकिशन पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री हुए, मेरी मुलाकातें बढ़ गयीं. मैं इंदिरा जी के पास पंजाब की राजनीति पर विचार-विमर्श करने जाता था. 1965 में भारत-पाक युद्ध के दौरान जब फीरोजपुर बरबाद-सा हो गया था, तब वहां जानेवाली वे पहली नेता थीं. अपनी इस यात्रा में वे जब सीमा पर थीं, मैं लगातार उनके साथ रहा. मैं उनकी एक बात से उसी वक्त बहुत प्रभावित हुआ. वे सभी को बहुत ध्यान से सुनती थीं.

□ **सवाल :** *श्रीमती गांधी की सफलता और डायनेमिज़्म का रहस्य क्या था ?*

□ **जवाब :** राष्ट्रपति और प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में भी हमने आपसी सहयोग से काम किया. वे

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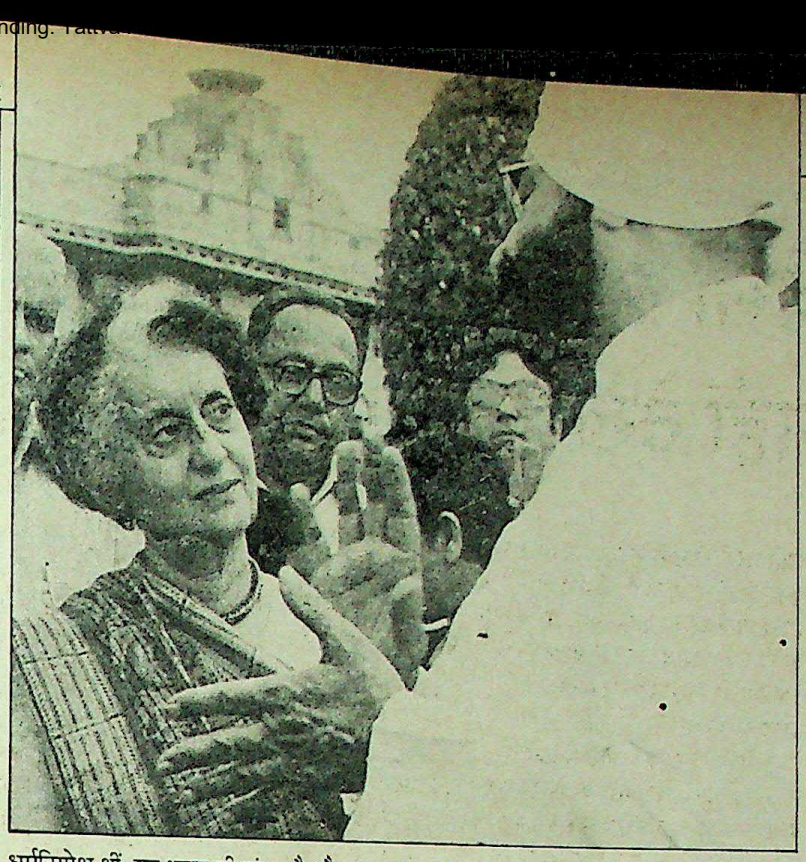
छाया : संदीप शंकर



मुझसे मिलने अकसर राष्ट्रपति भवन आती थीं. देश के हालात पर हम लोग बिना किसी लागलपेट और औपचारिकता के दिल खोल कर बातें करते थे, मैं जानता हूं कि शब्द 'डायनेमिज्म' इंदिरा जी पर खरा उतरता है. चूंकि वे खुद 'डायनेमिक' थीं, इसलिए औरों में भी उत्साह का संचार करती थीं. नैम और चोगम (गुटनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्रों का सम्मेलन एवं राष्ट्रमंडल सम्मेलन) में उनका यही गुण सर्वाधिक प्रभावी था. मानवता से गहरा लगाव और कर्तव्यपरायणता, उनके इन दो गुणों से मैं सर्वाधिक प्रभावित था. ये सभी गुण एक महान नेता में ही होते हैं और उनमें इनका संतुलित सम्मिश्रण था. हम शायद ही फिर कभी ऐसा नेता देख सकें. इंदिरा जी में गुणों की इसी विविधता ने उन्हें दुनिया का महान राजनीतिज्ञ और नेता साबित किया था.

□ **सवाल :** *आपने उनके व्यक्तित्व में मानवीय संवेदनाओं का जिक्र किया. क्या आप इस बारे में कुछ बता सकेंगे ?*

□ **जवाब :** श्रीमती गांधी के पास अद्भुत दृष्टि थी. एक नेता व शासक के लिए ये गुण अति आवश्यक होते हैं. मुझे लगता है कि उनके व्यक्तित्व की खासियत यह थी कि समग्र चीजों को ध्यान में रखते हुए भी वे छोटी-छोटी चीजों के बारे में भी खयाल रखती थीं. सभी चीजों को ध्यान में रखती थीं, लेकिन उनकी दृष्टि मूल उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने की ओर होती थी. 31 अक्तूबर की सुबह,जब मैंने सुना कि उन पर जानलेवा हमला हुआ है, तो सहसा मुझे विश्वास नही हुआ. उस समय मैं उत्तर यमन के राजकीय दौरे पर था. जैसे ही खबर आयी, सारे कार्यक्रमों को रद्द कर दिया गया और मैं तत्काल साना हवाईअड्डे की ओर रवाना हुआ. दिल्ली में उनकी मौत की खबर सुन कर मैं जड़ हो गया. मुझे उनकी मौत का गहरा सदमा पहुंचा.

एक और वाकया, जब मैं भावविह्वल हो गया था. नवंबर 1975 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने गुरु तेगबहादुर सिंह की शहादत की 300वीं वर्षगांठ पर आयोजित समारोह में उपस्थित होने की स्वीकृति दी. यह समारोह रामलीला मैदान में हुआ था, जहां पांच लाख से अधिक लोग उपस्थित थे. सभा को संबोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा, 'गुरु तेगबहादुर की शहादत सभी प्रकार के अत्याचारों व कट्टरता के खिलाफ है. कश्मीर में मेरे पुरखों ने गुरु तेगबहादुर से तत्कालीन अत्याचारों के माहौल में अपनी परंपराओं-विश्वास की रक्षा करने के लिए मदद मांगी. उन दिनों इनकी शहादत से पूरे देश का मनोबल ऊंचा हुआ , प्रेरणा मिली.' श्रीमती गांधी अपनी आस्था, सोच व व्यवहार में पूरी तरह धर्मनिरपेक्ष थीं. यह भारत की परंपरा है और श्रीमती गांधी ने इन पुरानी परंपराओं को और मजबूत बनाया.

जनता शासन के दौरान मेरे खिलाफ अनेक मुकदमे आरंभ किये गये. उस दौरान भी मैं श्रीमती गांधी के नजदीक रहा. उन दिनों मैंने काफी यात्राएं कीं. चिकमगलूर में श्रीमती गांधी का प्रचार भी किया. बंगलूर में एक सभा को संबोधित करते समय मुझे एक पत्थर फेंक कर मारा गया. मैं अस्पताल में दाखिल हुआ. श्रीमती गांधी बराबर मेरे स्वास्थ्य की जानकारी प्राप्त करती थीं व मेरे स्वास्थ्य में सुधार की शुभकामनाएं उन्होंने भेजीं.

1979 में लोकसभा के विघटन के बाद चुनाव की घोषणा हुई. संसदीय बोर्ड की बैठक में मैं उपस्थित था. मैंने पंजाब में कहीं से भी चुनाव लड़ने की पेशकश की. मुझे होशियारपुर संसदीय क्षेत्र से चुनाव लड़ने के लिए कहा गया. वहां से भारी बहुमत से मैं विजयी हुआ. चुनावों के बाद श्रीमती गांधी के मंत्रिमंडल में गृह मंत्री के रूप में शामिल हुआ. उनके स्नेह व विश्वास से मैं अभिभूत था, मंत्री के रूप में मैंने उन्हें बराबर सहृदय पाया. 1982 में राष्ट्रपति पद के चुनाव की बात आयी, तो न तो मैंने किसी से स्वयं प्रत्याशी होने की बात की और न इस पद के लिए मेरी ललक थी. फिर भी श्रीमती गांधी ने ही मेरे नाम का प्रस्ताव किया और संसदीय बोर्ड से इसे स्वीकृत कराया. यह सबसे बड़ा सम्मान था, जिसे मैं जीवन में पा सका.

निर्णय लेना किसी भी नेता के लिए सबसे कष्टदायक होता है. श्रीमती गांधी की यही महानता थी कि वे सही समय पर सही निर्णय करती थीं. इसकी बार-बार पुष्टि हुई है. चाहे राजनीतिक सवाल हों या आर्थिक समस्याएं, श्रीमती गांधी ने तत्काल सही निर्णय किये. इस कला में वे प्रवीण थीं कि उन्हें कब और क्या करना है, किस तरह करना है. चाहे वे सत्ता के बाहर हों या सत्ता में!

□ **सवाल :** *1966 में पंजाब के बंटवारे व शास्त्री जी की मृत्यु के बाद पंजाब में कांग्रेस की भूमिका के संबंध में कुछ बतायें.*

□ **जवाब :** जनवरी 1966 में शास्त्री जी की अचानक मृत्यु के समय मैं ज्ञानी गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर के साथ बंगलूर में था. यह दुखपूर्ण खबर सुन कर मैं तत्काल दिल्ली आया और सांसद इकबाल सिंह के घर ठहरा. मैं श्रीमती गांधी से मिला व उन्हें प्रधानमंत्री बनने का अनुरोध किया, जिसे उन्होंने इनकार कर दिया. मैंने उन्हें यह बताने की कोशिश की कि जब तक वे प्रत्याशी नहीं बनतीं, तब तक देश के हित के खिलाफ चीजें होंगी. अंततः जब वे प्रत्याशी बनीं, मैंने उनके लिए भरपूर काम किया. 1 नवंबर 1966 को जब पंजाब का दो हिस्सों में बंटवारा हुआ, तो श्रीमती गांधी ने मुझे पंजाब कांग्रेस कमिटी का अध्यक्ष बनाया और ज्ञानी गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर को मुख्यमंत्री. राज्य में कांग्रेस के एक गुट के विरोध के बाद भी उन्होंने ऐसा निर्णय किया. 1972 में मुख्यमंत्री बनते समय तक मैं इस पद पर रहा. इंदिरा जी के कारण ही मैं निर्विरोध मुख्यमंत्री चुना गया. मुख्यमंत्री के रूप में मेरे पूरे कार्यकाल में श्रीमती गांधी का पूर्ण सहयोग मुझे मिला.

उदयन शर्मा

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

इंदिरा को प्रधानमंत्री बनवाना कामराज की मजबूरी थी

द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र

11 जनवरी 1966 को सबेरे साढ़े पांच बजे भोपाल में मेरे घर के टेलीफोन की घंटी बजने लगी. टेलीफोन उठाया, तो मालूम पड़ा कि दिल्ली से इंदिरा गांधी का फोन है. उन्होंने ताशकंद में शास्त्री जी के अचानक निधन की सूचना दी और कहा कि मैं फौरन दिल्ली पहुंच जाऊं. सबेरे छह बजे दिल्ली से एक और टेलीफोन आया. इस बार गृह मंत्री गुलजारीलाल नंदा का टेलीफोन था. उन्होंने भी शास्त्री जी के निधन की सूचना दी और बताया कि उसी सबेरे सवा तीन बजे राष्ट्रपति राधाकृष्णन ने उन्हें कार्यवाहक प्रधानमंत्री की शपथ दिलायी है. उन्होंने भी मुझसे फौरन दिल्ली पहुंचने का आग्रह किया.

इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा मुझसे दिल्ली पहुंचने का आग्रह किये जाने से मुझे कोई आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ. शास्त्री जी के पिछले 19 माह के कार्यकाल के दौरान ही ऐसे संकेत मिलने लगे थे, जिनसे मुझे लगने लगा था कि इंदिरा गांधी उनका स्थान लेने को तैयार हैं. बंगलूर में आयोजित अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति की बैठक में उन्होंने मुझे अलग ले जा कर शास्त्री की नीतियों और प्रशासन चलाने के उनके तौर-तरीकों के बारे में गहरी नाराजगी प्रकट की थी. खास तौर पर विदेशी मामलों को निपटाने के शास्त्री के तौर-तरीकों से वह सख्त नाराज थीं. वह तो इस्तीफा देने पर भी उतारू थीं, लेकिन मैंने उन्हें सलाह दी कि उन्हें सब्र से काम लेना चाहिए.

इंदिरा गांधी के दो सहयोगियों दिनेश सिंह और इंद्रकुमार गुजराल (जिन्हें सदोबा कान्होजी पाटील, ने बाद में 'किचन कैबिनट' के सदस्य कहा था) की शास्त्री उपेक्षा कर रहे थे और ये दोनों लोग इंदिरा गांधी को लगातार उकसा रहे थे कि वह कुछ करें. अपनी पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' में उमा वासुदेव ने लिखा है कि इंद्रकुमार गुजराल, जो बाद में इंदिरा सरकार में सूचना और प्रसारण राज्य मंत्री बने, उन दिनों को याद करते हुए बताते हैं कि 'शास्त्री जी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के पूर्व के दिनों से मेरे पिता को जानते थे और इसलिए वह मेरा राजनीतिक भविष्य बनाना चाहते थे. वह मुझे राज्यसभा में लाना चाहते थे, पर जैसे ही उन्हें मालूम पड़ा कि मैं इंदिरा गांधी के साथ हूं, और शायद मैं श्रीमती गांधी के कहे पर चलूं, शास्त्री जी ने मेरी ओर से मुंह फेर लिया. इसी के साथ इस काल में नेहरू की नीतियों को उलट देने का काम भी चला. इंदिरा गांधी इस सबसे बहुत दुखी और स्वयं को अपमानित महसूस कर रही थीं, वह बहुत क्रोधित भी थीं. पर तब वह निपट अकेली थीं. उस समय के राजनीतिक विश्लेषकों का मानना था कि इंदिरा गांधी को सत्ता के केंद्र से दूर रखने की कोशिश की जा रही है. खुद श्रीमती गांधी भी इस बात को महसूस कर रही थीं.' (पृष्ठ 335).

दिनेश सिंह और इंद्रकुमार गुजराल ने एक बार मुझसे भी इस मसले पर बात की थी, पर तब मैंने उन्हें संयम से काम लेने की ही सलाह दी थी. लेकिन शास्त्री जी की मृत्यु के पहले से ही मुझे लगने लगा था कि तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों में काम कर रही राजनीतिक शक्तियों को इंदिरा गांधी अच्छी तरह पहचानने और प्रभावित करने लग गयी थीं तथा वह अधिक दिनों तक इंतजार नहीं करेंगी. शास्त्री जी की अचानक मौत से एक किस्म का संघर्ष टल गया, क्योंकि शास्त्री भी यथास्थिति को बनाये रखने के लिए कुछ संघर्ष करते और ऐसे में मोरारजी दो इलाहाबादियों के संघर्ष से फायदा उठाने में बिल्कुल नहीं चूकते.

11 जनवरी को दोपहर ढाई बजे ताशकंद से शास्त्री का शव पालम हवाई अड्डे पहुंचा. उस वक्त तक मैं दिल्ली पहुंच गया था. शास्त्री का दल भी मेरे साथ भोपाल से आया था.

जैसे ही इंदिरा गांधी को शास्त्री की मृत्यु का समाचार मिला, वैसे ही उन्होंने प्रधानमंत्री पद का अपना दावा पेश करने का निश्चय कर लिया था. साथ ही गुलजारीलाल नंदा भी दोबारा मिले इस अस्थायी पद पर स्थायी रूप से रहने के इच्छुक दिख रहे थे. माइकल ब्रेखर लिखते हैं, 'शास्त्री के निधन के दिन बाहरी तौर से लगा कि राजनीति स्थगित हो गयी है, लेकिन उस दिन परदे के पीछे कई चाले चली गयीं, कई तरह की बातें सुनने में आयीं और कई घटनाएं हुईं. इन सबसे मालूम पड़ता है कि सत्ता-प्राप्ति के लिए भारतीय नेताओं में आत्मसंयम की बेहद कमी थी. कुछ लोग तो यहां तक कहते हैं कि उत्तराधिकार का संघर्ष मंगलवार 11 जनवरी को सबेरे छह बजे से ही शुरू हो गया था.' यह बात गलत नहीं थी. नंदा ने सबसे पहले कमान संभाली. उन्होंने मध्यप्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र को सबेरे छह बजे टेलीफोन किया और उनसे पूछा कि वह दिल्ली कब पहुंच रहे हैं ? इससे भी महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि उन्होंने उसी सबेरे श्रीमती गांधी से भी पूछा कि क्या वह प्रधानमंत्री बनना चाहेंगी ? उनके मना करने पर उन्होंने श्रीमती गांधी से अनुरोध किया कि वह प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए उनके नाम का समर्थन करें. श्रीमती गांधी ने उन्हें जवाब दिया कि 'आप तो फिलहाल प्रधानमंत्री पद पर हैं ही, और आप को इस पद पर बने रहना चाहिए.' इसके साथ ही श्रीमती गांधी ने कहा कि अगर दल के अन्य नेता और गुट उन्हें समर्थन देते हैं, तो वह भी उनका समर्थन करेंगी. उसी शाम श्रीमती गांधी कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष कामराज से मिलने गयीं और नंदा से हुई बातचीत का पूरा विवरण उन्हें दिया. कामराज ने जवाब में कहा कि 'उन्हें सब कुछ ऐसे ही रहने दो, मैं कुछ और लोगों से सलाह करूंगा.

'नंदा ने इंदिरा गांधी से हुई बातचीत का यह निष्कर्ष निकाला कि वह उनको बिना किसी शर्त के समर्थन दे रही हैं. निराशा तो उन्हें तब हुई, जब दो दिन बाद उन्हें मालूम पड़ा कि इंदिरा गांधी ने अपना विचार बदल लिया है. कामराज बहुत पहले ही तय कर चुके थे कि श्रीमती गांधी ही प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त उम्मीदवार हैं. यह अलग बात है कि उन दो दिनों में और उसके बाद भी कामराज ने सार्वजनिक रूप से और यहां तक

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कि परोक्ष रूप में भी इस बात का किसी को एहसास नहीं होने दिया.' (सक्सेशन इन इंडिया, माइक्रल ब्रेखर, पृष्ठ 198).

ब्रेखर की यह बात सही है कि नंदा ने इंदिरा गांधी से हुई बातचीत से यह मान लिया था कि वह उन्हें पूरा समर्थन दे रही हैं. जब शास्त्री का शव पालम हवाई अड्डे से उनके सरकारी निवास ले जाया जा रहा था, तब नंदा मुझे अपने घर ले गये और उन्होंने मेरा समर्थन चाहा. इस बातचीत में वह इस पर भी राजी थे कि मंत्रिमंडल में दूसरे नंबर पर वह इंदिरा गांधी को रखेंगे. मैं उनके बारे में इंदिरा गांधी की राय जानता था, इसलिए उस वक्त मुझे उन पर दया आ रही थी.

लेकिन ब्रेखर का यह कथन गलत है कि कामराज ने शुरू में ही निर्णय कर लिया था कि श्रीमती गांधी ही सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त उम्मीदवार हैं और उन्होंने अगले दो या तीन दिनों तक यह बात सार्वजनिक या परोक्ष रूप से जाहिर नहीं की. कामराज के इस कथन के आधार पर कि 'अभी सब कुछ ऐसे ही रहने दो, मैं कुछ और लोगों से सलाह करूंगा', ब्रेखर ने जो निष्कर्ष निकाले हैं, वे ठीक नहीं हैं.

ब्रेखर खुद कहते हैं कि अतुल्य घोष और सिंडीकेट के अन्य सदस्य कामराज पर प्रधानमंत्री बनने के लिए दबाव डाल रहे थे. ब्रेखर द्वारा उल्लिखित 'उन दो-तीन दिनों' में एक बार भी कामराज ने किसी बातचीत के दौरान इस बारे में एक भी शब्द न हीं कहा कि वह प्रधानमंत्री पद के उम्मीदवार नहीं हैं. इंदिरा गांधी को उनका यह आश्वासन कि 'मैं कई लोगों से सलाह करूंगा' खुद कामराज के पक्ष में भी उतना ही था, जितना कि इंदिरा गांधी के.

हमें यहां यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि तिरुपति बैठक में शास्त्री को प्रधानमंत्री बनानेवालों में कामराज समेत सिंडीकेट के कई सदस्य शामिल थे. शास्त्री को नेहरू का उत्तराधिकारी बना कर सिंडीकेट के अन्य सदस्यों के मुकाबले कामराज ज्यादा हताश हुए थे. उनकी निराशा ने उन्हें इस बात का अहसास करा दिया था कि किसी को प्रधानमंत्री बनाना ज्यादा आसान है, उस पर नियंत्रण रखना बहुत कठिन है. ब्रेखर का यह कहना सही है कि उस समय कांग्रेस के लोगों में यह खतरनाक भ्रांति घर कर गयी थी कि 'अगर शास्त्री जी 19 माह तक शासन चला सकते हैं, तो हम में से कोई भी शासन संभाल सकता है.' पर वह भूल जाते हैं कि इस बात को अगर वह महसूस कर सकते थे, तो कामराज से भी यह चीज कतई छिपी नहीं रह सकती थी. कांग्रेस में पनपी इस प्रवृत्ति को उन्होंने जरूर पहचाना होगा. यह अलग बात है कि उमा वासुदेव के अनुसार, बाद में इंदिरा गांधी कामराज को 'देहाती' कहने लगी थीं. कामराज के लिए इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल सही नहीं था, यह बात वे सारे लोग स्वीकार करेंगे,जो कामराज के नजदीक रहे हैं. इस संदर्भ में हमें याद रखना चाहिए कि हमारे देश की सदियों पुरानी संस्कृति इन तथाकथित देहातियों की ही धरोहर है और इस देश के गांवों में ऐसे ढेरों लोग जन्मे हैं, जिनमें असाधारण सूझ-बूझ थी. भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष कामराज ऐसे ही व्यक्ति थे और खुद इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार ने उन्हें मरणोपरांत भारत रत्न से विभूषित किया था.

1964 में शास्त्री को प्रधानमंत्री बनवा कर कामराज की जो छवि बनी थी, वह बाद में शास्त्री द्वारा उनकी लगातार उपेक्षा किये जाने से धूमिल हो गयी थी. यहां तक कि उनके पुनः कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष बनने के प्रश्न पर भी विवाद उठ खड़ा हुआ था. मुझे अच्छी तरह याद है कि जब मैंने उनसे पूछा था कि क्या वह अध्यक्ष पद पर बने रहना चाहते हैं, तो उन्होंने मुझसे शास्त्री जी का मन टटोलने के लिए कहा. मैंने शास्त्री जी से इस बारे में पूछा, तो शास्त्री ने सबसे पहले पूछा—'क्या कामराज दोबारा अध्यक्ष बनना चाहते हैं ?' मेरे 'हां' कहने पर उन्होंने मुझसे पूछा कि इस बारे में मैं क्या सोचता हूं. तब तक मुझे यह पता नहीं था कि उन दोनों के बीच रिश्ते कितने बदल गये हैं. मेरे दिमाग में तो 1964 के कामराज की याद ही थी कि उन्होंने शास्त्री जी को प्रधानमंत्री बनवाने में कितनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभायी थी. इसलिए मैंने न सिर्फ यह कहा कि उन्हें पुनः अध्यक्ष चुना जाना चाहिए, बल्कि यहां तक कह दिया कि स्वयं शास्त्री को ही कामराज का नाम प्रस्तावित करना चाहिए. शास्त्री ने उस समय सिर्फ इतना ही कहा कि वह कामराज के फिर से अध्यक्ष चुने जाने के विरोधी नहीं हैं. बाद में उन्होंने अपने सलाहकारों की बात मानी और कामराज का समर्थन किया.

कामराज को अध्यक्ष बनाने का प्रस्ताव जब कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति में रखा गया, तो मोरारजी देसाई ने उसका जम कर विरोध किया. कार्यसमिति की बैठक में विशेष आमंत्रितों की हैसियत से आये कई मुख्यमंत्रियों ने जब

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National ...

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कामराज का समर्थन किया, तो देसाई ने व्यंग्य में कहा, 'इस बैठक में 'बहुत से' विशेष आमंत्रित हैं. यह तो उन्हीं से भरी हुई है.' मैंने मोरारजी की इस बात का विरोध किया, तो श्री देसाई ने कहा कि उनका उद्देश्य मुख्यमंत्रियों को बेइज्जत करना नहीं था. बहरहाल, अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति में उन्होंने कामराज का विरोध किया और उनके विरोध मे लंबा भाषण किया. मोरारजी हालांकि मेरे साथ मित्रवत नहीं रह गये थे, फिर भी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति की बैठक के बाद वह मेरे पास आये और उन्होंने मुझसे पूछा कि भाषण के दौरान उन्होंने कोई आपत्तिजनक बात तो नहीं कह दी थी. मैंने उनसे साफ-साफ कह दिया कि उनका भाषण 'मैं' से भरा हुआ था. उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि वह अपना जिक्र टाल नहीं सकते थे, क्योंकि वह विस्तार से बताना चाहते थे कि उनका विरोध व्यक्तिगत आधार पर नहीं है. बहरहाल, कामराज का समर्थन करने के अपने निर्णय पर शास्त्री आखिरी समय तक डटे रहे. हां, मोरारजी के विरोध से कामराज की छवि थोड़ी-सी धूमिल अवश्य हो गयी.

कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष का पद दोबारा प्राप्त करना हालांकि अपने आप में एक महत्वपूर्ण बात थी, लेकिन जब 11 जनवरी 1966 को कामराज मद्रास से दिल्ली पहुंचे, तो यह साफ हो गया कि कांग्रेस में उनका महत्व पहले जैसा नहीं रह गया था. शास्त्री के उत्तराधिकारी के प्रश्न पर सिंडीकेट में पड़ी फूट से उनकी स्थिति और कमजोर हो गयी. चौकड़ी केवल दो बातों पर एकमत थी. पहली यह कि यदि कामराज तैयार हों, तो प्रधानमंत्री पद के उम्मीदवार के रूप में उनका समर्थन और दूसरी बात यह कि हर कीमत पर मोरारजी देसाई का विरोध.

कई मुख्यमंत्रियों ने 11 जनवरी को कामराज से भेंट की थी. उस शाम मैं भी उनसे मिला. हालांकि मैं उनका मन टटोलना चाहता था कि क्या वह भी प्रधानमंत्री बनने को उत्सुक हैं, लेकिन उनसे बातचीत के दौरान केवल नंदा की उम्मीदवारी पर चर्चा हुई और वह इस मामले में इतने सतर्क थे कि नंदा के नाम पर भी उन्होंने अपनी कोई निश्चित राय नहीं जाहिर की. 11 जनवरी को नंदा दो बार कामराज से मिले और उन्होंने कामराज के सामने 1967 के चुनावों तक प्रधानमंत्री पद पर रहने का अपना दावा पेश किया . कामराज इस पर चुप रहे और उनकी इस चुप्पी को नंदा ने उनकी स्वीकृति माना. नंदा को शायद एहसास नहीं था कि संस्कृत में मौन के दो अर्थ होते हैं. एक अर्थ है स्वीकृति—'मौनं स्वीकृति लक्षणम्' और दूसरे का अर्थ है कि मौन व्यक्ति अपना भी कोई या सब हित साधने के फेर में है—'मौनं सर्वार्थ साधनम्'. तीसरी कहावत है, 'मूर्खों की शक्ति मौन में ही निहित होती है'. यह सच है कि इन कहावतों को कोई भी उस व्यक्ति पर लागू नहीं करना चाहेगा, जो दावा करता है कि उसने एक बार शास्त्री को और दो बार इंदिरा गांधी को राजमुकुट पहनाया. नंदा तो मौन का सिर्फ पहला अर्थ ही जानते थे और वह प्रसन्नचित्त हो कर कामराज के घर से लौटे.

राजस्थान के मुख्यमंत्री मोहनलाल सुखाड़िया और अतुल्य घोष में गहरी घनिष्ठता थी. शायद कलकत्ता में बसे मारवाड़ी व्यापारियों ने इन दोनों को काफी नजदीक ला दिया था. जब मैं दिल्ली पहुंचा, तो मैं इंदिरा गांधी के लिए पूरी तरह मन बना चुका था. इसी तरह घोष भी यह निश्चित करके आये थे कि कामराज को प्रधानमंत्री की गद्दी पर बैठाना है. कहा जाता है कि वह कामराज से दोस्ती निभाने के लिए ही उन्हें प्रधानमंत्री नहीं बनवाना चाह रहे थे, बल्कि उनकी मंशा यह थी कि कामराज के बाद वह खुद कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष बनना चाहते थे. 12 जनवरी को जब मोहनलाल सुखाड़िया ने घोष से मुलाकात की, तो घोष ने कामराज का नाम शास्त्री के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में सुझाया. हालांकि सुखाड़िया कभी इंदिरा गांधी के प्रधानमंत्री बनने के पक्ष में नहीं थे और बाद में इंदिरा गांधी ने उन्हें राजस्थान के मुख्यमंत्री पद से हटा दिया, लेकिन सुखाड़िया ने यह जरूर भांप लिया था कि अगर खुले मुकाबले की नौबत आयी, तो कामराज मोरारजी से हार जायेंगे और उन्हें को सिर्फ इंदिरा गांधी ही हरा सकती हैं.

इसलिए सुखाड़िया ने कामराज के नाम का विरोध तो नहीं किया, लेकिन विकल्प के तौर पर इंदिरा गांधी का नाम भी सुझाया. अतुल्य घोष यह नाम सुन कर पुलकित हो गये. उनकी खुशी का कारण यह नहीं था कि वह इंदिरा गांधी का समर्थन करना चाहते थे, बल्कि वह इसलिए खुश थे कि संभावित उम्मीदवारों में इंदिरा गांधी का नाम उन्होंने पहली बार सुना था. शायद वह सोच रहे थे कि 1964 की ही तरह इस बार भी इंदिरा गांधी इस पद में रुचि नहीं रखती होंगी. वह कामराज की उम्मीदवारी पर अपना मन बना चुके थे, इसलिए हर संभावित उम्मीदवार का नाम वह जान लेना चाहते थे. इंदिरा गांधी का मन टटोलने के लिए अतुल्य घोष ने अपने मित्र मोहनलाल सुखाड़िया को इस्तेमाल करने का निश्चय किया. ब्रेखर लिखते हैं, 'बंगाली नेता (अतुल्य घोष) ने सुझाव दिया कि इंदिरा गांधी से संपर्क किया जाना चाहिए. सुखाड़िया ने अतुल्य घोष को बताया कि इंदिरा गांधी अभी अनिर्णय की स्थिति में हैं और उन्होंने निर्णय कांग्रेसी नेताओं पर छोड़ दिया है. इस बात की तसदीक श्रीमती गांधी ने भी की. इससे यह मिथक टूटता है कि श्रीमती गांधी प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए एक अनिच्छुक उम्मीदवार थीं और बुधवार 12 जनवरी तक उनका प्रधानमंत्री बनने का कोई इरादा था.'

12 जनवरी को यशवंतराव बलवतराव चव्हाण भी अपनी उम्मीदवारी की संभावना खोजने लगे. 1960 में उत्तराधिकारी के चयन के समय यह बात स्पष्ट हो गयी थी कि मैसूर-महाराष्ट्र सीमा-विवाद (गोवा- और बेलगांव) तथा नदी विवाद में वह अपने को महाराष्ट्र से इतना जोड़ चुके कि निजलिंगप्पा और उनके कारण पूरा दक्षिण उनके खिलाफ हो गया था. यह साफ हो गया था कि यदि उन्हें उत्तराधिकार के संघर्ष में दूसरी बार उतरना है, तो उन्हें निजलिंगप्पा को अपनी ओर करना होगा. चव्हाण को सलाह पर उनके मित्र और महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री वी. पी. नाइक ने निजलिंगप्पा से भेंट की. निजलिंगप्पा ने सारी बात विनम्रतापूर्वक सुनी, लेकिन होशियार राजनीतिज्ञ नाइक भांप गये कि निजलिंगप्पा को वह राजी नहीं कर सके थे. निजलिंगप्पा ने उनसे सिर्फ यह कहा था कि 'यदि दूसरे नेताओं की रजामंदी चव्हाण के नाम पर होगी, तो मैं उनके रास्ते में नहीं आऊंगा.'

ब्रेखर लिखते हैं—'12 तारीख की दोपहर में अतुल्य घोष से मिलनेवालों में द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र भी थे. कामराज को छोड़ कर सभी रद्द किये जा चुके थे. श्रीमती गांधी का नाम अभी आया भी नहीं था.' (पृष्ठ 197). मैं पहले ही निर्णय कर चुका था कि इंदिरा गांधी की उम्मीदवारी तब तक सामने नहीं लाना है, जब तक कि मोरारजी देसाई के सिवा अन्य सारे प्रतिद्वंद्वियों की उम्मीदवारी रद्द न हो जाये. उम्मीदवारों के नाम आते और रद्द होते रहे. मैंने अतुल्य घोष से इंदिरा गांधी की उम्मीदवारी का जिक्र तक नहीं किया. इंदिरा गांधी की उम्मीदवारी के लिए कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष कामराज का समर्थन पाने के लिए मैं चिंतित था, लेकिन मैं अच्छी तरह जानता था कि जब तक स्वयं कामराज की उम्मीदवारी की बात नहीं उठ जायेगी और चर्चा के बाद उनकी उम्मीदवारी रद्द नहीं होगी, तब तक इंदिरा गांधी के लिए उनका समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं होगा. इसी बात को मद्देनजर रखते हुए मैंने अतुल्य घोष को प्रोत्साहित किया कि वह उम्मीदवारी के लिए कामराज को मनायें. ब्रेखर लिखते हैं—'और रात साढ़े नौ बजे अतुल्य कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष के पास गये और कहा कि 'आपको मंजूरी देनी ही होगी.' अतुल्य घोष के अनुसार कामराज ने प्रस्ताव अस्वीकार नहीं किया. कामराज ने अपनी आदत के मुताबिक सिर्फ यह कहा, 'हम सब मिल बैठ कर बात करें.' (पृष्ठ 197).

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कामराज ने जब इस मामले पर कोई साफ बात नहीं कही, तो 13 तारीख
सिंडीकेट की बैठक हुई. कामराज के नाम पर सभी सहमत थे, लेकिन
की अबूझ चुप्पी के कारण सिंडीकेट के सदस्यों को दूसरे नामों पर भी
चार करना पड़ा. कामराज के दो आदमियों संजीव रेड्डी और स. क.
टील के नामों पर विचार हुआ, पर ये किसी को जमे नहीं. पाटील ने नंदा
का नाम रखा और ज्यादातर सदस्य उनकी उम्मीदवार के पक्ष में थे, क्योंकि
मानते थे कि प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में नंदा उनकी बात मानेंगे. लेकिन पाटील
छोड़ कर किसी को विश्वास नहीं था कि मतदान होने की स्थिति में वह
रजी देसाई को पराजित कर पायेंगे. इंदिरा गांधी के नाम का तो जिक्र
क नहीं आया. सिंडीकेट के सदस्य उन्हें भी मोरारजी की तरह ही जिद्दी
ते थे. इस तरह, कोई निर्णय किये बगैर ही सिंडीकेट की बैठक समाप्त
गयी. उनमें से कुछ लोगों को तब भी आशा थी कि शायद कामराज
मीदवार बनने पर राजी हो जायें.

13 तारीख को मैंने यह भी सुना कि जगजीवन राम का नाम भी
मीदवारों की सूची में शामिल हो गया है. मैं 1951 से ही उनके काफी
ट रहा हूं, जब से वह पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन के समर्थन से आगे बढ़े.
तक कि उन दिनों भी, जब मैं कांग्रेस से हट गया था, मैं जब भी दिल्ली
ता, तो जगजीवन राम से मिले बिना नहीं लौटता था. जब से मैं
प्रदेश का मुख्यमंत्री बना था, उसी दिन से मेरी इच्छा थी कि वह फिर से
ीय मंत्रिमंडल में शामिल किये जायें. कामराज योजना के तहत नेहरू जी
उन्हें मंत्रिमंडल से हटा दिया था. 1964 में मेरी यह इच्छा पूरी नहीं हो
की, क्योंकि उस वक्त वह मोरारजी देसाई के समर्थकों में गिने जाते थे. इस
र में असफलता का मुंह नहीं देखना चाहता था, इसलिए दिल्ली पहुंचते
मैंने उनसे अनुरोध किया कि फिलहाल वह अपना नाम किसी उम्मीदवार
साथ नहीं जोड़ें. वह इस पर राजी हो गये. लेकिन जब मैंने सुना कि उनके
म का प्रस्ताव भी आया है, तो मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ.

ब्रेखर की यह बात सही है कि 13 तारीख को मैं जगजीवन राम से मिला
तब जगजीवन राम ने मुझसे कहा कि वह 'मध्यस्थता और
हह-समझौते का काम' करना चाहते हैं. लेकिन ब्रेखर की यह बात गलत
कि 'जगजीवन राम ने उस समय मुझसे कहा था कि वह अभी भी
रारजी के पक्ष में हैं और उन्होंने बाद में कोशिश की थी, पर असफल रहे
1964 की तरह अपना पैंतरा बदल लिया.'

स. का. पाटील से जिस दिन मेरी मुलाकात हुई, वह दिन बहुत
त्वपूर्ण था. स्वर्गीय बल्लभभाई पटेल को हम दोनों ही बहुत श्रद्धा देते थे,
लिए हम दोनों में दोस्ती थी और औपचारिक रूप से कोई बातचीत हुए
र भी हम दोनों ही चाहते थे कि जहां तक संभव हो, हम एक-दूसरे के
स्ते में नहीं आयें. सिंडीकेट के सदस्यों में पाटील पहले व्यक्ति थे,
हने भांप लिया था कि मैं इंदिरा गांधी को समर्थन दूंगा. पाटील जानते थे
इंदिरा गांधी ने किस तरीके से अपने पिता नेहरू के समय मुझे
स्थापित किया था और पाटील सोचते थे कि कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करने के
ए मैं भी उनके लिए जो संभव होगा, करूंगा.

13 तारीख को जब मैं उनसे मिला, तो पाटील ने नंदा की उम्मीदवारी की
की, तभी मैंने उन्हें याद दिलाया कि अभी दो महीने पहले ही तो वह
का मजाक उड़ा रहे थे. उन्होंने हंस कर मेरी बात टाल दी और नंदा की
मीदवारी के लिए मेरा समर्थन चाहा. मेरे इनकार करने पर उन्होंने कहा कि
ता है मैं इंदिरा गांधी का समर्थन कर रहा हूं. उन्होंने कहा कि 'मैं तुम्हें
नहीं देता. यह तुम्हारे लिए स्वाभाविक ही है कि तुम इंदिरा गांधी के प्रति
ज्ञ रहो.' मैंने पाटील की इस बात से भी इनकार नहीं किया. मैं कृतज्ञता
गुण मानता हूं. इंदिरा गांधी को मेरे समर्थन देने के सिलसिले में कृतज्ञता
पित करने की बात कुछ ज्यादा ही उछाली गयी. पर सच यह है कि जीवन के
प्रारंभिक वर्षों से ही मैं राष्ट्रीय हितों के बारे में ज्यादा सोचता रहा हूं.
संभव है 1966 में कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन की बात भी मेरे जेहन में रही हो. पर इंदिरा
गांधी को समर्थन देने के पीछे मूल कारण यह था कि वह अन्य उम्मीदवारों
के मुकाबले बेहतर थीं.

मैंने नेहरू की अंगरेजियत को हमेशा नापसंद किया. इंदिरा गांधी हमेशा
आधुनिकता और भारतीयता के बीच संतुलन बना कर चलती थीं. मेरे
विचार से उनमें यह बात उनकी मां और रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर के शांति निकेतन
के प्रभाव के कारण आयी. मार्क्सवाद के प्रति नेहरू के रुझान और भारतीय
कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के प्रति उनकी नरम नीति का भी मैं विरोधी था. इंदिरा गांधी
जब अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति की अध्यक्ष थीं, तब उन्होंने केरल में
कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के शासन को समाप्त करवा दिया था. वह अपने पिता की
तरह नहीं थीं, जो तर्क के बजाय भावना के काबू में आ कर काम करते थे.
1966 में उनके व्यक्तित्व के यही गुण मेरे सामने थे और कृतज्ञता की बात
और जुड़ी, तो मैंने इंदिरा गांधी को समर्थन देने का पक्का निश्चय कर लिया.
पर जब स. का. पाटील ने मेरे समर्थन को सिर्फ कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करने से
जोड़ा, तो मैंने उनसे कोई तर्क नहीं किया. इसके साथ ही मैं इंदिरा गांधी के
प्रति स. का. पाटील की राय भी जानता था. हां, स. का. पाटील के बारे में
मैं यह बात अवश्य कहना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने मुझ पर कोई दबाव नहीं डाला
और नंदा को समर्थन देने के लिए भी जोर नहीं दिया.

13 जनवरी को अगर 'कामराज का दिन' कहा जाये, तो अतिशयोक्ति
नहीं होगी. इस दिन अतुल्य घोष ने कामराज पर बहुत दबाव डाला कि वह
अपनी उम्मीदवारी घोषित कर दें. लेकिन 'आधी छोड़ पूरी को धावे, पूरी
मिले, न आधी पावे' की कहावत शायद कामराज के दिमाग में पैठ गयी
थी. ब्रेखर लिखते हैं, 'भारतीय राजनीति अपने शीर्ष पर कैसे कार्य करती है,
इसको जाननेवालों को यह साफ-साफ दिख रहा था कि अतुल्य घोष कांग्रेस
का अध्यक्ष बनने के लिए यह सब कर रहे थे, क्योंकि वह चुनाव का वर्ष
था, जिसमें वह अपना प्रभाव बढ़ाना चाहते थे. अतुल्य घोष कामराज का
दबदबा भी कम करना चाहते थे, यह बात कामराज समझ गये थे. इसके
साथ एक बात और थी कि यदि कामराज तब प्रधानमंत्री बनते, तो कांग्रेसी
उन पर यह आरोप लगाते कि प्रधानमंत्री बनने के लिए उन्होंने अध्यक्ष पद
के प्रभाव का इस्तेमाल किया. फिर एक और बात काबिलेगौर यह है कि
कामराज को संसद, काबीना और विश्व के सामने भाषा की कठिनाई का
सामना करना पड़ता. एक बार उनके एक सहयोगी ने साफ-साफ कहा था
कि 'वह कोई भाषा नहीं जानते हैं, इसलिए वह पढ़ भी नहीं सकते हैं.' और
तीसरे यह कि यदि कामराज प्रधानमंत्री बनते, तो हिंदीभाषी क्षेत्र देश के
तीनों महत्वपूर्ण पदों से वंचित हो जाता—राष्ट्रपति, प्रधानमंत्री और
कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष. उस समय की स्थिति में कांग्रेस यह खतरा नहीं मोल ले
सकती थी और अपनी स्थिति और कमजोर नहीं कर सकती थी. अंत में
कामराज ने घोषणा कर दी कि वह प्रधानमंत्री पद के दावेदार नहीं हैं. चुनाव
वर्ष में कांग्रेस की अध्यक्षता ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है.' (पृष्ठ 201).

चुनाव-वर्ष हो या न हो, प्रधानमंत्री का पद कितना महत्वपूर्ण है, यह
बात कामराज अच्छी तरह जानते थे. कामराज चालाकी से इस बात को
छिपाने की भरसक कोशिश कर रहे थे कि वह हिंदी और अंगरेजी नहीं
जानते हैं. इसके अलावा यह बात भी सही थी कि उत्तर भारतीयों का कांग्रेस
संसदीय दल में भारी बहुमत था और वे लोग तीनों ऊंचे पद अहिंदीभाषियों
को दिये जाने को बरदाश्त नहीं करते. कुलदीप नैयर लिखते हैं, 'कामराज के
वर्षों तक सहयोगी और तमिलनाडु में कामराज के बाद मुख्यमंत्री बननेवाले
भक्तवत्सलम ने मुझे एक और वजह बतायी. उनके अनुसार शायद कामराज
ने सोचा हो कि प्रधानमंत्री के चुनाव में मोरारजी देसाई को वह नहीं हरा
पायेंगे. जबकि उत्तरप्रदेश की इंदिरा गांधी उत्तर भारतीय होने के कारण उन्हें

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nation

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

हरा सकती हैं. (कुलदीप नैयर, इंडिया आफ्टर नेहरू, पृष्ठ 65).

कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से कामराज यदि इंदिरा गांधी का नाम प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए प्रस्तावित करते, तो यह बात इंदिरा गांधी के लिए सर्वाधिक लाभप्रद होती. लेकिन यह तभी मुमकिन था, जब कामराज खुद इस पद के इच्छुक न हों. अतुल्य के निरंतर प्रयासों ने मेरे मन में कामराज के इरादों के बारे में संशय उत्पन्न कर दिया. मैंने निर्णय किया कि मैं 14 जनवरी को सबेरे कामराज की स्थिति का पूरा पता लगा लूं, ताकि संशय की कोई गुंजाइश न रहे.

ब्रेखर इस बारे में लिखते हैं, 'मिश्र ने उस सबेरे पहल की और स्थिति का जायजा लेने के लिए अपने साथियों को मध्यप्रदेश भवन में बुलाया. सभी इस बात से सहमत थे कि यदि कामराज प्रधानमंत्री पद के उम्मीदवार बनते हैं, तो उनका समर्थन किया जाना चाहिए. इंदिरा गांधी की उम्मीदवारी का अभियान चला रहे मिश्र ने इस बैठक में इंदिरा गांधी का नाम विकल्प के रूप में सुझाया या नहीं, इसकी जानकारी नहीं है, पर बाद की घटनाओं से साफ हो गया कि मिश्र के दिमाग में यह बात थी जरूर.' (पृष्ठ 207)

उस दिन कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति की बैठक होनेवाली थी. इसलिए जरूरी था कि वस्तुस्थिति की जानकारी ले ली जाये और किसी तरह की गलतफहमियां न रहें. सुखाड़िया पहले ही कह चुके थे कि कामराज अगर उम्मीदवार नहीं होते, तो वह इंदिरा गांधी के पक्ष में हैं. चव्हाण के मुकाबले से हट जाने के बाद वी. पी. नाइक भी इंदिरा गांधी को ही समर्थन देते. इस स्थिति में मुझे कामराज के विकल्प के रूप में इंदिरा गांधी का नाम प्रस्तावित करने में कोई हिचक नहीं थी, लेकिन इस स्थिति में जरूरी था कि कामराज भी हमारी तरफ हों. इसलिए मैंने अपने साथी मुख्यमंत्रियों से कहा कि हम सबको कामराज के पास जाना चाहिए और कहना चाहिए कि हम उनकी उम्मीदवारी का समर्थन करते हैं. यदि वह इनकार कर देते हैं, तो हमें उनसे आग्रह करना चाहिए कि वह इंदिरा गांधी का समर्थन करें.

कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति की बैठक 11 बजे हुई. उस बैठक के बाद कामराज निश्चित रूप से हतोत्साहित हुए होंगे. उन्हें सर्वसम्मति से नेता चुनने का अधिकार दिया गया था, लेकिन इस बार उन्हें 1964 की तरह के अधिकार नहीं दिये गये थे कि किसी उम्मीदवार के नाम पर सर्वानुमति जानने के बाद वह कांग्रेस संसदीय दल को उसके चुनाव के लिए निर्देशित कर सकें.

समिति ने 19 जनवरी का दिन शास्त्री के उत्तराधिकारी के चुनाव के लिए तय किया था. मोरारजी और उनके साथियों ने इस निर्णय को अपनी विजय माना. कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति से कामराज को 1964 की तरह के अधिकर दिला पाने में सिंडीकेट की असफलता से एक बात स्पष्ट हो गयी कि वे लोग मोरारजी को हराने के लिए हर संभव कोशिश करेंगे. सब जानते थे कि मोरारजी को नंदा कतई नहीं हरा सकते हैं. इसलिए उनकी उम्मीदवारी पर विचार बंद हो गया. उन्हें तभी उम्मीदवार बनाया जा सकता था, जब कामराज को सर्वानुमति के उम्मीदवार की तलाश करने का अधिकार मिला होता. लेकिन चूंकि स्थिति बदल गयी थी, इसलिए नंदा की उम्मीदवारी धरी की धरी रह गयी.

कार्यसमिति की बैठक के बाद हम चार मुख्यमंत्री वी. पी. नाइक, मोहनलाल सुखाड़िया, कृष्णवल्लभ सहाय और मैं कामराज से मिलने गये. कामराज से हमारी मुलाकात के बारे में ब्रेखर लिखते हैं, 'कामराज से इन चारों की मुलाकात के बाद धुंध छंटनी शुरू हो गयी. इस मुलाकात में कामराज ने कहा कि वह किसी अन्य पद के मुकाबले कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष पद को ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण मानते हैं. उनसे पूछा गया कि क्या यह अंतिम निर्णय है ? क्या हम अखबारवालों को बता दें ? कामराज का जवाब था, 'हां'. इसके बाद उन्होंने एक-एक मुख्यमंत्री से अलग-अलग बात की. मिश्र और सुखाड़िया से कामराज ने कहा कि नंदा की कोई संभावना उन्होंने अपनी तरफ से किसी का नाम नहीं लिया. क्या उनके पास कोई उम्मीदवार था भी ?' (पृष्ठ 207).

लेकिन सच यह है कि कामराज ने अपनी पसंद के बारे में मुझे जरूर दिया था और मैं सोचता हूं सुखाड़िया को भी इस बारे में उन्होंने किया ही होगा. मैं तो वैसे भी कामराज के उम्मीदवार न बनने की इंदिरा गांधी के लिए उनका समर्थन मांगने उनके पास गया था. उम्मीदवार होने से उनके इनकार करने और नंदा की निराशाजनक संभावनाओं की बात सुन कर मैंने उनसे सीधे-सीधे पूछा कि क्या गांधी की उम्मीदवारी का समर्थन करेंगे ? उनकी स्वीकृति के बाद ने यह तय किया कि इंदिरा गांधी की उम्मीदवारी पेश करने के लिए और क्या किया जाना चाहिए. मेरे इस सुझाव को कामराज ने फौरन लिया कि इंदिरा गांधी के समर्थन के लिए मुख्यमंत्रियों की बैठक जाये. अब हमें सिंडीकेट के सदस्यों की इस कमजोर नस का पता था कि वे मोरारजी के खिलाफ उम्मीदवार का चुनाव नहीं कर पा रहे अभी भी बहस चल रही है. कामराज इस संभावना से प्रसन्न थे कि गांधी को मुख्यमंत्रियों का समर्थन मिल सकता है. कामराज ने कि मुख्यमंत्रियों की बैठक मैं तभी बुलाऊं, जब मुझे उनकी (कामराज) ओर से इस आशय का संदेश मिले.

कामराज का प्रतीक्षित संदेश मुझे सुब्रह्मयम ने दिया. इस बैठक में और उसके परिणामों के बारे में ब्रेखर लिखते हैं; 'क्या यह शक्ति कामराज ने आयोजित किया था ? कामराज ने बैठक के बारे में अ प्रकट की. सिर्फ उन्होंने ही नहीं, बल्कि इंदिरा-अभियान की पहल मिश्र समेत ज्यादातर लोगों ने यही कहा कि उन्हें बैठक के बारे में नहीं था. हालांकि बाद में मध्यप्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री मिश्र ने बताया कि जब लगा कि अब समय आ गया है, तो उन्होंने सभी मुख्यमंत्रियों टेलीफोन किया और कहा कि वे खुली बातचीत के लिए मिलें. समय तक मोरारजी के समर्थक रहे थे, पर उत्तराधिकार के प्रथम मध्यस्थता की कोशिशों के दौरान गैर-वफादारी करने का आरोप उन पर लगाया था. इसके अलावा मिश्र इंदिरा गांधी के प्रति कृतज्ञ थे कि उन्होंने मिश्र को 1963 में राजनीतिक निर्वासन से

'बैठक में उपस्थित नौ मुख्यमंत्रियों (आंध्रप्रदेश, बिहार, जम्मू कश्मीर, मध्यप्रदेश, मद्रास, महाराष्ट्र, मैसूर, उड़ीसा और राजस्थान) सहाय को छोड़ कर सभी इस बात पर सहमत हो गये थे कि हमें के पास जा कर इंदिरा को समर्थन देने की सूचना देनी चाहिए. गुटबंदी में फंसी अपनी पार्टी के सहयोगियों से बातचीत करने का चाहा. मिश्र का कहना था कि सारी जिम्मेदारी कामराज पर ही क्यों जाये, हमें भी जिम्मेदारी लेनी चाहिए. उड़ीसा के मुख्यमंत्री तैयार थे भी पटनायक की सलाह लेना चाहते थे. उड़ीसा की राजनीति में का महत्व काफी था. उन्होंने सलाह ली और उन्हें जवाब हां में मिला वह भी प्रतिनिधिमंडल में शामिल हो गये. निजलिंगप्पा ने बैठक के ही स. का. पाटील को फोन किया और वह भी मान गये. उन्होंने टेलीफोन किया. अब उच्च स्तर पर जोड़-तोड़ पूरी हो चुकी थी. बात यह थी कि मुख्यमंत्रियों की इस बैठक में खाद्य मंत्री सुब्रह्मण्यम उपस्थित थे. वह मिश्र से खाद्य स्थिति के बारे में बातचीत करने और जब मुख्यमंत्री इकट्ठे होने शुरू हुए, तो वह वहीं थे. इसलिए अनुरोध किया गया कि वह भी बैठक में शामिल हो जायें.'

'जब बैठक खत्म हुई, तो पत्रकारों की भीड़ वहां जुट चुकी थी. मुख्यमंत्रियों का प्रतिनिधिमंडल कामराज के घर की तरफ जा रहा था. नाइक ने पत्रकारों को बता दिया कि हम इंदिरा गांधी के पक्ष में हैं.

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva

सारे शहर में फैल गयी. प्रतिनिधिमंडल जब कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष के पास पहुंचा, तो आश्चर्य व्यक्त करते हुए उन्होंने पूछा 'क्या मामला है ?' मुख्यमंत्रियों ने कामराज को अपने फैसले की जानकारी दी. कामराज ने इस पर हामी भरी. प्रतिनिधिमंडल की तरफ से मिश्र ने कहा, 'हमने भरसक कोशिश की है कि हम इस विषय को प्रचारित न करें. अब आप जो करना चाहें, कीजिए.' कामराज ने कहा कि वह दोपहर में इस बारे में प्रेस से बात करेंगे और उन्होंने ऐसा किया भी. उन्होंने घोषणा की कि लगभग सभी मुख्यमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी के पक्ष में हैं, लेकिन उस समय भी उन्होंने अपनी पसंद बताने से इनकार कर दिया (यह रणनीति की दृष्टि से सही था). उन्होंने मुख्यमंत्रियों के निर्णय को मद्देनजर रखते हुए आशा प्रकट की कि उम्मीदवार सर्वसम्मति से तय हो जायेगा. शाम होते-होते बंगाल, पंजाब और हिमाचल प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्रियों ने भी इंदिरा गांधी को समर्थन देने की घोषणा कर दी. सहाय भी सलाह-मशविरा कर अपनी स्वीकृति दे चुके थे. इस तरह 14 में से 12 मुख्यमंत्री श्रीमती गांधी के पक्ष में थे. मोरारजी के गृह राज्य गुजरात और उत्तरप्रदेश की मुख्यमंत्री सुचेता कृपालानी, जो मोरारजी के साथ थीं, ही इस फैसले से अलग थे. चंद्रभानु गुप्त इस विवाद में नहीं पड़े.'(पृष्ठ 211-12).

बाकी उम्मीदवारों के हट जाने के बाद अब मोरारजी देसाई और इंदिरा गांधी के बीच सीधा मुकाबला था. वैसे अगले तीन दिनों तक मोरारजी देसाई सभी से कहते फिर रहे थे कि वह जीतनेवाले हैं, पर उनके समर्थक भी यह मान चुके थे कि वह दूसरी बार भी मुंह की खायेंगे. निराशा के दौरान वह यह तर्क देने लगे कि इंदिरा गांधी तो मुख्यमंत्रियों की उम्मीदवार हैं, जबकि वह सांसदों के उममीदवार हैं और लोकतंत्र के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हैं.'

'और 19 जनवरी का दिन आ ही गया. जब पहली बार हिंदुस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री के पद के लिए चुनाव हुआ. सुबह 11 बजे बैठक शुरू हुई. कामराज उठे और उन्होंने प्रारंभिक मुद्दों पर चर्चा की और कहा कि 'मैं आप लोगों से उम्मीदवारों के नाम प्रस्तावित करने का अनुरोध करता हूं.' मैसूर के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री हनुमंतैया उठे और मंच तक पहुंचे. उन्होंने मोरारजी का नाम प्रस्तावित किया. राजस्थान के सदस्य टीकाराम पालीवाल ने उनके प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन किया. कार्यवाहक प्रधानमंत्री गुलजारी लाल नंदा अपना नाम प्रस्तावित होते हुए देखना चाहते थे, पर यह तो संभव हो नहीं सका, तो उन्होंने इंदिरा गांधी का नाम प्रस्तावित कर दिया. संजीव रेड्डी ने उनके प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन किया. बाद में संजीव रेड्डी को ले कर ही इंदिरा गांधी और सिंडीकेट में विवाद छिड़ा था.

'इसी समय राजस्थान के सदस्य दीवान चमनलाल ने सर्वसम्मति की बात कही और इंदिरा गांधी को सर्वसम्मति से नेता चुनने का आग्रह किया. लेकिन सभा में उपस्थित कुछ लोगों ने तेज स्वर में 'ना-ना' की हांक लगायी. इसके बाद मतदान प्रारंभ हो गया. समय गुजरने लगा और उत्सुकता बढ़ने लगी. बाहर भीड़ की बेचैनी बढ़ती जा रही थी.'

दोपहर में 1 बजे मतदान समाप्त हुआ और कामराज के सामने रखी मतपेटी को गिनती के लिए ले जाया गया. हर व्यक्ति को इंतजार था. थोड़ी देर बाद रक्षा मंत्री चव्हाण ने संसदीय कार्य मंत्री सत्य नारायण सिन्हा से मजाक में कहा कि या तो वह कोई गाना गायें या फिर कोई मजेदार घटना सुनायें. सिन्हा ने मुंह बना कर जवाब दिया, 'भूखे भजन ना होय कृपाला.' तीन बजने के कुछ देर बाद चुनाव अधिकारी गोविंद स्वरूप पाठक मंच की ओर आते दिखायी दिये. उन्होंने स्पष्ट रूप से घोषणा की कि 'मैं श्रीमती गांधी को निर्वाचित घोषित करता हूं.' इंदिरा गांधी के पक्ष में 335 मत पड़े थे और मोरारजी को 169 मत मिले थे. इंदिरा गांधी दो-तिहाई मतों से विजयी हुई थीं और देश उन्हे चलाना था. एक पल के लिए वह इसे जैसे सच नहीं मान पायीं. महात्मा गांधी, तिलक, गोखले, मोतीलाल नेहरू और स्वयं उनके पिता जवाहरलाल नेहरू के बड़े-बड़े चित्र हॉल की चक्राकार

प्रधानमंत्री चुने जाने के बाद इंदिरा गांधी रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

दीवारों से झांक रहे थे. अब वह भी इसका हिस्सा थीं. तभी तालियों की गड़गड़ाहट गूंजी, उनकी गरदन मालाओं से भर गयी और बधाई और शुभकामनाएं देनेवालों का तांता लग गया. वह मोरारजी के पास गयीं और उन्होंने उनका आशीर्वाद मांगा.

बाहर किसी ने चिल्ला कर पूछा, 'लड़की या लड़का'. सत्यनारायण सिन्हा ने जोर से कहा, 'लड़की'

इस तरह 12 साल बाद वह उस विजय-स्तंभ पर पहुंचीं, जिसके लिए उनके पिता ने 1954 में रास्ता तैयार किया था, जब उन्होंने तत्कालीन कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष यू. एन. ढेबर से कह कर इंदिरा गांधी को कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति का सदस्य मनोनीत करवाया था. अपनी हार के बाद ब्रेखर से मोरारजी देसाई ने गलत नहीं कहा था कि 'अगर ये दोनों लोग(कामराज और मध्यप्रदेश के मिश्र) एक चीज तय कर चुके हों और बाकी लोग अनिश्चय की स्थिति में हों, तो यही दोनों जीतेंगे.' (पृष्ठ 232). लेकिन यह जीत, दरअसल, नेहरू की उस आकांक्षा की थी, जो उन्होंने अपनी बेटी के लिए की थी. और कामराज व मैंने इस आकांक्षा की पूर्ति के लिए काम किया. नेहरू जी ने अपनी मौत के पहले क्या कामराज को कांग्रेस -अध्यक्ष के ऊंचे पद तक नहीं चढ़ाया था और कामराज योजना के तहत उन्होंने मध्यप्रदेश का मुख्यमंत्री बनने के लिए क्या मेरा रास्ता नहीं साफ किया था ?□

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nation

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1969 के राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव ने कांग्रेस विभाजन के बीज बोये

अतुल्य घोष

1969 में हुए राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के बाद कांग्रेस विघटन के कगार पर पहुंच चुकी थी. 25 अगस्त को हुई कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति की बैठक में इंदिरा समर्थकों एवं बुजुर्ग कांग्रेसियों के बीच तात्कालिक तौर पर एक समझौता हो गया. लेकिन यह समझौता अधिक दिनों तक नहीं टिक सका, क्योंकि कांग्रेसजनों के भीतर एक आपसी अविश्वास का माहौल बन गया था. ऐसे में पूरे घटनाक्रमों को तटस्थ भाव से समझना आवश्यक है.

बंगलूर में कांग्रेस के केंद्रीय संसदीय बोर्ड ने राष्ट्रपति के पद के लिए संजीव रेड्डी को कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी चुना था. बोर्ड की बैठक में इस मुद्दे पर निर्णय लेने के लिए सामान्य प्रक्रिया अपनायी गयी थी. यह प्रक्रिया 1967 में भी अपनायी गयी थी, जब डॉक्टर जाकिर हुसेन को राष्ट्रपति पद के लिए कांग्रेस का प्रत्याशी बनाया गया था. उस समय कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष चाहते थे कि डॉक्टर राधाकृष्णन राष्ट्रपति पद पर बने रहें, जबकि प्रधानमंत्री डॉक्टर जाकिर हुसेन को राष्ट्रपति बनाने के पक्ष में थे. विपक्षी दलों में भी डॉक्टर राधाकृष्णन के नाम पर सहमति थी. अंत में केंद्रीय संसदीय बोर्ड ने डॉक्टर जाकिर हुसेन को ही प्रत्याशी चुना और कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष तथा अन्य लोगों ने भी इस निर्णय को खुशी-खुशी स्वीकृति दे दी. (मैं 1967 की केंद्रीय संसदीय बोर्ड की बैठक के बारे में बड़े विश्वास के साथ सब कुछ कह सकता हूं, क्योंकि उस समय मैं भी बोर्ड का एक सदस्य था).

संजीव रेड्डी का राष्ट्रपति पद के लिए नामांकन भी इसी प्रक्रिया के तहत किया गया, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी इस निर्णय से संतुष्ट नहीं थीं. केंद्रीय संसदीय बोर्ड की बैठक के तत्काल बाद हुए एक पत्रकार सम्मेलन में उन्होंने अपना असंतोष भी जाहिर कर दिया. इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने इस पत्रकार सम्मेलन में यह आरोप भी लगाया कि समाजवादी नीतियों और खास कर आर्थिक नीतियों के पालन में कांग्रेस के कुछ भीतरी लोग (अर्थात वरिष्ठ नेता) सरकार का समर्थन नहीं कर रहे.

मैं राष्ट्रपति पद के लिए नामजद व्यक्ति के चयन पर प्रधानमंत्री के दुख और चिढ़ की बात समझ सकता था, लेकिन इस मुद्दे को सामाजिक-आर्थिक नीतियों से जोड़ना वाकई भ्रम में डालता था. मेरे लिए यह समझना कठिन था कि आखिर इन दोनों चीजों का आपस में एक-दूसरे से क्या संबंध हो सकता है.

जहां तक मुझे याद आता है, 1963 में कामराज, मैं तथा दूसरे लोग चाहते थे कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये. पंडित जी ने हमें बताया था कि यह काम बाद में किया जायेगा. 1964 में एक बार फिर यह सवाल उठाया गया, लेकिन इस पर तत्कालीन वित्त मंत्री ने सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार नहीं किया. (1964 में मोरारजी देसाई मंत्री नहीं थे) यहां एक दिलचस्प बात उल्लेखनीय है कि 1 अगस्त 1964 को, पश्चिम बंगाल विधानसभा ने डॉक्टर प्रतापचंद्र चंदर द्वारा लाया गया एक प्रस्ताव सर्वसम्मति से पारित किया था. इस प्रस्ताव में भारत सरकार से उचित समय में निजी बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने का अनुरोध किया गया था. इन तथ्यों को आज याद कर सकते हैं, यह सिद्ध करने के लिए नहीं कि हम बहुत प्रगतिशील हैं. मैं यह भी नहीं मानता कि महज इस तरह के प्रस्ताव पारित कर लेना ही समाजवाद पा लेना है. लेकिन चूंकि यह हवा बड़ी तेजी से उड़ायी गयी थी कि दल के भीतर की वे प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियां ही, जिन्होंने बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का विरोध किया था, संजीव रेड्डी का समर्थन कर रही हैं. ऐसे में एक बार सभी के लिए उपर्युक्त बैठकों का संदर्भ दे कर इन धारणाओं का स्पष्टीकरण जरूरी था.

बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण भारत सरकार के लिए कोई नया कार्य नहीं था. वर्षों पूर्व 1955 में इंपीरियल बैंक का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके स्टेट बैंक की स्थापना की गयी थी. व्यावसायिक बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की आवश्यकता इसलिए महसूस की गयी थी कि सरकार उत्पादनोन्मुखी पूंजी निवेश नीति का अनुसरण करना चाहती थी.

राष्ट्रपति चुनाव के संबंध में एक और महत्वपूर्ण सवाल उठाया गया — राजनीतिक दलों में अनुशासन का. इस मामले में एक चीज तो बिल्कुल साफ है कि जब दल के कुछ सदस्य दल के निर्णय का उल्लंघन करते हैं, तो इसे अनुशासनहीनता का मामला माना जाता है और इसे इसी परिप्रेक्ष्य में निपटाना चाहिए, लेकिन जब दल के सदस्यों का बड़ा हिस्सा दल के निर्णय के खिलाफ हो जाता है, तो यह समस्या सिर्फ अनुशासनहीनता की समस्या नहीं रह जाती, बल्कि यह तो दल के नेतृत्व के प्रति सदस्यों के खुला विद्रोह होता है. राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के मामले में तो सरकार के कुछ वरिष्ठ सदस्यों द्वारा ही सदस्यों को दल के निर्देशों की अवमानना के लिए भड़काया गया था. अंतरात्मा की आवाज पर मतदान की स्वतंत्रता की मांग इस आरोप के आधार पर की गयी थी कि कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष ने जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी से बातचीत की है, जो भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के आदर्शों और कार्यक्रम के विरोधी हैं. इस संबंध में इस तथ्य को ध्यान में रखना जरूरी है कि इन दलों से कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष की यह बातचीत 5 अगस्त को हुई संसदीय दल की बैठक से पहले ही हुई थी.

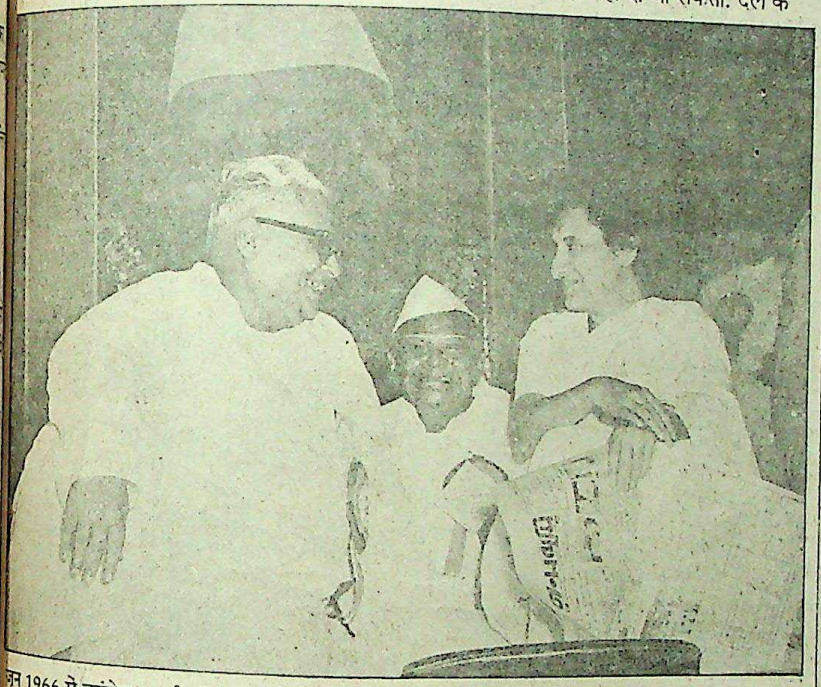
उस बैठक में कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष ने, दूसरे दलों से अपनी बातचीत के बारे में पूरा वक्तव्य दिया और 11 अगस्त तक दल के किसी सदस्य को उसमें एतराज करने जैसी कोई बात ही नहीं दिखी. कोई एतराज भी नहीं हुआ. सबसे बड़ी हैरत की बात तो यह है कि 11 अगस्त की रात को ही कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष के पास ऐसे पत्र भेजे गये, जिनमें जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी से कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष की बातचीत का विरोध किया गया था और स्वतंत्र रूप से मत देने का अधिकार मांगा गया था. यह बात किसी की समझ में नहीं आयी कि अधिकांश सदस्य कांग्रेस संसदीय दल की बैठक में क्यों खामोश रहे और इन्होंने केवल जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी का नाम ही क्यों लिया, जबकि कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष ने और भी दलों डी. एम. के., मुस्लिम लीग, संत फतेह सिंह, बी. के. डी., जन संघ और पी. एस. पी. से भी बात की थी. उन्होंने संसद के सभी विरोधी दलों, जिसमें दो कम्युनिस्ट गुट भी शामिल थे, को पत्र भी भेजे. कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष के विरुद्ध लगाया गया यह आरोप है कि उन्होंने सांप्रदायिक तथा प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों से गंदा गंठबंधन किया है, उद्देश्यप्रेरित था.

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattva

बात कार्यसमिति द्वारा सर्वसम्मति से पारित उस प्रस्ताव से भी सिद्ध हो गयी थी, जिसमें कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष पर लगाये गये आरोपों को तर्कहीन करार दिया गया था. इस प्रस्ताव में लिखा है, 'कार्यसमिति का मत है कि कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष के विरुद्ध लगाये गये आरोप, उस वक्त उपलब्ध सूचनाओं पर आधारित गलत अनुमान पर लगाये गये थे, इसलिए ये तर्कहीन है,' (25 अगस्त 1969 की कांग्रेस कार्य समिति की बैठक में सर्वसम्मति से पारित).

राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव को ले कर एक और अनोखा मुद्दा बहुतों के लिए चिंता का कारण बन गया था कि जब प्रधानमंत्री ने संजीव रेड्डी के नामांकन पत्र में दस्तखत कर दिये थे, तो फिर वह चुनाव में उनके खिलाफ काम कैसे कर सकती



जून 1966 में कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति की बैठक में श्रीमती गांधी व अतुल्य घोष

है ? यह तो साफ तौर से लोकतांत्रिक नियमों और आचरणों का सीधा उल्लंघन था. वस्तुतः हमारे बहुत से साथियों ने सोचा था कि अध्यक्ष द्वारा जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी से अपने संवाद के बारे में, दल की बैठक में उस स्पष्टीकरण के बाद जो खुद प्रधानमंत्री ने स्वीकारा था, वह कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी का समर्थन करेगी.

इस संदर्भ में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि 25 अगस्त को कार्यसमिति की बैठक में, कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष द्वारा विरोधी दलों से अपने संवाद के बारे में दिये गये स्पष्टीकरण को जगजीवन राम और फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद ने भी संतोषजनक पाया था. लेकिन हैरत की बात यह है कि यही स्पष्टीकरण उन्हें चुनाव के समय संतोषजनक नहीं लगा. अब मैं इस प्रसंग के विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता. वैसे, यह बात आसानी से साबित की जा सकती है कि उस वक्त राष्ट्रपति पद के कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी श्री रेड्डी को कूटनीतिक छल से हराया गया था. वह कौशल, जिस पर कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के खिलाफ पूरा प्रचार अभियान आधारित था, 25 अगस्त की कार्यसमिति की बैठक में पूरी तरह से ध्वस्त हो गया और 'विवेक के अनुसार मत देने' के समर्थन में आगे बढ़ी दलील ने भी यहीं घुटने टेक दिये. इस तरह से जहां तक दलीय अनुशासन के मुद्दे का सवाल है, उसे उपर्युक्त सारे तथ्यों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ही आंकना चाहिए. वाकई दल के बहुत-से सदस्यों ने दल के निर्देशों का उल्लंघन किया था, लेकिन जिस तरीके से यह सामूहिक उल्लंघन हुआ, उसे विद्रोह का स्वरूप या संज्ञा नहीं दी जा सकती. दल के निर्देशों का उल्लंघन उस एक नारे के आधार पर किया गया था, जिसे बाद में उन्हीं लोगों ने बेबुनियाद करार दिया था, जिन्होंने यह नारा लगाया था. कांग्रेस कार्यसमिति के इस प्रस्ताव की विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में तरह-तरह से आलोचना की गयी, लेकिन एक बात पर सभी एकमत थे कि— यह प्रधानमंत्री की विजय तथा कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष व अन्य लोगों का आत्मसमर्पण था. (दरअसल, राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के बाद इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस के बुजुर्ग नेताओं में एक समझौता हो गया था, जो बहुत कम समय तक चला और अंततः नवंबर 69 में कांग्रेस टूट गयी. लेखक का संकेत उसी समझौते की ओर है.)

अब सवाल यह उठता है कि आखिर इससे कौन-सा मुद्दा जुड़ा था ? मुद्दा यह था कि सदस्यों को अपने विवेक के अनुसार मत देना चाहिए या दल के निर्देशों के अनुसार. यदि कार्य समिति विवेक के अनुसार मत देने के सिद्धांत का अनुमोदन कर देती, तो उससे कई अवश्यंभावी परिणाम सामने आते. होता यह कि इसके बाद से, कांग्रेस विधायकों के लिए संसद के ऊपरी सदन और राज्य विधानमंडल के चुनावों में मतदान के लिए दल के निर्देश मानने की बाध्यता नहीं रह जाती. तब बजट अनुदान या संसदीय समिति के चयन में मतदान करते वक्त भी उनके लिए दल के मुख्य सचेतक का आदेश अनिवार्य नहीं रह जाता. अगर इसे किसी दल की संसदीय लोकतंत्र की अवधारणा के अनुकूल विजय माना जाये, तो इसमें कोई एतराज नहीं हो सकता. और अगर कार्यसमिति का प्रस्ताव विजय को कुछ लोगों तक ही सीमित रखता है, तो इसे कांग्रेस के एक गुट के लोगों की दूसरे गुट के लोगों पर विजय माना जायेगा. इससे कांग्रेस की नीतियां या कार्यक्रम प्रभावित नहीं होते. उस वक्त राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव ने यह साबित कर दिया था कि भ्रम और कुप्रचार के वातावरण के बावजूद पार्टी के 75 प्रतिशत विधायकों और 65 प्रतिशत सांसदों ने कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के पक्ष में वोट दिया था.

किसी भी लोकतांत्रिक दल के लिए अनुशासन का प्रश्न काफी मायने रखता है और यह अनुशासन और कुछ नहीं दल के सदस्यों के लिए तैयार एक आचार संहिता है, जो उनकी मौन सहमति के आधार पर, अनिवार्य रूप से स्वतः उन पर लागू होती है. जब खुद अपने ही वचन को भंग करने का प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता हो, तो फिर कोई संगठन अपने सदस्यों पर कैसे अनुशासन लागू कर सकता है ? इस स्थिति में बस एक ही रास्ता था— भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस को भंग करना. ऐसे में कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष ने जो भी किया, कांग्रेस के संविधान , उसकी भावना को ध्यान में रखते हुए, संसदीय पद्धति में काम करनेवाले किसी लोकतांत्रिक दल के लिए स्वीकृत मानकों के अनुसार ही किया. यह इतिहास बतायेगा कि कौन सही था और कौन गलत, पर इस मामले के सभी पक्षों पर गौर करने से यह ज्ञात होता है कि कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष सही थे. यह बात भी बड़ी उत्साहजनक है कि अनेक बाधाओं के बावजूद, राज्य विधायिका और संसद के कांग्रेस सदस्यों के बहुमत ने कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी को वोट दे कर कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष पर अपना विश्वास प्रकट किया था. इस मतदान का असर यह हुआ कि इसके बाद प्रधानमंत्री सदन में अल्पमत दल की नेता रह गयीं, जबकि विभाजन के पूर्व वे उस दल की नेता थीं, जिसका संसद के दोनों सदनों में स्पष्ट बहुमत था.□

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

मैं इंदिरा गांधी के साथ क्यों आया

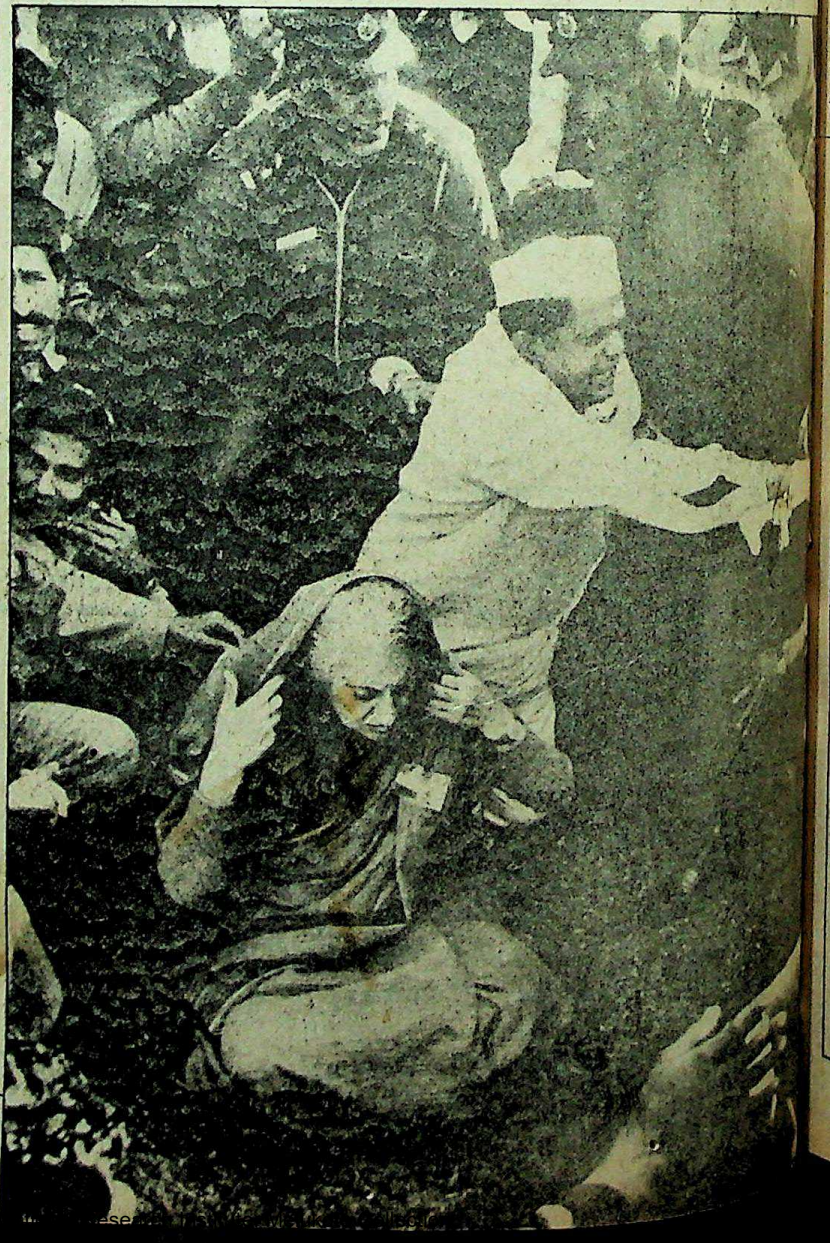
आरिफ मुहम्मद खां

जब मैं कांग्रेस मे शामिल हुआ, तब श्रीमती गांधी भारत की प्रधानमंत्री नहीं, बल्कि मुख्य विपक्षी दल कांग्रेस (इं) की अध्यक्ष थीं. 1977 मे पराजय के बाद श्रीमती गांधी को न केवल सत्ता से अलग होना पड़ा था, बल्कि अनेक आरोपों और आयोगों का भी वह सामना कर रही थीं. मुझे अच्छी तरह याद है,जब 1978 मे मैं कांग्रेस मे शामिल होने का अनुरोध ले कर उनके निवास पर पहुंचा, तो उन्होंने मुझे तरह-तरह से समझाने की कोशिश की कि कांग्रेस मे आने का मतलब अनेक कठिनाइयों और परेशानियों का सामना करना है. मेरे आग्रह करने पर उन्होंने कहा कि मैं अपने फैसले पर पुनर्विचार करूं, लखनऊ जाऊं और कुछ दिन बाद यदि मैं अपने फैसले पर स्थिर रहूं, तो फिर वह मुझे कांग्रेस में शामिल कर लेंगी.

बातचीत के दौरान मैं उनसे यह कह चुका था कि आप अगर मुझे कांग्रेस का सदस्य नहीं बनायेंगी, तो भी 'इंदिरा गांधी जिंदाबाद' कहने से नहीं रोक सकतीं. आज जब मैं उस मौके को याद करता हूं, तो श्रीमती गांधी के व्यक्तित्व का यह पहलू मुझे अत्यंत प्रभावी और आकर्षक नजर आता है. ऐसे समय मे जब वह तत्कालीन सरकार के खिलाफ अनेक मोरचों पर संघर्ष कर रही थीं, उस वक्त भी वह इस बात को सुनिश्चित कर लेना चाहती थीं कि मेरे कांग्रेस मे शामिल होने का फैसला जल्दबाजी या भावावेश के कारण तो नहीं है.

1977 मे जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनने और उसमें उप मंत्री बनने के तीन महीने के भीतर ही जनता पार्टी से मेरा मोहभंग हो गया. जब मैंने मंत्रिमंडल से त्यागपत्र दिया, तो अपने उस फैसले के कारण मुझे न केवल अपने राजनीतिक मित्रों, बल्कि निजी मित्रों और परिवारवालों की आलोचना का भी सामना करना पड़ा. वास्तविकता यह है कि अंदर रहने के कारण जनता पार्टी की सरकार का चरित्र समझने मे मुझे ज्यादा देर नहीं लगी. पूरी सरकार न केवल अंतर्विरोधों का शिकार थी, बल्कि पार्टी का नाम एक होते हुए भी गुटों के द्वारा काम करने की शैली ऐसी थी कि व्यावहारिक रूप से वह तब भी संयुक्त विधायक दल की ही सरकार बनी हुई थी. और इसी के कारण नीति, सिद्धांत और दिशा की एकरूपता असंभव थी. सरकार की कार्यशैली ऐसी थी कि उन्हे विपक्षी दलों से नहीं,बल्कि खुद सरकार मे शामिल गुटों से ही खतरा दिखाई देता था. इस माहौल से ऊब कर मैंने सरकार बनने के एक महीने बाद ही अपने मित्रों से कहना शुरू कर दिया था कि मैं इस सरकार मे नहीं रह सकूंगा और फिर लखनऊ शहर मे 2 महीने 24 दिन बाद शांति-व्यवस्था बनाये रखने के प्रश्न को ले कर हुए मतभेदों के कारण मैंने मंत्रिमंडल से त्याग दे दिया.

उस समय मैंने जिन बातों को महसूस किया था,उनको अपनी परिणति तक पहुंचने मे कुछ समय लगा और एक साल पूरा होते-होते यह धारणा बलवती होने लगी कि जैसे सरकार का कोई अस्तित्व ही न हो. उत्तरप्रदेश विधानसभा के बजट सत्र की एक घटना मैं आज तक नहीं भूलता हूं. सरकार की तरफ से शांति-व्यवस्था मे सुधार का दावा किया गया और उसके पक्ष मे आंकड़े प्रस्तुत किये गये. उसी सत्र में उत्तरप्रदेश के मनोरंजन कर आयुक्त की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट सदन के सभापटल पर रखी गयी, जिसमे यह कहा गया था कि प्रदेश को मनोरंजन कर मे होनेवाली आय मे कमी का कारण बिगड़ती हुई शांति -व्यवस्था है और असुरक्षा की भावना इस व्याप्त है कि बड़े शहरों में भी लोगों मे अंधेरे शो मे फिल्म देखने जाना छोड़ दिया है.



जनता शासन के दौरान गिरफ़्तारी के समय श्रीमती गांधी — रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से

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Funding: Tattva

भारत जैसे विविधता बहुल देश में कमजोर सरकार के परिणाम बहुत खराब निकल सकते हैं और बहुत गौर करने के बाद मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा था कि 1977 मे बुरी तरह चुनाव हारने के बावजूद सिर्फ श्रीमती गांधी के अंदर ही यह क्षमता है कि वह देश को इस संकट से उबार सकें. काफी दिनों तक विचार करने के बाद मैं श्रीमती गांधी से मिलने दिल्ली आया. मुझे उनसे अंतिम रूप से कांग्रेस में शामिल होने की अनुमति लेनी थी.

कांग्रेस में शामिल होने के कुछ महीने के अंदर ही श्रीमती गांधी ने मुझे अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति का संयुक्त सचिव मनोनीत किया और मुझे उनकी अध्यक्षता में, संगठन का काम करने का मौका मिला. श्रीमती गांधी की अध्यक्षता मे कांग्रेस ने एक अत्यंत जागरूक विपक्षी दल की भूमिका निभायी और 1979 के आते-आते देश की जनता का ध्यान सरकार पर कम और कांग्रेस पर ज्यादा हो गया. 1980 के चुनाव मे मेरी कामयाबी का मुख्य कारण भी यही था. कांग्रेस (इं) के सत्ता मे आने के दो वर्ष बाद मुझे श्रीमती गांधी के मंत्रिमंडल में भी काम करने का मौका मिला, लेकिन निजी तौर पर मैं उस अवधि को, जिसमे मैंने उनके साथ संगठन में जो काम किया, उसको बड़ी उपलब्धि मानता हूं. कांग्रेस संगठन उनके अपने परिवार की ही तरह था और जिस आत्मीयता और विश्वास का वह अनुभव कराती थीं, उसे भूल पाना बड़ा कठिन है.

1977-80 के दौरान श्रीमती गांधी को केवल राजनीतिक मोरचे पर ही विरोध का सामना नहीं करना पड़ा, बल्कि इस दौर मे राजनीतिक कारणों से श्रीमती गांधी के खिलाफ चलाया गया चरित्र हनन का अभियान इतना सुव्यवस्थित और संगठित था, जिसकी मिसाल मुश्किल से मिलेगी. आपातकाल के दौरान कथित ज्यादतियों की जांच करनेवाले शाह आयोग के निष्कर्ष अगर जनता के सामने लाये गये होते, तो कोई आपत्ति न होती. लेकिन जिस तरह आयोग के सामने श्रीमती गांधी के खिलाफ हुई गवाहियों को दूरदर्शन और आकाशवाणी से प्रसारित किया जाता था, वह सरकारी माध्यमों के दुरुपयोग की पराकाष्ठा थी. राजनीतिक दुर्भावना का ऐसा वातावरण बनाने का प्रयास किया गया कि भले ही कोई आरोप साबित न हों, लेकिन जनता की नजर में श्रीमती गांधी को दोषी बना दिया जाये. श्रीमती गांधी के चिकमगलूर से चुन कर आने के बाद भी इसी राजनीतिक दुर्भावना ने उनके विरोधियों को चैन से नहीं बैठने दिया और विशेषाधिकार हनन का एक मामला उठा कर जनता के फैसले को रद्द कर दिया गया.

इस दौरान श्रीमती गांधी और उनके परिवारजनों के खिलाफ चलाया जानेवाला अभियान राजनीतिक दृष्टि से एक अप्रत्याशित घटना थी, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी ने जिस बहादुरी और साहस से विषम परिस्थितियों का मुकाबला किया, उससे उनके विरोधी हतप्रभ रह गये और वह अपने सहयोगियों तथा अनुयायियों के लिए प्रेरणा का स्रोत बन गयीं. जब भी ऐसी कोई बात निकलती और श्रीमती गांधी से उनके ऊपर होनेवाली ज्यादतियों का कोई जिक्र करता, तो वह हमेशा यही कहती थीं कि इन बातों को महत्व नहीं देना चाहिए. हर आदमी को अपना कार्य पूरा करते रहना चाहिए और उसके क्या नतीजे निकलते हैं, इसकी कभी चिंता नहीं करनी चाहिए.

कई लोग मुझसे पूछते हैं कि श्रीमती गांधी के व्यक्तित्व की वह कौन-सी खास बात है, जिसने मुझे सबसे ज्यादा प्रभावित किया है. मैंने संगठन और सरकार दोनों मे ही उनके अधीन रह कर काम किया और जिस बात ने मुझे सबसे ज्यादा प्रभावित किया है, वह यह कि उनके नजदीक आने के बाद हर व्यक्ति अपने भारतीय होने पर गर्व महसूस करता था. □

कारखाना/बिक्री
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लाल बहादूर शास्त्री मार्ग, भांडुप, बंबई ४०० ०७८. टेलीफोन : ५६१३८५२/५६१६३४७/५६१८५०४/५६११३८६/५६१८६३१
ग्राम : KRISPEES बंबई-७८. टेलेक्स : ०११-७२१०१ SHAN IN
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CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja Nati

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इमर्जेंसी की इंदिरा

सुरेंद्र मोहन

आपातकाल की घोषणा के बाद 1975 में बहुत चालाकी और भोंडेपन के साथ निर्वाचन संबंधी नियमों-कानूनों को संशोधित किया गया. इंदिरा गांधी की अपील को स्वीकार कराया गया, ताकि इलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालय द्वारा उनके रायबरेली संसदीय क्षेत्र से चुनाव रद्द किये जाने के फैसले को उलट दिया जाये. स्पष्ट है कि आपातकाल की घोषणा मात्र व्यक्तिगत पद एवं सत्ता बचाने के लिए की गयी थी. अन्य बातें, जो सरकार द्वारा जारी किये गये, श्वेतपत्र में दी गयी थीं, नितांत अप्रासंगिक हैं. उन दिनों सत्ताधारी दल को अपनी पार्टी में प्रतिरोध का डर भी पैदा हो गया था. इसीलिए जब जयप्रकाश नारायण व अन्य प्रतिपक्षी नेताओं को गिरफ़्तार किया गया, तो चंद्रशेखर (जो कांग्रेस कार्यकारिणी के सदस्य थे) और रामधन (जो संसदीय दल के सचिव थे) को भी गिरफ़्तार किया गया.

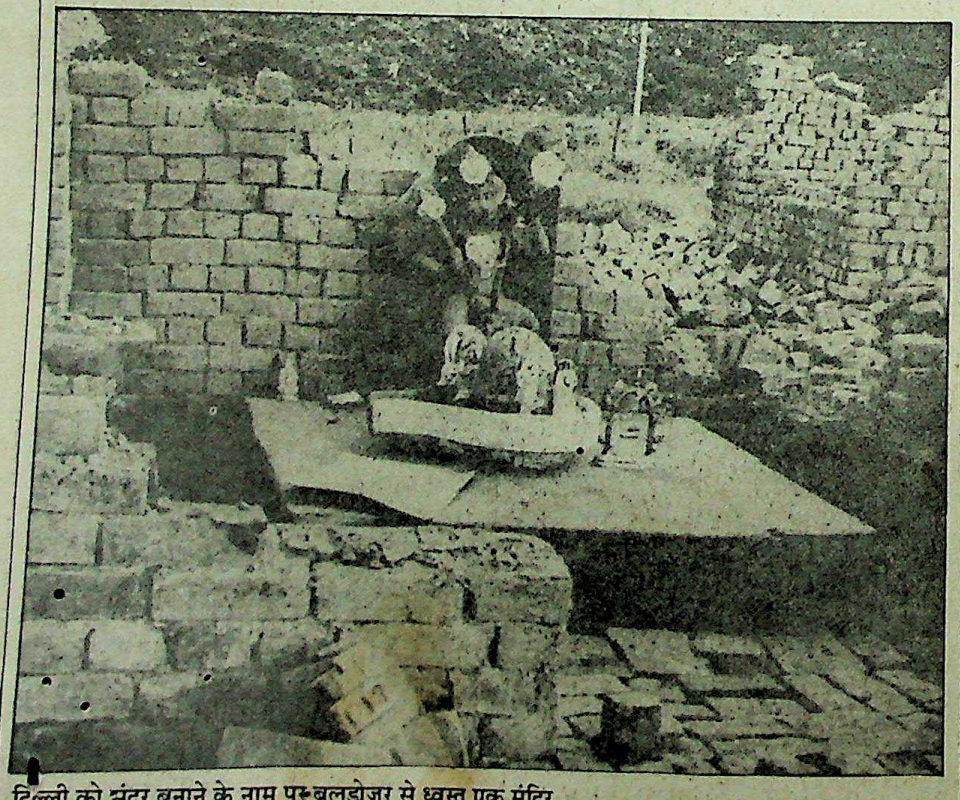
पक्ष और प्रतिपक्ष को दबाने के बाद सरकार ने दो और काम किये. पहला, आर्थिक नीति में मनचाहा परिवर्तन किया और दूसरा, श्रमिकों के बुनियादी अधिकारों को कम किया. इसीलिए आपातकाल का जैसा समर्थन पूंजीपतियों की संस्था फिक्की ने किया, वैसा किसी ने नहीं किया. न्यूनतम बोनस को 8.33 प्रतिशत से घटा कर 4 प्रतिशत किया गया, जीवन बीमा निगम और उसके कर्मचारियों के बीच औद्योगिक विवाद के संबंध में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने जो फैसला किया था, उसको संसद द्वारा बदला गया और कर्मचारियों को नुक़सान पहुंचाया गया. बहुराष्ट्रीय निगमों से अनुरोध किया गया कि वे भारत में पूंजी निवेश करें, क्योंकि यहां मजदूरों की मजदूरी सस्ती है और वे अब अनुशासित भी हैं. विदेशों से माल आयात करने की भी छूट दी गयी, ताकि निजी क्षेत्र बढ़े. उन पर करों के भार को घटाया गया.

आपातकाल के दिनों में सरकार का दमनचक्र केवल मजदूरों को अनुशासित करने के लिए ही नहीं चला, बल्कि संपूर्ण जनता की आवाज को बंद कर संविधान को बदला भी गया. सरकार ने सभी तौर तरीके अपना कर नागरिक अधिकारों का हनन किया. श्रीमती गांधी ने जब राष्ट्रपति से अनुरोध किया कि वे आपातकाल की घोषणा करें, तो उन्होंने अपने मंत्रिमंडल तक की मन्जूरी ले ली. आरंभ में उसे आर्थिक आपातस्थिति तक सीमित रखने की भी बात कही गयी, ताकि [illegible] पैदा किया जाये.

आपातकाल की घोषणा के पहले ही [illegible] राज्यों के मुख्य सचिवों को आदेश दे दिये [illegible] ताकि प्रमुख विपक्षी नेताओं को गिरफ़्तार कि[illegible] सके. समाचारपत्रों पर सेंसर बैठा दिया गया. इंडियन एक्सप्रेस के प्रकाशन को रोकने के [illegible] बिजली के तार काट दिये गये. वास्तव में [illegible] बात का पूरा प्रयास किया गया कि राजनीति[illegible] नेताओं द्वारा गिरफ़्तारी की सूचना जनता तक [illegible] ही नहीं. जहां कहीं संपादकों -संवाददाताओं [illegible] विरोध हुआ, उनको भी बंदी बनाया गया. [illegible] में लगभग सभी प्रमुख सांसद थे और उनकी गिरफ़्तारी का उद्देश्य था, संसद को ऐसा कर[illegible] कि इंदिरा गांधी जो चाहें, करा लें.

साधारण राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ताओं की [illegible] जाने दीजिए, प्रमुख नेताओं की गिरफ़्तारी [illegible] सूचना उनके निकटतम संबंधियों, मित्रों एवं सहयोगियों को नहीं दी गयी. उन्हें कहां रखा है इसकी कोई खबर नहीं दी गयी. दो महीने [illegible] मिलने-जुलने की कोई सूरत न थी. बंदियों को तंग करने, उनको तनहाई में रखने, इलाज [illegible] कराने, शाम को छह बजे से ही कोठरी में बंद देने के भी सैकड़ों उदाहरण हैं. आपातकाल के पहले सप्ताह में ही 15,000 लोग बंदी बना[illegible] गये थे. उनकी डाक भी सेंसर होती थी और [illegible] मुलाकात करने की अनुमति मिलने लगी [illegible] समय भी कैदी सरकार के खुफिया विभाग के अफसरों की उपस्थिति में ही बातें कर सकें [illegible] कहना न होगा कि ऐसे हालात में जेलों के [illegible] कितने कम हमदर्द थे. वास्तव में वे [illegible] आतंकित थे.

हवालातों में पुलिस दमन के शिकार अकसर वे कार्यकर्ता हुए, जो सत्याग्रह का संगठन करते थे. प्रचार सामग्री तैयार करते और वितरित करते थे. पुलिस अत्याचार की बहुत-सी मिसालें हैं. सत्याग्रहियों और [illegible] कार्यकर्ताओं से उनके सहयोगियों के नाम, उनके ठिकानों का पता लगाने, उनके कार्य की जानकारी हासिल करने के उद्देश्य से [illegible] किया गया. रात को भी सोने न देना, खड़ा रख देना, प्यासे रखना, अथवा बहुत भूखा रख बाद, बहुत खाना खिला कर किसी प्रकार आराम न करने देना, घंटों खड़े रखना, डराना-धमकाना, हफ़्तों-हफ़्तों सवालों की [illegible] करते रहना, तो बहुत साधारण बातें थीं [illegible] राजन को तो मशीन के पाटों के बीच दबा [illegible] गया और उसकी हड्डियों तक को तोड़ [illegible] दिल्ली के जसवीर सिंह को उलटे लटका [illegible]



दिल्ली को सुंदर बनाने के नाम पर बुलडोजर से ध्वस्त एक मंदिर

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उसके बाल नोचे गये. ऐसे सभी लोगों को क्रूरता के साथ ऐसी गुप्त चोटें मारी गयीं कि उनका कोई प्रमाण ही न रहे. महिला बंदियों के साथ अशोभनीय व्यवहार हुआ. जयपुर और ग्वालियर की राजमाताओं को असामाजिक और रुग्ण बंदियों के साथ रखा गया. श्रीलता स्वामीनाथन को अपमानित किया जाता रहा. श्रीमती मृणाल गोरे और दुर्गा भागवत को पागलों के बीच रखा गया. महिला बंदियों के साथ भद्दे मजाक की शिकायतें भी मिलीं. एक महिला को आतंकित करने के लिए उनके पिता और भाई को बंदी बनाया गया. बंगलूर में लारेंस फर्नांडिस की ऐसी पिटाई की गयी कि उनके लिए कई वर्षों तक सीधे खड़े रहना संभव नहीं हुआ. एक नवंबर 1975 को जिन छात्रों ने राष्ट्रकुल सम्मेलन में परचे बांटे, उनको भी बहुत बुरी तरह से पीटा गया.

इंदिरा गांधी के शासन ने नागरिकों के साथ जो दुर्व्यवहार , अन्याय व अत्याचार किया, उसमें नागरिक अधिकारों की रक्षा करनेवाले वकीलों को भी तंग किया गया, जिन न्यायाधीशों ने नजरबंदियों के मुकदमों में न्यायसंगत फैसले दिये अथवा देने चाहे, उनके तबादले कर दिये गये. इनकी संख्या थी 42. इससे जहां यह बात सामने आती है कि सरकार की नीति कितनी अधिक सख्त थी, वहीं यह भी साबित होता है कि ऊंचे पदों पर बैठे हुए लोगों ने भी अपनी आत्मा की आवाज को अनसुना किया. सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के चार न्यायाधीशों ने सरकार के उस प्रयास को सफल नहीं होने दिया, जिसके अंतर्गत बिना दंड के जेल में न रखे जाने का अधिकार छीना जा सकता है.

इस पूरी प्रक्रिया में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने संविधान को तोड़ने-मरोड़ने के लिए बहुत प्रयास किये और उनमें तात्कालिक सफलताएं भी प्राप्त कीं. इमर्जेंसी के पहले सप्ताह में ही संविधान के अनुच्छेद 14, 21 और 22 को निलंबित किया गया . जनवरी 1976 में अनुच्छेद 19 को भी निलंबित कर दिया गया. इस कार्य के द्वारा कानून की नजर में बराबरी, नागरिक के जीवन एवं संपत्ति की सुरक्षा की गारंटी और गिरफ़्तारी के 24 घंटे के अंदर अदालत के सामने पेशी के अधिकारों के साथ-साथ अभिव्यक्ति , प्रकाशन संघ बनाने, सभा-जुलूस आदि की स्वतंत्रता छीन ली गयी. रासुका तो पहले से लागू था ही. उसको कई बार संशोधित किया गया. 29 जून 75 के संशोधन के द्वारा नजरबंदी का यह अधिकार छीना गया कि नजरबंदी के कारण उसको बताये जाये. नजरबंदी को एक वर्ष से अधिक अवधि तक बढ़ाने का प्रावधान हुआ. 16 जुलाई 1975 को दूसरा संशोधन करके न्यायालयों में अपील करने के अधिकार से नजरबंदियों को वंचित किया गया. 10 अक्तूबर 1975 के संशोधन द्वारा इस बात को

तुर्कमान गेट कांड : इमर्जेंसी में अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग छाया : सतीश शर्मा

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

स्वस्थ जीवन के लिए एक आदर्श आयुर्वेदिक टॉनिक

बैद्यनाथ
च्यवनप्राश

४ तरह से शक्ति और स्फूर्ति के लिए लाभदायक।

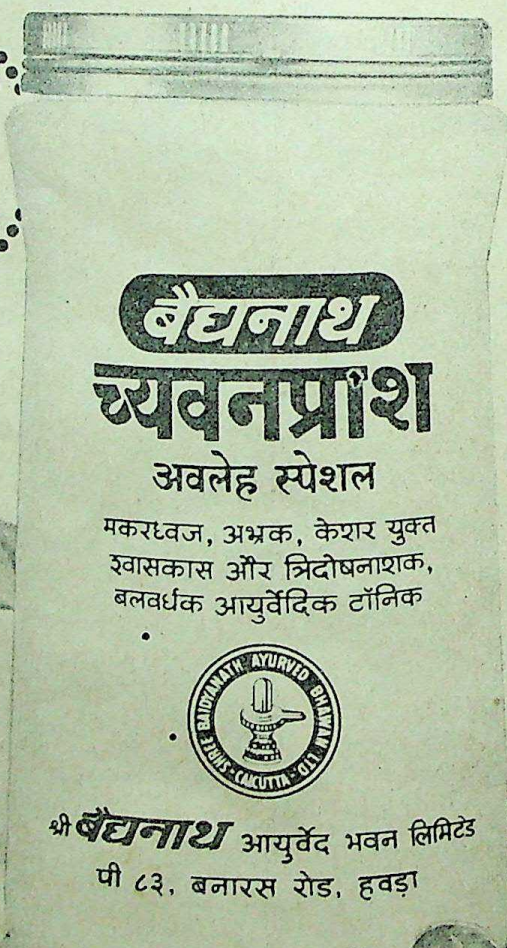
१ बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश ४८, अमूल्य जड़ी बूटियों से बनकर सालभर आप के स्वास्थ्य की रक्षा करता है।

२ बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश कफ, खांसी, और कमजोरी की अचूक औषधि है। क्योंकि यह च्यवनप्राश.... मकरध्वज, अभ्रक भस्म, श्रृंग भस्म और केशर युक्त है।

३ बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश प्राकृतिक विटामिनों से भरपूर होने के कारण आसानी से पाचन योग्य रासायनिक प्रक्रिया से बनाए गए दूसरे टॉनिकों में यह गुण नहीं होता। बैद्यनाथ च्यवनप्राश पूरे परिवार के लिए उपयोगी है। वयस्कों के लिए

४ शाम १ चम्मच च्यवनप्राश से शरीर स्वस्थ रहता है। शक्ति स्फूर्ति देकर शरीर को नवजीवन देता है। बच्चों को प्रतिदिन एक चाय चम्मच बराबर देने से कफ, खांसी एवं ठण्ड से बराबर उनकी रक्षा करता है।

अब एक आकर्षक पाली पैक डब्बे में



बैद्यनाथ

७०० से अधिक दवाएं पांच आधुनिक कारखानों में तैयार करता है।

श्री बैद्यनाथ आयुर्वेद भवन लि०

श्री बैद्यनाथ आयुर्वेद भवन लिमिटेड
पी ८३, बनारस रोड, हवड़ा

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भी जुर्म बना दिया गया कि नजरबंदी के कारणों की जानकारी न्यायालयों या अन्य किसी को भी दी जाये. वकीलों को भी अपने नियंत्रण में लाने की गरज से और विशेषकर बार काउंसिल के अध्यक्ष राम जेठमलानी को पाठ पढ़ाने के लिए संसद के एक कानून द्वारा भारत के एटॉर्नी जनरल (मुख्य सरकारी अभिवक्ता) को काउंसिल का अध्यक्ष बना दिया गया और राम जेठमलानी को बार काउंसिल के अध्यक्ष पद से हटा दिया गया.

सबसे पहले श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को उनके विरुद्ध राजनारायण द्वारा प्रस्तुत चुनाव याचिका पर इलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालय के फैसले और सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के अंतरिम फैसले का निबटारा करना था. सो, कानून में संशोधन करके उस कानून का अमल पूर्व काल से कर दिया गया और ज्यादा सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से यह प्रयास हुआ कि संविधान को संशोधित कर यह प्रावधान किया जाये कि राष्ट्रपति, प्रधानमंत्री, उपराष्ट्रपति और लोकसभा अध्यक्ष पर जीवन भर कभी भी किसी भी प्रकार के अपराध को ले कर मुकदमा नहीं चल सके. इस संशोधन को राज्यसभा ने पारित किया, किंतु उसे लोकसभा के सामने नहीं लाया गया. उससे कहीं अधिक महत्वपूर्ण था, संविधान का 44वां संशोधन, जो संसद द्वारा स्वीकृत किया गया. उसको बहुत जल्दी में किया गया, उसमें बुनियादी ढांचे को दुर्बल बनाने, उसकी संघीय विशेषताओं को क्षति पहुंचाने और न्यायपालिका, कार्यकारिणी और विधायिका में संतुलन बिगाड़ने के प्रावधान थे.

समाचार पत्रों और संवाद एजेंसियों को नियंत्रण में लाने के लिए समाचारों को सेंसर करने या प्रकाशन पर प्रतिबंध ही काफी नहीं हुआ. एक नया कानून भी संसद से मंजूर कराया गया.जिसके द्वारा आपत्तिजनक सामग्री के प्रकाशन होने पर रोक लगाने की व्यवस्था हुई. इस कानून को बनाते समय सूचना एवं प्रसारण मंत्री ने कहा कि इस कानून के प्रावधान संपादकों की स्वतंत्रता की समस्या हल करेंगे. पुणे के 'साधना' साप्ताहिक और अहमदाबाद के 'भूमिपुत्र' पर प्रबंध के संबंध में न्यायालयों में मुकदमे चले. सरकार ने चार विभिन्न संवाद एजेंसियों—यू.एन.आइ.,पी.टी.आइ.,समाचार भारती व हिंदुस्थान समाचार को समाप्त करके, उनको 'समाचार' नामक एजेंसी में विलीन कर दिया , ताकि उन पर सरकार का नियंत्रण आसान हो. इंडियन एक्सप्रेस को नियंत्रण में लाने के लिए अखबार के मालिकों को इतना अधिक तंग और आतंकित किया गया कि प्रबंधकों को सरकार द्वारा मनोनीत पांच निदेशकों और अध्यक्ष को स्वेच्छा से स्वीकृति देनी पड़ी. इसके फलस्वरूप पत्र के संपादक एस. मुलगांवकर को सेवामुक्त कर दिया गया.

विजयराजे सिंधिया : राजनीतिक बदले की शिकार

'स्टेट्समैन' को तो जुलाई'75 में ही बाध्य किया गया कि वह सरकार के मनोनीत निदेशकों की नियुक्ति करे. किंतु कलकत्ता उच्च न्यायालय ने इस पर रोक लगा दी. उसके बाद पत्र के प्रबंध निदेशक श्री ईरानी पर मुकदमा चलाने के लिए ऐसा सवाल उठाया गया, जो 1973-1974 में ही तय हो चुका था. इसमें असफल होने पर श्री इरानी के पारपत्र को जब्त करने का आदेश दिया गया. इसके अतिरिक्त सूचना प्रसारण मंत्री महोदय ने केवल छह संपादकों की सहमति से प्रेस के लिए एक आचारसंहिता की भी घोषणा कर दी.

गायत्री देवी : इमर्जेंसी की भुक्तभोगी

इंडियन एक्सप्रेस की संपत्ति पर दिल्ली नगर निगम द्वारा कब्जा कराके उसको बेचने का प्रयास भी किया गया. बड़ोदरा के भूमिपत्र के संपादक महोदय तो गिरफ़्तार ही कर लिये गये.

आपातकाल में अफसरशाही और पुलिस को जो अनियंत्रित अधिकार प्राप्त हुए, उनका दुरुपयोग बड़े पैमाने पर हुआ. यूं तो प्रचार था कि इमर्जेंसी में भ्रष्टाचार कम हुआ है, किंतु दो-तीन महीने के बाद पुरानी स्थिति लौटी ही नहीं, बल्कि और खराब हो गयी. ऊंचे स्तरों पर भी संजय गांधी के साथी भ्रष्टाचार में लिप्त थे और जिस किसी ने उनकी इच्छा को पूर्ण नहीं किया उसको शिकंजे में फंसा लेना उनके लिए आसान था. इसी असाधारण स्थिति में इंदिरा गांधी ने हेमवतीनंदन बहुगुणा, नंदिनी सतपथी और सिद्धार्थ शंकर राय को भी पदच्युत किया. संजय गांधी ने मारुति के नाम पर काफी रुपया जमा किया और अनियमितताएं बरतीं. इसी जमाने में अमृत नाहटा की फिल्म 'किस्सा कुर्सी का' को जबरदस्ती बरबाद करने की कोशिश हुई, किशोर कुमार जैसे प्रमुख गायक को काली सूची में रखा गया, 'आंधी' चलचित्र पर पाबंदी लगी. इन्हीं दिनों की असाधारण स्थिति में दो क्रांतिकारियों— किश्तैया गौड़ और भूमैया को फांसी दे दी गयी. जहां कहीं मजदूर हड़ताल हुई, वहां दमनचक्र चला. जनवरी 76 में सिर्फ पश्चिम बंगाल में ही बोनस कानून में संशोधन का विरोध करने पर 16,000 मजदूर गिरफ़्तार किये गये. सरकार ने हर प्रकार से जीवन के हर एक क्षेत्र में आतंक का माहौल बनाया. पूंजीपतियों और मध्यवित्त लोगों को भी मजबूर करके पैसे बटोरे गये और गलत आरोप लगा कर मुकदमे भी चलाये गये तथा पुलिस कार्रवाई भी की गयी. परिवार नियोजन के लिए अध्यापकों और छोटे कर्मचारियों पर भी सख्ती की गयी.

परिवार नियोजन और दिल्ली के सुंदरीकरण के नाम पर अल्पसंख्यकों पर बहुत अत्याचार हुए. जबरी परिवार नियोजन में उत्तरप्रदेश में मुजफ़्फरनगर, सुलतानपुर और सहारनपुर, हरियाणा में पीपली के अलावा कई स्थानों पर लाठियों और गोलियों का इस्तेमाल हुआ. दिल्ली में सैकड़ों घरों को बुलडोजरों की मदद से जबरीतौर पर तोड़ा गया और निवासियों को शहर से 15-20 किलोमीटरकी दूरी पर पटक दिया गया.जिस किसी ने विरोध किया, उसको गिरफ़्तार कर लिया गया.

इन सभी काले कारनामों के कारण 1977 में जनता ने एकजुट हो कर कांग्रेस को ही नहीं, बल्कि श्रीमती गांधी को भी हरा दिया और लोकतंत्र में अपनी आस्था का प्रमाण दिया. आज इमर्जेंसी को भुलाने की कोशिश की जाती है परंतु उन काले दिनों और रातों के अनुभवों को हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए. □

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National

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'इंदिरा जी सुनती बहुत थीं, बोलती कम थीं'

नारायणदत्त तिवारी

भारत में अनेक महान विभूतियों ने जन्म लिया जो इतिहास के पन्नों में अपनी अमिट छाप छोड़ गये हैं और जिन्होंने समय की चुनौतियों का सफलतापूर्वक मुकाबला करने के लिए देश तथा समाज को एक नयी दिशा दी. स्वर्गीय श्रीमती गांधी इन महान विभूतियों की श्रृंखला में अपना अद्वितीय स्थान रखती हैं. वह न केवल इतिहास की निर्माता थीं, बल्कि उन्होंने नये भूगोल का भी निर्माण किया. पूर्वी पाकिस्तान की पीड़ित मानवता को एक राष्ट्र का रूप देने में उनका योगदान कभी भुलाया नहीं जा सकता. उन्होंने भारत की सीमाओं को सुदृढ़ किया. सिक्किम की जनता का दिल जीता. सिक्किम की जनता और भारत राष्ट्र इसके लिए सदा उनके आभारी रहेंगे.

वह कितनी दूर-द्रष्टा और कितनी महान राजनेता थीं, इसका मूल्यांकन इतिहासकार ही कर सकेंगे. वह अपनी पीढ़ी के विश्व के सर्वोच्च राजनेताओं में से थीं. विश्व की समस्याओं का जैसा यथार्थ मूल्यांकन उन्होंने किया वैसा शायद उनकी पीढ़ी के किसी अन्य राष्ट्र के नेता के लिए संभव नहीं हो सका. उनकी राजनीतिक कुशलता, ईमानदारी तथा उनके अदम्य साहस के एक नहीं अनेक उदाहरण विश्व इतिहास की पूंजी बन गये हैं. वह विश्व की उन संकीर्ण मनोवृत्तिवाले सत्ताधारियों से निरंतर संघर्षरत रहीं, जो राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक साम्राज्यवाद को बढ़ावा देते रहे हैं. उन्होंने भारत के बाहर भी दुखी, निर्बल तथा पीड़ित मानवता के मनोबल को बढ़ाया और उन्हें उनके अधिकार दिलाने के लिए पूर्ण समर्थन एवं सहयोग दिया. यही कारण है उनकी आवाज विश्व के विकासोन्मुख देशों की आवाज बन गयी थी. अनेक अफ्रीकी तथा एशियाई देशों की आजादी के लिए उन्होंने मुहिम चलायी और उनकी सद्प्रयत्नों से परतंत्र देशों ने अपनी स्वाधीनता का स्वप्न साकार किया.

राष्ट्रीय संकट की अनेक ऐसी घड़ियां आयीं जब उन परिस्थितियों में किसी भी राष्ट्र का कोई राजनेता विचलित हो सकता था, लेकिन इंदिरा जी के धैर्य एवं साहस ने परीक्षा की उन घड़ियों में दृढ़ता का परिचय दिया. बंगाल की खाड़ी में अमेरिका के सर्वसंपन्न शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र का सातवां बेड़ा भारत की ओर अपनी तोपें लगाये खड़ा था. पूरा विश्व में एक सनसनी थी, लेकिन इंदिरा जी इसकी परवाह किये बिना राष्ट्र की जनता को प्रेरित करती रहीं. ऐसे अवसर पर उन्होंने अपनी अद्वितीय राजनीतिक कुशलता का परिचय दे कर राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा की और उसके सम्मान को बढ़ाया. उनके नेतृत्व में भारत की जनता का मनोबल ऊंचा रहा.

पड़ोसी देशों के साथ सद्भावना, सहयोग मित्रतापूर्ण संबंधों के लिए उन्होंने पहल की. विश्व के शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रों के प्रत्यक्ष एवं अप्रत्यक्ष नियंत्रण से कमजोर देशों को बचाने के लिए उन्होंने जोरदार आवाज उठायी.

इसी परिप्रेक्ष्य में उन्होंने गुट निरपेक्ष आंदोलन को मजबूत बनाने में भरपूर योगदान किया. दुनिया के 100 से अधिक देशों को एक साथ खड़ा कर विश्व शांति, जन-सुरक्षा एवं जन-कल्याण तथा गरीब मानवता के जीवन स्तर को उठाने के लिए उन्होंने पूरी दुनिया में एक मुहिम चलायी. उनके नेतृत्व में गुटनिरपेक्ष आंदोलन को इतना बल मिला कि गुटों में बंटे शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रों ने भी इस आंदोलन के महत्व को समझा और दुनिया के जनमत के सामने इसका प्रत्यक्ष रूप से विरोध करने का साहस नहीं जुटा सके. यह इंदिरा जी की और गुटनिरपेक्ष आंदोलन की बहुत बड़ी सफलता है.

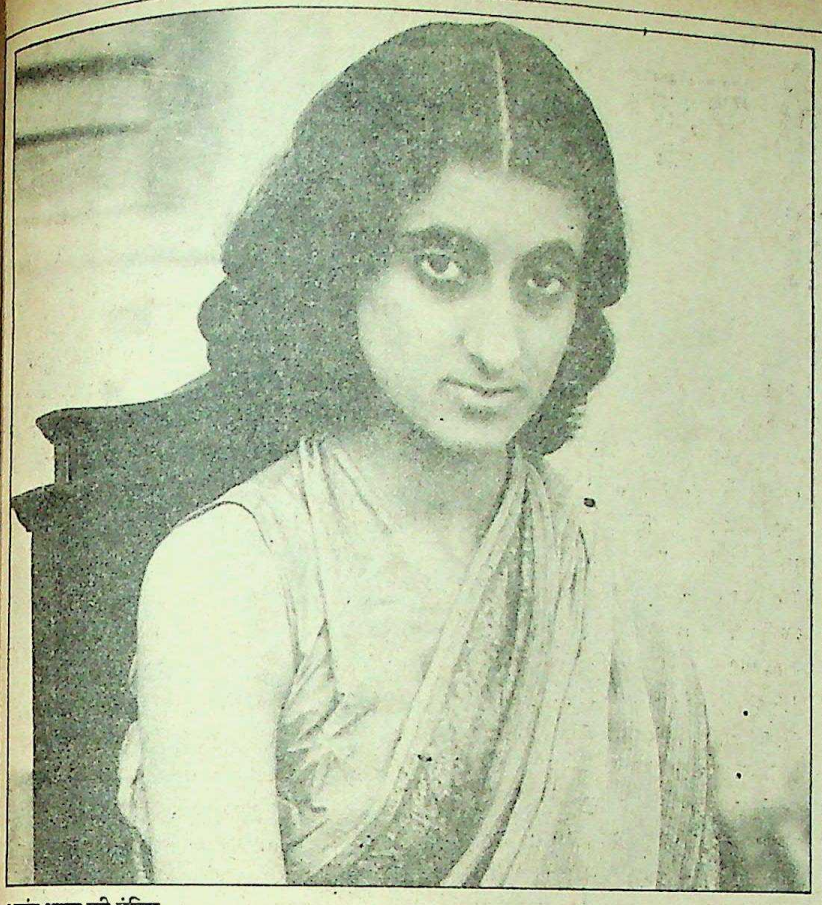
इंदिरा जी के बहु आयामी व्यक्तित्व के बारे में यहां सभी कुछ कह पाना और लिख पाना संभव नहीं. वह महान राष्ट्रभक्त थीं, साथ ही विश्व शांति की दूत भी. गरीब व निर्बल जनता के लिए तो वह मसीहा थीं. राष्ट्र की एकता, समृद्धि, सुदृढ़ता के लिए वह सदैव समर्पित रहीं. राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए वह बड़ी-से-बड़ी कुरबानी के लिए तैयार रहती थीं और अंततः वह इस महान उद्देश्य के लिए ही शहीद हो गयीं.

भारत में गरीबी उन्मूलन के लिए उन्होंने व्यापक आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक परिवर्तन शुरू

तीसरे देशों के नेताओं की **अगुवाई** छाया : अशोक वाही

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

Funding: Tattv



आनंद भवन की इंदिरा

किये. बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण उनके कार्यकाल की महान उपलब्धि थी. इसका उद्देश्य बैंकों का धन जनसाधारण की गरीबी मिटाने के लिए उपयोग मे लाना था. उसी का परिणाम है कि आज बैंकों का अरबों रुपया गरीबी उन्मूलन के कार्यक्रमों में लगाया जा रहा है और बैंक देश के करोड़ों बेरोजगार और निर्धन लोगों को जीवन यापन के साधन सुलभ करा रहे हैं. इसके साथ ही इंदिरा जी का मूल लक्ष्य देश को हरक्षेत्र मे स्वावलंबी बना कर उसे दुनिया के समृद्ध देशों की अग्रिम पंक्ति मे लाना था. इस दिशा मे उन्होंने काफी सफलता पायी. खाद्यान्न के मामले मे भारत आज दूसरों का मुंह नहीं देखता. औद्योगिक उत्पादनों तथा सुरक्षा के सामानों मे भी भारत काफी हद तक स्वावलंबी बन गया है. विज्ञान एवं तकनीकी के क्षेत्र मे भी हमारी प्रगति उल्लेखनीय है. यह सब इंदिरा जी के महान प्रयासों का ही परिणाम है.

इंदिरा जी को इस देश के हर हिस्से से प्यार था. वह जिस प्रांत मे जाती थीं, वहीं का पहनावा पहनती थीं. वहां के खानपान के खास व्यंजन वह बड़े शौक से लेती थीं. एक बार 1964 मे एक पत्रकार के एक प्रश्न पर वह जरा उत्तेजित हो गयी थीं. उत्तर मे उन्होंने तमतमा कर कहा था, 'भारत से कश्मीर अलग हो जाये, तो मैं जिंदा रहना भी पसंद नहीं करूंगी.'

मुझे स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के दिनों की याद आती है, जब इंदिरा जी से मेरी पहली भेंट हुई. उन दिनों आजादी के लिए जेल जानेवालों को इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय मे प्रवेश देने पर रोक थी. मेरे लिए आगे पढ़ पाना बड़ा ही मुश्किल था. इसी बीच स्वर्गीय फीरोज गांधी का एक लाइन का पोस्टकार्ड मिला कि आप जब यहां आयें, तो मिल लें. उन दिनों वह 'पॉलिटिकल सफरर्स ऐंड डिस्ट्रेसड रिलीफ सोसाइटी' चलाते थे. मैं सिर्फ 37 रुपये ले कर इलाहाबाद पहुंचा. फीरोज गांधी बाहर थे. वरिष्ठ पत्रकार पी. डी. टंडन मुझे स्वराज भवन ले गये. वहीं मुझे डॉ. ए. एन. झा की कृपा व फीरोज गांधी की प्रेरणा से आगे की शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का मौका मिला. यहां मैं शीघ्र ही अखिल भारतीय विद्यार्थी कांग्रेस का कार्यालय मंत्री व संगठन मंत्री बन गया. ये सब बातें 1944 की हैं. यहीं इंदिरा जी से मेरी पहली मुलाकात हुई.

1946 आते-आते कई महत्वपूर्ण काम मेरे ऊपर आ गये थे. मुझे फीरोज साहब की 'पालिटिकल सफरर्स ऐंड डिस्ट्रेस्ड रिलीफ सोसाइटी' का कार्यालय मंत्री भी बना दिया गया था. इस संस्था का अपना कोष हो गया था. मैं विभिन्न राजनीतिक पीड़ितों के पेंशन हेतु आये आवेदन पत्रों पर अपनी टिप्पणियां व संस्तुतियां दिया करता था.

इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय मे समाजवादी विचारधारा फैलती जा रही थी. इन्हीं दिनों पी. सी. बनर्जी छात्रावास के छात्रों ने 'सोशलिस्ट क्लब' बनाया. वे चाहते थे कि उनके कार्यक्रम में इंदिरा जी आयें. इंदिरा जी बीमार थीं. कोठी के बाहर आना-जाना भी मना था. मैं उनसे मिलने जब स्वराज भवन गया, तो वह दोमंजिले पर थीं. मुझे वहीं बुला लिया . मेरे आग्रह को उन्होंने तुरंत स्वीकार कर लिया और कार्यक्रम मे आयीं. यह उनकी समाजवादी नीतियों में आस्था ही थी, जो तबीयत खराब होने के बावजूद उन्हे समाजवादियों के बीच खींच लायी. उन दिनों कांग्रेस का सदस्य बने बिना कोई सोशलिस्ट नहीं हो सकता था. 1964 मे हम सब इंदिरा जी के कारण ही कांग्रेस मे आये थे.

इंदिरा जी में प्रबंध संभालने की गजब की क्षमता थी. कई मौकों पर मैंने खुद देखा. विजयलक्ष्मी पंडित की पुत्री चंद्रलेखा की शादी की सारी व्यवस्था इंदिरा जी के हाथ मे ही थी. पंडित नेहरू के कामकाज मे भी वह हाथ बंटाती थीं. इंदिरा जी बात की धनी, काम की धुनी व पढ़ने-लिखनेवाली महिला थीं. वह सुनती बहुत थीं, बोलती कम थीं. ये गुण उन्हें विरासत मे मिले थे. इंदिरा जी को बुद्धिजीवियों से बातचीत करना बहुत पसंद था. वह जहां भी जाती थीं, वहां बुद्धिजीवियों से भी मिलने का कार्यक्रम रखने की कोशिश करती थीं. लोगों से मिलना उनकी आदत और स्वभाव में था.

श्रीमती गांधी कभी खाली नहीं बैठ सकती थीं. 1979 के चुनाव में वह लगातार दिन-रात आंध्र व कर्णाटक के दौरे व पार्टी बैठकों में व्यस्त रहीं. अकसर जब वह एक विषय से ऊब जाती थीं, तो दूसरे विषयों पर बातचीत करके अपने को फिर से ताजा बना लेती थीं. खाली समय मे भी वह घर की सजावट पर ध्यान देती थीं. 'क्रास वर्ड' जैसी पहेलियां भी हल करती थीं.

वह चिंतन बहुत करती थीं. उनका दिमाग एक समय में कई जगह रहता था. वह लोगों से बात भी करती जाती थीं और इस बीच जो काम याद आते जाते थे उनके बारे मे छोटी-छोटी पर्चियों पर 'नोट' लिख कर अपने कार्यालय को भेजती जाती थीं. दिन भर में इस तरह के सौ से भी ज्यादा नोट उनके कार्यालय को मिलते थे.

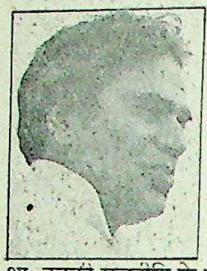
पहली बार जब इंदिरा जी देश की प्रधानमंत्री बनीं, तो सवाल उठाये गये कि वह महिला हैं, नाजुक हैं. इतने बड़े देश का भार कैसे उठा सकेंगी ? प्रधानमंत्री बनने के बाद इंदिरा जी ने पहले संवाददाता सम्मेलन मे कहा था, 'मैं नाजुक भले ही हो सकती हूं, पर मैं मेहनती हूं.' और सच उनकी मेहनत ही रंग लायी और देश हर दिशा मे आत्मनिर्भरता की ओर बढ़ा. आज उनकी नीतियों का समर्थन बड़े-बड़े देश कर रहे हैं. भारत आज गुटनिरपेक्ष आंदोलन का नेता है. □

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National R

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

सफल और सक्षम विदेश नीति

मधु लिमये



इंदिरा गांधी की विदेश नीति का विश्लेषण करने के पहले मैं यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूं कि मैं उनका विरोधी जरूर रहा हूं, लेकिन मेरे विरोध में जरा भी व्यक्तिविद्वेष नहीं था. उनकी राजनीति के कारण, मेरी राय में, हमारी लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं का उत्तरोत्तर ह्रास होता गया. उनके कार्यकाल में क्या राजनीतिक दल, क्या संसद, क्या न्यायालय, क्या मंत्रिमंडल, क्या नौकरशाही, क्या राज्यों की स्वायत्तता और क्या मुख्यमंत्री के पद की गरिमा, सबका अवमूल्यन ही हुआ. चापलूसी और खुशामदबाजी को, जो भारतीय स्वभाव का एक बड़ा दोष है (पीठ पीछे बुराई भी इसी का एक पहलू है) इंदिरा शासन में तरजीह दी गयी. महात्मा गांधी ने जहां माटी से मानव बनाये, क्षुद्र लोगों को भी ऊंचाई दी, उनसे बड़े-बड़े कार्य करवाये, वहीं इंदिरा गांधी ने बड़े लोगों को क्षुद्र बना दिया, उनसे छोटे-छोटे काम करवाये.

इंदिरा गांधी के खिलाफ सबसे बड़ा अभियोग यह है कि 1969 में जब संपूर्ण सत्ता उनके हाथों में केंद्रित हो गयी, तो उन्होंने केंद्र सरकार, राज्य सरकारों तथा कांग्रेस पार्टी का शुद्धीकरण करने के बजाय भ्रष्टाचार को राजनीति का स्थायी भाव बना दिया तथा धन को सार्वजनिक जीवन में प्रतिष्ठापित किया. अगर पूंजीवाद का समीकरण उत्पादकता के उन्मुक्त विकास से नहीं, धन की सत्ता से किया जाये, तो मानना पड़ेगा कि इंदिरा गांधी पूंजीवाद की सबसे प्रबल समर्थक थीं. अपनी औलाद को गद्दीनशीन करने के लिए उन्होंने सारे कुकर्म तो किये ही, अपने प्राणों की आहुति तक दे डाली, ताकि हुकूमत पर उनकी संतान का कब्जा रहे.

लेकिन इन तमाम बातों के बावजूद इंदिरा गांधी के विशाल अहं का एक मुक्तिदायक पहलू भी था. उन्होंने अपने व्यक्तित्व को भारतवर्ष, या कहिए भारत माता, से जोड़ लिया था. 'मेरा हर कार्य भारत माता के गौरव के लिए है. भारत माता का अपमान मेरा अपमान है और मेरा अपमान भारत माता का अपमान'—यह उनका गहरा विश्वास था. इसके कारण हमारे पड़ोसियों को ही नहीं, विश्व की महाशक्तियों को भी वह भारत माता को जलील करने नहीं देती थीं. हां, उनकी भ्रष्ट राजनीति, हथियार खरीदते समय कमीशन लेना—इस तरह की चीजों से भारत माता की सुरक्षा खतरे में पड़ सकती थी, लेकिन यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि पैसा बटोरने के लिए उन्होंने जानबूझ कर निकृष्ट हथियार खरीदे. वस्तुतः इंदिरा गांधी के शासन का यही एक ऐसा पहलू है यानी उनकी विदेश और सुरक्षा नीति, जिसे याद कर आनेवाली पीढ़ियां उनके सौ अपराध भी माफ करेंगी और उन्हें भारतवर्ष के ऐतिहासिक मानचित्र में प्रमुख स्थान देंगी. विदेश और सुरक्षा नीति ही वह क्षेत्र था, जिसमें मेरे और उनके विचार मिलते थे.

अपने पिता के साथ वर्षों रहने के कारण विश्व के राजनेताओं से उनका प्रत्यक्ष परिचय हो गया था. वे विद्वान नहीं थीं, बहुत ज्यादा पढ़ती भी नहीं थीं. मगर उनमें नैसर्गिक सूझ-बूझ थी. भारतीय परंपरा में जिसे बहुश्रुत कहा जाता है, उस अर्थ में उन्हें भी बहुश्रुत कहा जा सकता है.

शुरू के वर्षों में विदेश नीति के मामलों में उन्होंने कोई चमक-दमक नहीं दिखायी, न कोई चामत्कारिक कार्य किया. लेकिन 1969 के अंत तक वे अपनी हीनता की भावना पर विजय पा चुकी थीं. उनके शासनकाल की सबसे बड़ी कसौटी की घड़ी थी पूर्व पाकिस्तान में जन विद्रोह और उसको कुचलने के जनरल याह्या के नृशंस प्रयास. लेकिन यह संकट पैदा होने के पहले वे लोकसभा का मध्यावधि चुनाव जीत चुकी थीं. अब उनकी सत्ता को, दल के अंदर या बाहर, कोई चुनौती नहीं थी. वह चाहे जिस तरह सरकारी शकट का संचालन कर सकती थीं.

कुशल राजनेता और प्रशासक का यह गुण होता है कि वह स्वयं विशेषज्ञ भले ही न हो, उचित समय पर उचित सलाहकारों को इकट्ठा कर उनसे उचित सलाह प्राप्त कर लेता है. संकट की इस घड़ी में पी. एन. हक्सर, दुर्गा प्रसाद धर, स्वर्ण सिंह, जगजीवन राम, मानेकशॉ आदि सबकी सलाह से इंदिरा गांधी ने यथोचित लाभ उठाया. कुछ लोग कहते थे कि उनको 'हक्सर चलाते हैं.' यह गलत था. वे हक्सर का इस्तेमाल करती थीं और अंतिम निर्णय खुद करती थीं, जो उचित भी था. इसी तरह दिनेश सिंह को भ्रांति हो गयी थी कि 'इंदिरा गांधी पर मेरा विलक्षण प्रभाव है.' पर कुछ ही महीनों में उन्हें सही स्थिति का पता लग गया.

इंदिरा गांधी ने अपनी विदेश नीति की तसवीर कोरे कागज पर नहीं खींची. इस देश का इतिहास बहुत पुराना है. अगर आधुनिक भारत और स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के इतिहास को ही लिया जाये, तो उसे भी 100 साल पूरे हो चुके थे. आधुनिक इतिहास में स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति और देश विभाजन एक महत्वपूर्ण मोड़ था. स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन की विदेश नीति का निर्माण मुख्यतः जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने किया. लेकिन उस समय उनके सामने अविभाजित हिंदुस्तान की कल्पना थी. कांग्रेस के राष्ट्रीय नेता आखिर तक पाकिस्तान को अव्यावहारिक मानते थे. उनकी राय में वह दिवास्वप्न था. उनका खयाल था कि पाकिस्तान का निर्माण संभव ही नहीं है, क्योंकि इस विभाजन में बंगाल और पंजाब का विभाजन भी सन्निहित है. यह बात जब मुसलिम नेताओं को मालूम हो जायेगी, तो वे पाकिस्तान की मांग स्वयं छोड़ देंगे. ऐसा सोचते थे वे. लेकिन ऐसा हुआ नहीं. स्वतंत्र पाकिस्तान की कल्पना ने मुसलमानों के दिल को छू लिया था. 1940 के मुसलिम लीग के लाहौर अधिवेशन में यह प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत हुआ और महज सात वर्षों में ही साकार भी हो गया. भारत विभाजन के कारण भारत की सुरक्षा स्थिति में बुनियादी परिवर्तन आया. अब भारत-पाकिस्तान संबंध हमारी विदेश नीति का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न बन गया.

1947 में विदेशी सत्ता का भारत में अंत हुआ. लगभग उसी समय चीन में अरसे से चल रहा गृहयुद्ध भी अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुंच गया. अनपेक्षित तेजी से चीन की कम्युनिस्ट सेना ने चीन के अधिकांश हिस्सों पर अपना अधिकार जमा लिया और अक्तूबर 1949 में नये गणराज्य की घोषणा कर दी. शीघ्र ही ताइवान को छोड़ कर चीन के शेष भूभाग पर उसका कब्जा हो गया. 'रेड स्टार ओवर चाइना' नाम की अपनी पुस्तक में एडगर स्नो ने माओ जे दुंग के साथ अपनी बातचीत का ब्यौरा दिया है. माओ ने उस वक्त स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा था कि गद्दीनशीन होने के बाद चीन की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार मंगोलिया, तुर्किस्तान, मंचूरिया और तिब्बत पर भी अपना अधिकार कायम करेगी. मंचूरिया तो पहले ही उनके हाथ आ गया, तुर्की पर भी बहुत जल्द उनका कब्जा हो गया. रह गया तिब्बत. तिब्बत एक अरसे से

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ब्रेजनेव और इंदिरा गांधी : दोस्ती का हाथ

अंगरेजी हुकूमत की छत्र-छाया में रहते हुए भी लगभग स्वतंत्र था. आजादी के बाद यह भी स्पष्ट था कि भारत तिब्बत पर अपना वर्चस्व बनाये रखना नहीं चाहेगा. लेकिन भारत तिब्बत के बारे में अपनी कोई नीति नहीं बना सका. नतीजा यह हुआ कि 1950 के अंत में चीनी सेना तिब्बत की ओर आगे बढ़ी और भारत सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी तक नहीं थी. उसे इस बात का पता तब चला, जब इस इलाके से गुजरनेवाली नयी सड़क के उद्घाटन की खबर चीन के अखबारों में आयी. चीन में केंद्रानुगामी और विस्तारवादी कम्युनिस्ट सत्ता का विकास भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए एक नया खतरा बन गया. इस खतरे से बचाव की तो बात ही छोड़िए, जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने इसकी ओर ध्यान तक नहीं दिया. इससे हमारी सामरिक और भूराजनीतिक स्थिति में एक बड़ा परिवर्तन आया. सदियों से हिमालय पर्वत दुर्लंघ्य समझा जाता था. खुद मुहम्मद इकबाल ने हिमालय को भारत का संतरी और पासबान बतलाया था. लेकिन चीनी कम्युनिस्ट क्रांति के बाद यह स्थिति नहीं रही. अब दो स्थल-मोरचे खुल गये. हर तरह से भारत संकटग्रस्त हो गया.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू कई ऊंचे आदर्शों से प्रेरित थे. उन्होंने सम्राट अशोक की शांतिपूर्ण नीति का अनुसरण करने का संकल्प किया था. लेकिन यह विचारणीय है कि अशोक शांति के पुजारी तब बने, जब कलिंग पर उन्होंने कब्जा कर लिया, उसके पहले नहीं. उत्तर-पश्चिम समेत समूचे भारतवर्ष में अपनी प्रभुसत्ता स्थापित करने के बाद ही उन्होंने धर्म प्रसार हेतु अपने दूत विदेश भेजे. जवाहरलाल भी संपूर्ण कश्मीर को मुक्त कराने और भारत की उत्तरी सीमा की रक्षा का पर्याप्त इंतजाम करने के बाद पीत वस्त्र पहन लेते, तो मेरे जैसे आदमी के लिए शिकायत की गुंजाइश ही नहीं रहती. मगर जवाहरलाल ने दिसंबर 1948 में कश्मीर में युद्धविराम स्वीकारा और अपनी विशाल उत्तरी सीमा को मजबूत बनाने के बजाय रामभरोसे छोड़ दिया.

प्रसिद्ध जर्मन राजनेता बिस्मार्क हमेशा कहता था कि भावना के प्रवाह में बह कर विदेश नीति तय नहीं करनी चाहिए. लेकिन भारतीयों में भावना की अत्यधिक प्रधानता है. हम बहुत जल्द भाई-भाई का नारा देने लगते हैं, राष्ट्रीय हितों की कीमत पर भी. 1954 में जवाहरलाल ने हिंदी-चीनी भाई-भाई का कृत्रिम माहौल उत्पन्न किया,तो जनता राज में कुछ लोग भारत-अमरीका भाई-भाई कहने लगे. इतना ही नहीं, अमरीका के प्रभाव में आ कर यदा-कदा हिंदी-चीनी भाई-भाई का नारा भी फिर लगने लगा था.

सिर्फ लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली की समानता के कारण अमरीका विश्व रणनीति में हमारा दोस्त नहीं बन जाता, वह हमारी अपेक्षा सऊदी अरब, पाकिस्तान आदि धर्मांधता, सामंतवाद तथा फौजी तानाशाही पर आधारित देशों से मित्रता रखता है. रूस में एकदलीय कम्युनिस्ट शासन है, जो हमें अच्छा नहीं लगता. पर चूंकि राजनीति की दृष्टि से उसके और हमारे राष्ट्रीय हितों में कोई विरोध नहीं है, इसलिए उससे हमारी दोस्ती हो सकती है. अंतर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति में इन कटु सत्यों को याद रखना पड़ता है. इसी तरह किसी भी जानदार देश के लिए आत्मरक्षा परम धर्म होती है. उसकी सारी नीतियां भूराजनीति के परिप्रेक्ष्य में तय होती हैं, होनी भी चाहिए. लेकिन पिछले 38 सालों के इतिहास का परिशीलन करने के पश्चात हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंचते हैं कि न जवाहरलाल को इन बुनियादी सच्चाइयों का एहसास था और न लालबहादुर शास्त्री को. इंदिरा गांधी का सोच इस मामले में ज्यादा यथार्थवादी था. वे ख्वाबों की दुनिया में नहीं रहती थीं. उनके पैर धरातल पर थे.

स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के दौरान राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व हमेशा कहता था कि हिंदू-मुसलमानों का विवाद तीसरे पक्ष के अस्तित्व के कारण तय नहीं हो पाता है. तीसरा पक्ष यानी ब्रिटिश सत्ता जब हट जायेगी, तो हम लोग आपस में अपने मतभेदों का समाधान ढूंढ़ निकालेंगे. 15 अगस्त 1947 के बाद एक मायने में हम विभाजित घर में ही सही, पर अपना भविष्य स्वयं तय कर सकते थे. लेकिन स्वतंत्रता के प्रारंभ ही में हमने तीसरे पक्ष को दो

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बार अपने मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करने का न्योता दिया. कश्मीर का मामला संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ के सामने प्रस्तुत करने की माउंटबेटन की सलाह के कारण इस मामले में राष्ट्रसंघ का खुला हस्तक्षेप शुरू हुआ. राष्ट्रसंघ पर ब्रिटेन और अमरीका का जबरदस्त प्रभाव था. अतः राष्ट्रसंघ के हस्तक्षेप का अर्थ था ब्रिटेन और अमरीका का हस्तक्षेप.. भारत-चीन संघर्ष के बारे में कोलंबो राष्ट्रों की मध्यस्थता भी हमने स्वीकार की. दोनों प्रकार की मध्यस्थताओं का नतीजा भारत के लिए खतरनाक साबित हुआ.

विदेश नीति और सुरक्षा नीति के मामले में लालबहादुर शास्त्री की अपनी कोई स्वतंत्र विचारधारा नहीं थी. इस तरह के प्रश्नों की उनकी जानकारी भी सीमित थी. सरदार पटेल और इंदिरा गांधी लंबे तर्क-वितर्क और अध्ययन के आधार पर नहीं, बल्कि अपनी नैसर्गिक प्रवृत्ति या सहज बुद्धि से ऐसे प्रश्नों का निर्णय करते थे. यह खूबी शास्त्री जी में नहीं थी. नेहरू के निधन के बाद सत्ता का हस्तांतरण बिना किसी उथल-पुथल के हुआ, यह बात सही है. लेकिन शास्त्री जी का व्यक्तित्व बहुत ऊंचा न होने के कारण अंतर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में यह प्रतिक्रिया उत्पन्न हुई कि अब भारत की सरकार काफी निर्बल हो गयी है. पाकिस्तान के फौजी शासकों में तो बहुत अभिमान जाग गया था. उन्हें अपनी फौजी ताकत पर, अमरीका द्वारा दिये गये आधुनिक हथियारों पर बहुत घमंड था. इस घमंड के चलते ही 1965 में उन्होंने भारत के साथ दो बार छेड़खानी की. एक दफा कच्छ के इलाके में और दूसरी बार कश्मीर में. कच्छ संघर्ष में ब्रिटेन के प्रधानमंत्री विल्सन की मध्यस्थता शास्त्री जी ने स्वीकार की और फलस्वरूप कच्छ का सवाल अंतर्राष्ट्रीय न्यायाधिकरण के सुपुर्द करने के लिए वह राजी हो गये. उसका नतीजा जो होना था, वही हुआ—भारतवर्ष को 10 प्रतिशत खुश्क भूमि से हाथ धोना पड़ा. कश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान के घुसपैठियों द्वारा किये गये हमले का जवाब भारत ने जरूर दिया, लेकिन इस लड़ाई में भी भारत की जीत को निर्णायक नहीं कहा जा सकता. इस प्रश्न पर भी शास्त्री जी ने सोवियत रूस की मध्यस्थता स्वीकार की और ताशकंद में किसी भी विवादास्पद प्रश्न को हल किये बिना समझौता भी कर लिया.

इंदिरा गांधी ने इन घटनाओं से उचित सबक लिया और अपने पड़ोसियों के साथ भारत के संबंधों में किसी भी तीसरी ताकत का हस्तक्षेप बरदाश्त नहीं करने का निर्णय किया. इंदिरा गांधी को सबसे पहले बांगलादेश की चुनौती का सामना करना पड़ा. एक ओर निक्सन और किसिंजर इस बात पर जोर दे रहे थे कि भारत द्वारा बांगलादेश के शरणार्थियों की समस्या का हल निकालने के लिए बल का प्रयोग नहीं होना चाहिए, दूसरी ओर भारतीय लोकमत बांगलादेश की स्वतंत्रता को मान्यता दे कर इस प्रश्न को सुलझाने के लिए शीघ्र फौजी कार्रवाई का आग्रह कर रहा था. तीसरी ओर चीन भारत विरोधी रुख अख्तियार कर पाकिस्तान का खुल कर साथ दे रहा था. इस कठिन समय में इंदिरा गांधी ने बहुत सावधानी और चतुराई से काम किया, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है.

सबसे पहले उन्होंने संकल्पशक्ति के साथ अमरीकी दबाव का डट कर मुकाबला किया. फिर मास्को के साथ, अपने दूत की मारफत, सोवियत-भारत संधि की तथा चीन और अमरीका के विरोध का जवाब देने के लिए उपयुक्त व्यूहरचना की. भारत में लोकमत का दबाव बांगलादेश के पक्ष में बढ़ता चला जा रहा था, लेकिन चीन के संभावित फौजी हस्तक्षेप के खतरे को भी नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता था. इसलिए फौजी कार्रवाई के लिए तारीख मुकर्रर करते समय उन्होंने इस बात का भी खयाल रखा कि उत्तर में भारत और चीन की सीमाओं पर स्थित घाटियां दिसंबर में बर्फ से ढक जाती हैं और उसके बाद सेनाओं के लिए उन घाटियों को लांघ कर भारत की ओर बढ़ना असंभव हो जाता है. इस बीच भारत के पक्ष में अंतर्राष्ट्रीय लोकमत बनाने की दृष्टि से सरकारी और गैरसरकारी प्रयास भी बड़े पैमाने पर किये गये. इन सारे प्रयासों का नतीजा यह हुआ कि पूर्वी यूरोप के साथ-साथ पश्चिमी यूरोप की सोशल डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टियों में भी भारत के अनुकूल फिजां बनने लगी. इतना ही नहीं, अमरीका के विदेश विभाग और कांग्रेस (विधानमंडल) में एक विचारधारा बांगलादेश आंदोलन को हमदर्दी की निगाह से देखने लगी. इस तरह समुचित अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यूहरचना और पूरी सैनिक तैयारी के साथ इंदिरा गांधी ने बांगलादेश में फौजी हस्तक्षेप किया.

हमारे देश में अमरीका की जबरदस्त लॉबी है. वह लॉबी हमेशा भारत की अमरीका नीति की आलोचना करती रही है. बहुत दिनों तक अमरीका के शासक वर्ग ने ही नहीं, हमारे देश की इस लॉबी के कुछ लोगों ने भी इंदिरा गांधी को रूस का एजेंट साबित करने की कोशिश की. यह अमरीकी लॉबी हमेशा करती थी कि अमरीका द्वारा पाकिस्तान को जो हथियारी सहायता दी जा रही है, उसका उद्देश्य कम्युनिज्म के प्रसार को रोकना है. लेकिन यह तर्क बिल्कुल आधारहीन था. हेनरी किसिंजर ने, जो बाद में विदेश मामलों में राष्ट्रपति निक्सन और जैरी फोर्ड के प्रमुख सलाहकार बने, अपनी एक किताब में लिखा है कि अमरीका ने सिएटो, सेटो आदि जो फौजी संगठन बनाये थे, उनके पीछे दुश्मन या संकट के बारे में कोई मतैक्य नहीं था—'कम्युनिज्म के विरोध के नाम पर हमने पाकिस्तान को हथियार दिये, लेकिन पाकिस्तान कतई नहीं मानता था कि उसे कम्युनिस्ट आक्रमण से कोई खतरा है. वह भारत के विरुद्ध संरक्षण चाहता था और उसी के लिए पाकिस्तानी शासक हथियार बटोर रहे थे.' सच भी यही है. अगर पाकिस्तान का सैन्यीकरण कम्युनिस्ट आक्रमण से लड़ने के किया जा रहा था, तो फिर पाकिस्तान और कम्युनिस्ट चीन की मित्रता का क्या रहस्य था ? दोनों में कौन-सा वैचारिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक साम्य था ? दोनों को समान सूत्र में बांधनेवाली एक ही बात थी और है तथा वह है उनका भारत विद्वेष.

बांगलादेश के संबंध में निक्सन और किसिंजर, दोनों ने विस्तार से अपने संस्करण लिखे हैं. ये दोनों कहते थे कि भारत पश्चिम पाकिस्तान पर हमला कर उसको विघटित करना चाहता था, इसलिए हमें पाकिस्तान का साथ देना पड़ा. पर अमरीका का विदेश विभाग कहता था कि पूर्व पाकिस्तान की स्वतंत्रता को अब कोई रोक नहीं सकता ; वह अनिवार्य है और वांछनीय भी ; भारत केवल बांगलादेश को मुक्त कराने के लिए लड़ रहा है, पश्चिम पाकिस्तान को विघटित करने का उसका कोई इरादा नहीं है. लेकिन इस मूल्यांकन से निक्सन और किसिंजर कतई सहमत नहीं थे. उन्हें उम्मीद थी कि चीन पाकिस्तान के पक्ष में हस्तक्षेप करेगा और भारत को दोबारा सबक सिखायेगा. ऐसा होने पर यदि रूस चीन पर दबाव डालेगा और उसे धमकाने लगेगा, तो हम लोग पाकिस्तान और चीन का पूरी ताकत से साथ देंगे और यदि इससे आणविक युद्ध का खतरा भी उत्पन्न होता है,तो उस खतरे को भी हम झेलेंगे. इसी दृष्टि से भारत को डराने के लिए एंटरप्राइज नाम के जंगी जहाज को बंगाल सागर की दिशा में बढ़ने का आदेश निक्सन द्वारा दिया गया था. इसी के साथ भारत को नियंत्रित करने के लिए अमरीका द्वारा रूस पर जबरदस्त दबाव दिया जा रहा था और संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ की साधारण सभा में भारत के खिलाफ प्रस्ताव पास किये जा रहे थे. अमरीका और चीन के प्रभाव के कारण लगभग 104 देशों की सरकारों ने इस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में वोट दिया था, यह हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए. रूस ने कहा कि भारत पश्चिम पाकिस्तान को विघटित नहीं करेगा, इस बात की गारंटी हम देते हैं. इस पर भी निक्सन राजी नहीं हुए और तत्काल शस्त्र-संधि करने पर जोर देते रहे. लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी ने इस बात को बिल्कुल नहीं माना और जब तक पूर्व पाकिस्तान में पाकिस्तानी सेना ने पूर्णतया हथियार नहीं डाल दिये, तब तक लड़ाई बंद नहीं की. जैसे ही पूर्व पाकिस्तान की सेना ने आत्मसमर्पण किया, उन्होंने एकतरफा युद्धविराम

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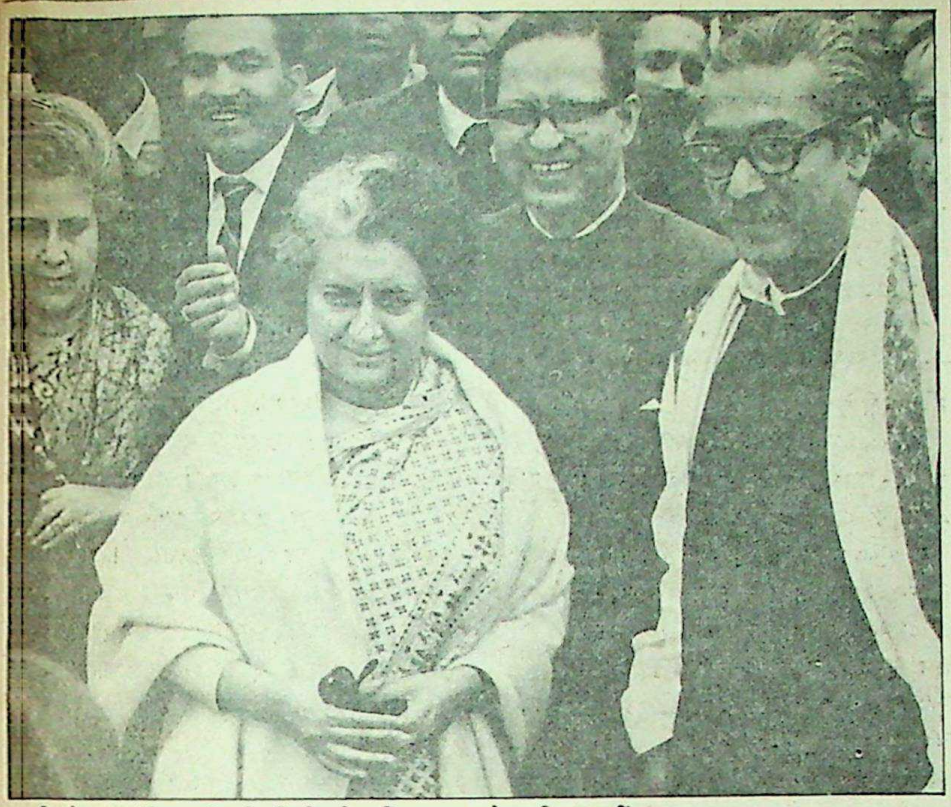

मुजीब के साथ इंदिरा : किसी भी तीसरी शक्ति का हस्तक्षेप स्वीकार नहीं

घोषणा कर दी. सुरक्षा परिषद में इस संबंध में प्रस्ताव पारित हुआ और पाकिस्तान ने भी शस्त्र-संधि कबूल की.

बांगलादेश की लड़ाई के बाद पाकिस्तान में बड़ा परिवर्तन आया और फौजी तानाशाही की जगह पर भुट्टो पाकिस्तान के नेता बने. बांगलादेश में आत्मसमर्पण करनेवाले पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों की बड़ी संख्या भारतीय कैद में थी. साथ ही, पाकिस्तान का कुछ हिस्सा भारत के कब्जे में था और भारतीय भूभाग का कुछ अंश पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में. इन सारे प्रश्नों को ले कर दोनों राज्यों के बीच बातचीत जरूरी थी. पर इंदिरा गांधी नहीं चाहती थीं कि किसी तीसरे पक्ष के तत्वावधान में यह बातचीत हो या कोई अन्य शक्ति भारत-पाकिस्तान विवाद में हस्तक्षेप करे. अतः सीधे वार्तालाप के आधार पर शिमला करार हुआ और इस करार में आपसी मतभेदों को परस्पर बातचीत के जरिये हल करने का प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत हुआ.

उसके बाद चाहे गंगा के पानी के बंटवारे का सवाल हो या कोई अन्य सवाल, इंदिरा गांधी पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों से सारे विवाद सीधी द्विपक्षीय बातचीत के जरिये निपटाने की नीति पर अडिग रहीं. नेपाल, भारत और बांगलादेश के बीच त्रिदलीय वार्ता हो, ढाका के इस सुझाव के वह सदा खिलाफ रहीं. भूटान और श्रीलंका के साथ भी उन्होंने अपना रिश्ता इसी आधार पर बनाया.

जहां जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भारत-चीन के मामले में कोलंबो देशों की मध्यस्थता कबूल की थी, इंदिरा गांधी ने भारत-चीन के साथ सीधे कूटनीतिक संबंध स्थापित कर आपसी बातचीत के लिए रास्ता साफ कर लिया. इंदिरा गांधी जानती थीं कि उत्तरी सीमा का विवाद अत्यंत जटिल है और जल्दबाजी में उसका किसी तरह कोई समाधान निकाल लेना श्रेयस्कर नहीं है. वह यह भी जानती थीं कि चूंकि भारत और चीन की अर्थव्यवस्थाएं परस्पर पूरक नहीं हैं, इसलिए दोनों के बीच आर्थिक और व्यावहारिक घनिष्ठता सीमित दायरे में ही हो सकती है. इन सारी सीमाओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए उन्होंने अपनी चीन नीति का निर्धारण किया. उन्होंने न चीन के प्रति कोई दुस्साहसिक नीति अपनायी और न ही उसके सामने घुटने टेके.

1980 के प्रारंभ में दोबारा सत्ता में आने के बाद इंदिरा गांधी के सामने कंपूचिया में वियतनामी सेना का प्रवेश और अफगानिस्तान में रूसी सेना का हस्तक्षेप, ये दो प्रश्न ज्वलंत रूप में आये. वैसे कंपूचिया का प्रश्न तो जनता राज में ही उपस्थित हो गया था. कंपूचिया में पोल पोट की कम्युनिस्ट हुकूमत ने उस देश के लगभग 20-25 लाख लोगों का, क्रांति के नाम पर, कत्ल कर डाला था. पोल पोट की इस खूनी नीति का चीन खुल कर साथ दे रहा था. इस खूंखार प्रशासन को समाप्त कर वियतनामी सेना ने हेंग सेमरिन के नेतृत्व में नयी सरकार का गठन किया. वियतनामी कार्यवाही की तुलना युगांडा में ईदी अमीन की हुकूमत के खिलाफ तंजानिया की कार्यवाही से ही की जा सकता है, हालांकि पोल पोट की हुकूमत ईदी अमीन से भी बर्बर थी. जनता सरकार के नेताओं ने कंपूचिया की नयी सरकार को मान्यता देने की बात मेरे सम्मुख कही थी. लेकिन बाद में वे बदल गये. एक कारण यह बताया गया कि 'एसिअन' देशों का बड़ा दबाव है. दूसरा कारण यह था कि अमरीका को यह बात पसंद नहीं आयेगी. तीसरा और अंदरूनी कारण यह था कि ऐसा करने से चीन नाराज हो जायेगा और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की चीन यात्रा में, जिसमें उनका मन अटका हुआ था, बाधा आयेगी. इन्हीं कारणों से हेंग सेमरीन की सरकार को जनता सरकार ने मान्यता नहीं दी. लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी ने सत्ता में लौटते ही यह काम कर डाला.

लेकिन जैसे भारत ने चीन के सामने यह शर्त नहीं रखी कि पोल पोट से वह अपना संबंध विच्छेद करे, उसी तरह हेंग सेमरीन सरकार को मान्यता न देने पर ही हम बातचीत करेंगे, चीन की इस शर्त को भी भारत को कबूल नहीं करना चाहिए था. इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा कंपूचिया सरकार को मान्यता देने के बाद चीन ने अपने गुस्से का प्रदर्शन किया और अपने विदेश मंत्री की भारत यात्रा रद्द कर दी. लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी जानती थीं कि यह गुस्सा तात्कालिक है. कुछ दिनों के बाद संबंधों को सामान्य बनाने की दृष्टि से चीन ने फिर बातचीत शुरू की. इसी एक घटना से सिद्ध हुआ कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति और विभिन्न शक्तियों के बलाबल का इंदिरा गांधी को सही ज्ञान था.

अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी के साथ चीन ने कैसा व्यवहार किया, इसकी चर्चा मैं विस्तार से नहीं करना चाहता. सिर्फ इतना ही कहना काफी है कि चीन ने वियतनाम पर आक्रमण किया और उसकी सूचना तक अटल जी को नहीं दी. अटल जी के साथ एक पत्रकार भी चीन गया था. उसने नयी दिल्ली को फोन किया, तब उसे मालूम हुआ कि जापान न्यूज एजेंसी की ओर से खबर प्रसारित की गयी है कि वियतनाम पर चीन ने हमला कर दिया है. तब कहीं अटल जी को पता चला. मोरारजी देसाई ने इस हमले की निंदा करते हुए अटल जी से कहा कि 'आतिथ्य बहुत हुआ, अब चुपचाप वापस आ जाइए.'

1978-79 में ही मेरी स्पष्ट राय थी कि हमें कंपूचिया की नयी सरकार को मान्यता दे कर वियतनाम और इंडोनेशिया, दोनों के साथ अपने ताल्लुकात को दृढ़ बनाना चाहिए. 1980 में इंदिरा गांधी ने वही काम किया, जो जनता सरकार को पहले ही करना चाहिए था.

अफगानिस्तान का प्रश्न भी चरण सिंह सरकार के अंतिम दिनों में यानी इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा शपथ ग्रहण के पहले ही उपस्थित हो गया था. चरण सिंह अनुभवहीन और इतने गंभीर प्रश्न पर सही निर्णय करने में सर्वथा असमर्थ व्यक्ति थे. संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ में भारत द्वारा अपनाया गया रुख कुछ हद तक अतिवादी था, लेकिन संक्रमण की उस घड़ी

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हर महफिल की शान

रत्ना छाप

ज़ाफरानी पत्ती

न० ४५०, ३००, २००, १५०,
६४, ३०, २०, १३

लाजवाब स्वाद के लिये
रत्ना छाप ज़ाफरानी पत्ती
लेना न भूलें

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VAISHALI

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मे इस निर्णय की जिम्मेदारी किसकी थी, यह तय करना मुश्किल है. जो भी हो, पदग्रहण के बाद इंदिरा गांधी ने अफगानिस्तान के मामले में भारत और रूस को एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ खड़ा करने के प्रयास को नाकाम बना दिया और राष्ट्रहित की दृष्टि से सही रुख अपनाया.

इंदिरा गांधी जानती थीं कि अमरीका हिंद महासागर और खाड़ी इलाकों यानी पश्चिम और दक्षिण एशिया में अपना प्रभुत्व बढ़ाना चाहता है. अमरीका द्वारा दियागो गार्सिया में सैनिक अड्डे का निर्माण, रैपिड डिप्लॉयमेंट फोर्स आदि सारी योजनाएं इसी उद्देश्य से कार्यान्वित की जा रही थीं. अफगानिस्तान में धर्मांध शासन के लिए भी अमरीका प्रयत्नशील था. अतः इंदिरा गांधी को इस बात का एहसास था कि सिर्फ सोवियत हस्तक्षेप की निंदा करना उचित नहीं होगा, अमरीकी हस्तक्षेप की भी आलोचना करनी होगी. अफगानिस्तान में रूस की सैनिक कार्रवाई के विरोध का बहाना बना कर पाकिस्तान के सैन्यीकरण की अमरीकी व्यूहरचना भारत के लिए खतरनाक थी. इसीलिए इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा कि पाकिस्तान और अफगानिस्तान तथा अमरीका और रूस आपसी बातचीत के जरिये इस समस्या का राजनीतिक समाधान निकालें; जहां तक भारत का सवाल है, वह चाहेगा कि अफगानिस्तान पूर्ववत एक स्वतंत्र और तटस्थ राष्ट्र बना रहे तथा उसके अंदरूनी मामलों में अमरीकी हस्तक्षेप बंद हो और रूसी सेना भी वापस चली जाये, परंतु किसी भी हालत में अफगानिस्तान में मुल्ला शासन स्थापित करने के लिए भारत रूस के साथ अपने मित्रतापूर्ण संबंधों को बिगाड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं होगा, क्योंकि ऐसा करना हमारे लिए सामरिक संकट को न्योता देना होगा.

हमारे कुछ मित्र अफगान शरणार्थियों के मानवीय प्रश्न को ले कर आंदोलन छेड़ना चाहते थे. मैंने उनसे कहा कि पोल पोट द्वारा जब कंपूचिया में वंश-विच्छेद किया जा रहा था, तब आपकी मानवीयता कहां गायब हो गयी थी ? क्या आपने इस बात का पता लगाया है कि पाकिस्तान वास्तव में रूस से लड़ना चाहता है या सिर्फ रूसी हस्तक्षेप का हौवा खड़ा कर हथियार बटोरना चाहता है ? क्या वजह है कि पाकिस्तान की अधिकांश सेना आज भी उसकी पश्चिमी सीमा पर नहीं, भारत से सटी पूर्वी सीमा पर स्थित है ?

इंदिरा गांधी की विदेश नीति पर सबसे बड़ा आक्षेप यह है कि वह पड़ोसियों के साथ अच्छे संबंध कायम नहीं कर पायीं. इस आरोप में कुछ तथ्य हो सकता है. पर मैं यह स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि विदेश मामलों में जहां बल को एकमात्र आधार बनाना अनुचित है, वैसे ही सिर्फ प्रेम और मित्रता की बात करना भी बेकार है. प्रेम

शिमला समझौते के दौरान श्रीमती गांधी और भुट्टो : बातचीत से समाधान का संकल्प

को कमजोरी माना जाता है और दुर्बल पड़ोसी भी आंखें दिखाने लगते हैं. अतः न्याय और बल, प्रेम और भय दोनों के सम्मिश्रण से ही विदेश नीति सिद्ध होती है. इस बात को इंदिरा गांधी समझती थीं. 'गोली के बिना राज्य नहीं किया जा सकता, अपने लोगों के खिलाफ भी कभी-कभी बल का प्रयोग करना जरूरी है' ऐसा माननेवाले और पुलिस गोलीकांडों द्वारा मराठी और गुजराती भाषी लोगों की निर्मम हत्या करनेवाले मोरारजी गोवा और बांगलादेश के मामलों में बल प्रयोग निषिद्ध ठहराते थे. यह निस्संदेह अनुचित था.

इंदिरा गांधी की परमाणु नीति का मैं आलोचक रहा हूं. पोखरन परमाणु विस्फोट की प्रासंगिकता और औचित्य के बारे में मैं शंकित था. इस विस्फोट से भारत के प्रति अविश्वास की भावना दूर-दूर तक फैली. लेकिन पाकिस्तान ने परमाणु बनाने का निर्णय इस कारण नहीं किया था, वह तो पहले ही हो चुका था. इसके बावजूद भारत के पोखरन परमाणु विस्फोट से पाकिस्तान को प्रचार की दृष्टि से लाभ हुआ. परमाणु बम के निर्माण का निर्णय किये बिना इस तरह के विस्फोट का कोई अर्थ नहीं था. यह फैसला आज तक नहीं किया गया है, यह दुर्भाग्य है.

हो सकता है कि पोखरन के विस्फोट के लिए आंतरिक राजनीति की विवशताएं जिम्मेदार रही हों. उन दिनों इंदिरा गांधी की राजनीतिक स्थिति बिगड़ रही थी, जिसे संभालने के लिए यह विस्फोट किया गया हो. लेकिन इससे यही सिद्ध होता है कि आंतरिक राजनीति और विदेश नीति का अन्योन्याश्रित संबंध है. आंतरिक राजनीति की कमजोरियों का असर विदेश नीति पर पड़ना अवश्यंभावी है, वे कमजोरियां विदेश नीति को भी दुर्बल बना देती हैं. भ्रष्टाचार के अलावा अर्थ नीति, उद्योग तथा कृषि के क्षेत्र में कमियां तथा वैज्ञानिक प्रगति की मंथर गति इंदिरा शासन के बड़े दोष थे. इनके कारण हमारी विदेश नीति भी प्रभावहीन हुई. ये कमियां न होतीं, तो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति में इंदिरा गांधी ज्यादा सफल होतीं. □

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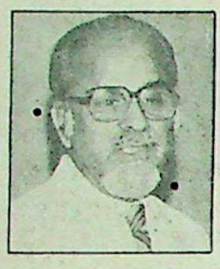
रूस में बेहद लोकप्रिय हैं इंदिरा गांधी

इंद्रकुमार गुजराल



1977 की बात है. लोकसभा के चुनाव में इंदिरा गांधी और उनकी पार्टी हार गयी. मोरारजी भाई ने जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनायी. इसके कोई एक बरस पहले मैं राजदूत बन कर मास्को गया था. अब हालात बदल गये थे. लेकिन मोरारजी भाई चाहते थे कि मैं अपने पद पर बना रहूं.

मास्को वापस लौटने के दो-तीन दिन बाद हम एक बाग में टहल रहे थे कि एक महिला ने मेरी धर्मपत्नी की साड़ी देख कर पूछा, 'क्या आप भारतीय हैं ?' जवाब 'हां' में मिलने पर वे कहने लगीं, 'मेरी तो समझ में ही नहीं आता कि आप लोगों ने क्यों इंदिरा गांधी को उनकी जगह से हटा दिया है. वह इतनी अच्छी हैं और अभी उनकी उम्र ही क्या है. मैं तो उनको बहुत प्यार करती हूं.'

हमने कहा, 'बात तो आप ठीक कहती हैं, लेकिन चुनाव हारने से हमारे यहां उनका मान कोई कम थोड़े ही हुआ है. हां, सत्ता की बात और है, क्योंकि हमारे देश में चुनाव आपके देश से अलग ढंग के होते हैं.' थोड़ी देर बाद हाथ मिला कर और 'दसविदानिया' कह कर वह चली तो गयीं, लेकिन उनके चेहरे से लग रहा था कि उन्हें हमारी बात समझ में नहीं आयी.

सोवियत संघ के किसी भी शहर में जाये, तो साड़ी देख लोग जरूर पूछते हैं, 'क्या आप भारतवासी हैं ?' और फिर मुसकराहट और प्यार से राज कपूर तथा इंदिरा गांधी का नाम लेते हैं. ये दोनों नाम इस देश में कितने मशहूर हैं, खुद वहां रहे बिना इसका अंदाजा लगाना मुश्किल होगा.

इंदिरा जी पहले तो पंडित जी के साथ और बाद में मंत्री और प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में अनेक बार रूस गयीं. उनकी लोकप्रियता का कुछ अंदाज इस बात से ही लगाइए कि आज रूस के विभिन्न हिस्सों में सौ खानदान ऐसे मिलेंगे, जिन्होंने प्यार और आदर से अपनी बेटियों का नाम इंदिरा रखा हुआ है. 1977 में जब श्रीमती गांधी रूस यात्रा पर आयी थीं, तो अपने साथ वह रूसी इंदिराओं के लिए उपहार भी ले आयी थीं. मैत्री सोसाइटी की मदद से हमने दूतावास में सबके नाम और पते जमा कर रखे थे.

राजीव गांधी की रूस यात्रा के दौरान 'लेनिन हिल' के एक चौराहे का नाम इंदिरा जी के नाम पर रखा गया है. रूस में यह सम्मान बाहरवालों को नहीं दिया जाता. कुछ मूर्तियां उन लोगों की जरूर हैं, जो अपने देश में कम्युनिस्ट नेता थे. लालबहादुर शास्त्री की प्रतिमा भी ताशकंद में है. लेकिन इंदिरा जी को जो सम्मान दिया गया, वह अनोखा है.

उस जमाने में, जब भारत में सरकारें बदल रही थीं, राजदूत के काम में एक अपनी किस्म का निरालापन आ गया था. ब्रेजनेव आम तौर पर राजदूतों से नहीं मिलते थे. केवल कम्युनिस्ट देशों के प्रतिनिधियों और अमरीकी राजदूत को कभी-कभार मिलने की सहूलियत थी, और किसी को नहीं. लेकिन जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनने के बाद ब्रेजनेव साहब ने मुझे बुला भेजा. भारत-रूस दोस्ती के लंबे इतिहास में यह पहली और आखिरी बार हुआ.

ब्रेजनेव मोरारजी भाई को जानते नहीं थे और जनता पार्टी के संबंध में उन्होंने सुन रखा था कि वह सोवियत संघ के साथ रिश्तों को जरा ढीला करना चाहती है. बातचीत के दौरान उन्होंने इंदिरा जी का नाम तो नहीं लिया, लेकिन यह जरूर साफ कर दिया कि उनके देश की नीति भारत से मित्रता की है.

जनता युग के ढाई सालों में मोरारजी देसाई दो बार मास्को आये और वहां की सरकार ने उनको वही इज्जत और मान दिया, जो उन्होंने इंदिरा जी को दिया था. सड़कों पर वही भीड़, वही क्रेमलिन में ठहरना, वही दोस्ताना बातचीत, वही आर्थिक सहयोग, इस्पात और अल्यूमिनियम के कारखाने. कोशिश मौका-बेमौका यही थी कि नयी सरकार को यह न लगे कि रूसी नेताओं का इंदिरा जी से व्यक्तिगत संबंध भी था. यहां तक कि बातचीत में इंदिरा जी का जिक्र तक नहीं आया.

एक बात जरूर हुई, जिसकी भारतीय अखबारों में बहुत चर्चा हुई. इंदिरा जी गद्दी से हटने के बाद 78 में लंदन गयी थीं. लौटते वक्त ब्रिटिश पुलिस के कहने से उन्होंने अपना कार्यक्रम बदल लिया और बजाय सीधे वापस आने के वह रूसी वायुयान से मास्को के रास्ते वापस आयीं. इसे हमारे सरकारी तंत्र का बोदापन कहिए या लापरवाही कि न तो भारतीय दूतावास और न ही एअर इंडियावालों ने मास्को में हम लोगों को सूचना दी और पूर्वनिर्धारित कार्यक्रम के अनुसार मैं उसी दिन सुबह लुथानिया चला गया. मैं अभी वहां पहुंचा ही था कि मास्को से फोन आया, कि इंदिरा जी अभी-अभी हवाई अड्डे पर पहुंची हैं. रघुनाथ बेचारे भागे, लेकिन जब तक वह 40 किलोमीटर का सफर तय करते, इंदिरा जी का वायुयान दिल्ली के लिए उड़ चुका था. बात कुल इतनी ही हुई, लेकिन ए. पी. शर्मा और प्रणव मुखर्जी ने दिल्ली के अखबारवालों को बताया कि ग्रोमिको इंदिरा जी से मिलने हवाई अड्डे पर आये थे और फोन से इंदिरा जी से बात भी की थी.

माजरा क्या है, यह जानने के लिए मैं फर्स्ट डिप्टी मिनिस्टर माल्त्सीव से मिलने गया. वह मेरे पुराने दोस्त थे. बहुत बरसों तक दिल्ली में राजदूत रह चुके थे. मैंने उनसे कहा कि अच्छा हुआ, ग्रोमिको साहब इंदिरा जी से मिल आये, क्योंकि हमारी बहुदलीय पद्धति में विरोधी दल वालों का अच्छा स्थान होता है. अगर आप हम लोगों को भी बता देते, तो उनके जन्म दिन की बधाई हम भी दे देते. यह सुनते ही माल्त्सीव साहब की दुविधा उनके चेहरे पर उभर आयी. बात टालने के लिए उन्होंने कहा—'राजदूत जी, आप तो जानते ही हैं कि मास्को हवाई अड्डे से हजारों यात्री रोज गुजरते हैं. अब हमारे दफ्तर के लिए यह हिसाब रखना मुश्किल है कि कौन-कौन आया और फिर किस-किस दूतावास को हम सूचित करें.' और फिर जरा व्यंग्यपूर्वक कहा, 'भाई, यह तो आपका काम है कि अपने देशवासियों के आने-जाने का ध्यान रखें.' उठते वक्त नफासत के साथ और बड़े परोक्ष ढंग से उन्होंने सुना दिया कि ग्रोमिको उस दिन मास्को से जरा बाहर गये हुए थे.

कुछ दिन बीत गये. शायद दिल्ली के रूसी दूतावास ने अपने विदेश मंत्रालय से कहा होगा कि जरा और सफाई की जरूरत है, क्योंकि दिल्ली के कुछ राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में बात चल रही थी कि मास्को इंदिरा जी से सांठ-गांठ कर रहा है. पेगोव बहुत बरसों तक भारत में राजदूत रहे थे (अब तो यह भला आदमी स्वर्ग सिधार गया है), लेकिन वापस जाने पर भी उनकी दिलचस्पी भारत में कम नहीं हुई थी. मेरे व्यक्तिगत मित्र भी थे और चूंकि लोवेट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में उनकी अहम पोजीशन थी, इसलिए उनसे मिलते-जुलते रहना मेरे लिए जरूरी था.

एक दिन खुद ही उनका फोन आया, तो मैंने लंच के लिए उन्हें बुला लिया. बातों-बातों में

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कहने लगे, 'आपको एक बात बताऊं. मैं एक दिन सुबह रेडियो सुन रहा था, तो पता चला कि इंदिरा मास्को से गुजर रही हैं. आप जानते हैं, मेरी उनसे पुरानी दोस्ती है. मैं कार में बैठा और जल्दी से शेरेमोतोव हवाई अड्डे की ओर भागा और फिर मुझे खयाल आया—अरे, आज तो 19 नवंबर है, इंदिरा जी का जन्मदिन. मैंने गाड़ी रोकी और पास की दुकान से कुछ फूल भी खरीद लिये. भागा-भागा मै हवाई अड्डे पहुंचा, तो वक्त काफी निकल चुका था. खैर,मैंने कहा, 'इंदिरा, तुमको जन्म दिन की बधाई ! चलो, इस खुशी मे काफी पियें.' निहायत मासूमाना अंदाज में पेगोव ने मुझे कुल संदेशा दे दिया.

जब मैं राजदूत के रूप मे पहली बार मास्को गया था, उस वक्त इमर्जेंसी करीबन एक बरस पुरानी हो चुकी थी. फिर भी हर किस्म की व्यक्तिगत भेंट में बात उसी पर पहुंच जाती, हालांकि रूसी नेताओं को मालूम था कि इस मामले मे मेरी राय दूसरी है.

आम तौर पर सोवियत कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने यह मान लिया था कि इंदिरा जी ने इमर्जेंसी मजबूरी की हालत मे लगायी थी, क्योंकि दक्षिणपंथियों द्वारा उनका तख्ता पलट दिये जाने का खतरा था. लेकिन ज्यो-ज्यों संजय गांधी ने भारत मे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को आंख दिखाना शुरू किया, वहां के सोच मे हैरानी पैदा हुई, हालांकि शुरू में उनका खयाल था कि अगर इंदिरा गांधी संजय को अपना उत्तराधिकारी बना रही हैं, तो इसमें कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, क्योंकि विकासशील देशों मे किसी न किसी खानदान का बोलबाला रहा ही है.

जब हिंदुस्तान के अंदरूनी हालात मे कशमकश बढ़ने लगी और इमर्जेंसी की ज्यादतियों की बात विदेशों के अखबारों मे पहुंचनी शुरू हुई, तो पेगोव मुझसे उस वक्त भी मिलने आये. वह परेशान थे. कहने लगे, 'तुम इंदिरा जी से मेरे रिश्ते जानते हो, लेकिन मैं आज हैरान हूं. वह कर क्या रही हैं. क्या वह समझती हैं कि वह अब भारत की मलिका बन गयी हैं. इस तरह सब कुछ टूट जायेगा, बिखर जायेगा.' मैंने बात बदलने की कोशिश की, लेकिन वह बार-बार उसी बात पर वापस आ जाते थे. कहने लगे, 'आप उनको खत लिख कर बताओ, जो मैंने कहा है. वह मेरी बात का कभी बुरा नहीं मानेंगी.' मैंने हंस कर फिर टाला और कहा, 'पेगोव साहब, आप इंदिरा जी के बेशक दोस्त हैं, लेकिन आप मेरे भी तो मित्र हैं. मेरी गरदन क्यों पेश करना चाहते हैं ?' वैसे इन व्यक्तिगत बातों के परे मास्को के नेतृत्व को इस बात का पूरा एहसास था कि जवाहरलाल जी की बनायी हुई मजबूत विदेश नीति को आगे बढ़ाने और उसे समझ के साथ आगे ले जाने मे इंदिरा जी की बहुत अहम भूमिका थी.

इंदिरा गांधी हिंदुस्तान के राष्ट्रीय हितों को बखूबी समझती थीं. हालांकि उन्हें विश्वास था कि हिंद-रूस दोस्ती से दोनों मुल्कों को फायदा है, लेकिन बतौर एक समझदार कूटनीतिज्ञ के वह इसकी हदें जानती थीं.

उस जमाने में रूस और चीन गहरे तनाव के युग से गुजर रहे थे. रूसी नेता भारत को शक की नजर से नहीं देखते थे, फिर भी वे गाहे-बगाहे कहते रहते थे, 'जरा संभल कर चलना, ये चीनी विश्वास के काबिल नहीं हैं.' उन्हीं दिनों दिल्ली मे चीन-भारत मैत्री संघ के अध्यक्ष पंडित सुंदरलाल का जन्मदिन मनाया गया. यों तो शायद इसको इतनी अहमियत न दी जाती, लेकिन कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष देवकांत बरुआ ने चीन के बखान में एक लंबी-चौड़ी तकरीर कर दी.

खबर आने के कुछ ही दिन बाद मैंने आर्थिक सहायता के मंत्री शेल्चकोव के साथ तेल और विशाखापत्तनम के इस्पात कारखाने के लिए एक अनुबंध पर दस्तखत किये. रस्म खत्म हुई, तो शेल्चकोव ने ताना मारा, 'राजदूत महोदय, जब आपको चीन से कुछ ऐसा मिले, तो हमें बताइयेगा.'

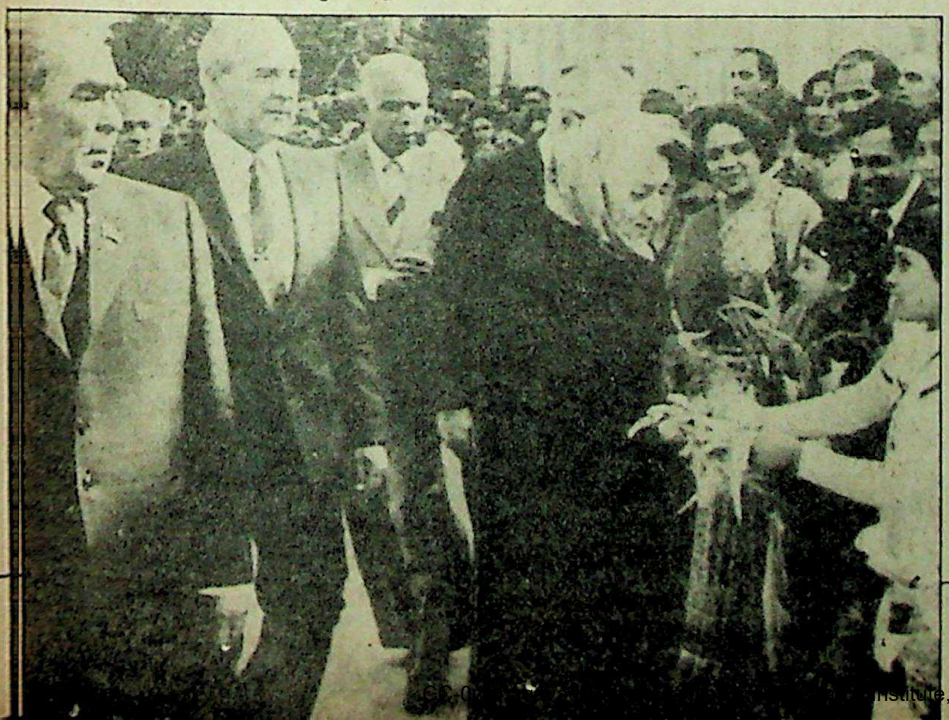
इस चुभती टिप्पणी के बारे में मैंने इंदिरा जी को बताया, तो जवाब में और बातों के अलावा उन्होंने कहा—'मास्कोवालों को अपने ढंग से समझाइए कि वे इतिहास के बदलते दौर को पहचानें.' श्रीमती गांधी की मजबूत पकड़ की यह एक मिसाल है. वह मैत्री को कभी यह रूप नहीं देना चाहती थीं कि मास्कोवाले उसे खास दोस्ती समझें.

इसीलिए जब इंदिरा जी ने ठीक समझा, तो कुछ जहाज और पनडुब्बियां यूरोप से लेना शुरू कर दिया. मास्कोवालों को यह बात अच्छी नहीं लगी और अपने ढंग से उन्होंने इसकी ओर इशारा भी किया. हमारे नीति निर्धारक ठीक ही सोचते थे कि अब ताकत के केंद्र सिर्फ रूस और अमरीका ही नहीं हैं, बल्कि यूरोप और जापान उभर कर सामने आ रहे हैं. भारत की ताकत बढ़ी है, इसीलिए हमें अपनी खिड़कियां हर तरफ खुली रखनी चाहिए. परंतु विदेश नीति की मजबूती इस बात मे भी होती है कि आपके दोस्त आपको विश्वासयोग्य और स्थायी दोस्त मानें.

इंदिरा जी ने इस भूमिका को ठीक-ठीक निभाया. अमरीका की अपनी नीतियां कुछ ऐसी रही हैं कि वे हमारे हितों के साथ मेल नहीं खाती थीं, तो भी हमने आर्थिक हितों पर दबाव नहीं आने दिया और अमरीका और दूसरे पश्चिमी देशों से ऐसे संबंध बना कर रखे, जिनसे हमें फायदा पहुंचे.

बाद मे लिखी गयी किताबों से पता लगता है कि 1971 मे निक्सन हिंदुस्तान पर परमाणु बम फेंकने की भी सोच रहे थे. इस दौर में प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती गांधी ने सोवियत संघ के साथ समझौता कर अपनी सुरक्षा को मजबूत कर लिया था, हालांकि यह बात बहुत दिन पहले दिनेश सिंह जी ने विदेश मंत्री के रूप मे शुरू कर दी थी. अफगानिस्तान, हिंद महासागर, वियतनाम, कंपूचिया और बहुत-से मसले ऐसे हैं, जिन पर बात की जाये, तो लंबी खिंच जायेगी. फिर भी मैं यह गवाही तो दे ही सकता हूं कि इनमें से किसी भी मुद्दे पर श्रीमती गांधी ने कोई बात दबाव मे आ कर नहीं मानी. सिर्फ राष्ट्रीय हितों को ध्यान मे रख कर नीतियां और रवैये अख्तियार किये, इसीलिए उनकी विदेश नीति की विरासत बहुत कीमती है. □

श्रीमती गांधी : हिंद-रूस दोस्ती की पुख्ता शुरुआत



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जिन्होंने इंदिरा जी की तसवीरों को जूते मारे, वे आज मंत्री बने बैठे हैं—कमलापति त्रिपाठी

☐ **सवाल :** *आपने नेहरू परिवार की तीनों पीढ़ियों जवाहरलाल, इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी के साथ काम किया है. तीनों मे आपको क्या फर्क महसूस होता है ?*

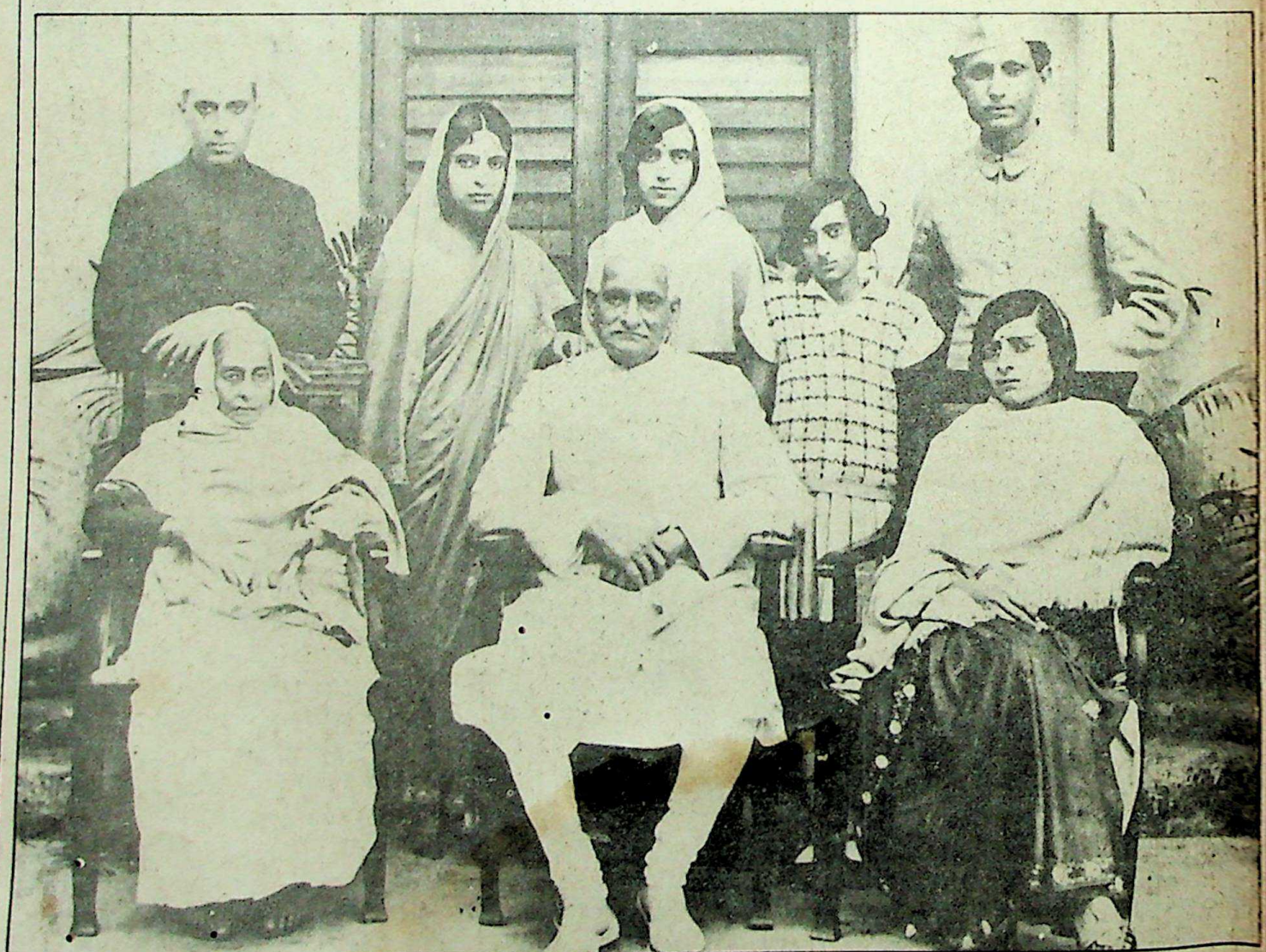
☐ **जवाब :** जहां तक फर्क का सवाल है, जवाहरलाल जी तो जवाहरलाल थे. इंदिरा गांधी उनकी बेटी और राजीव जवाहरलाल के नाती और इंदिरा गांधी के बेटे हैं. मुझे तो यही फर्क लगता है. आप मुझे इस तरह के विवादास्पद सवालों में फंसाना चाहते हैं कि मैं इन बड़े लोगों मे फर्क निकालूं ? एक-दूसरे की कार्यशैली और क्षमता पर टीका-टिप्पणी करूं, सो मैं नहीं करनेवाला हूं. मुझे नौसिखिया राजनीतिज्ञ न समझना, मैं बड़ा पुराना पत्रकार भी हूं. यह भी जानता हूं कि आजकल के युवा पत्रकार लोगों को सवालों मे फंसाने की कोशिश करते हैं, सो मैं नहीं फंसनेवाला.

☐ **सवाल :** *बात तीनों की कार्यशैली की है, टीका-टिप्पणी की नहीं.*

☐ **जवाब :** अच्छा तो सुनो. नेहरू जी ने जो नीतियां कायम कीं, उन पर हमेशा इंदिरा जी चलीं और इंदिरा जी की नीतियों पर बहुत कुछ राजीव जी चल रहे हैं. बहुत तेजी से चल रहे हैं. उसमें वह सफल भी हुए. उससे देश का बहुत फायदा हो रहा है. हालांकि उनके पास राजनीतिक अनुभव नहीं था, लेकिन जिस कुशलता से उन्होंने देश का नेतृत्व संभाला है, वह प्रशंसा योग्य है. यह सब उन संस्कारों के कारण है, जो नेहरू परिवार में थे. इतने गुण इस परिवार के अलावा और किसी में हो ही नहीं सकते हैं, जो हमें आशा थी, उससे ज्यादा आज वह कर रहे हैं.

☐ **सवाल :** *आप नेहरू परिवार के संपर्क में कब आये ?*

☐ **जवाब :** मैंने आजादी की लड़ाई में 1920 से हिस्सा लिया. गांधी जी के पीछे-पीछे तबसे चलना शुरू किया और आज तक चल रहा हूं. मोतीलाल नेहरू का भी सान्निध्य हमें प्राप्त हुआ है. जब वह उत्तरप्रदेश कांग्रेस समिति के अध्यक्ष थे, तो मैं बनारस जिले और कमिश्नरी में कांग्रेस का काम



तीन पीढ़ियां : मोतीलाल नेहरू, जवाहरलाल नेहरू और बचपन की 'इंदु'

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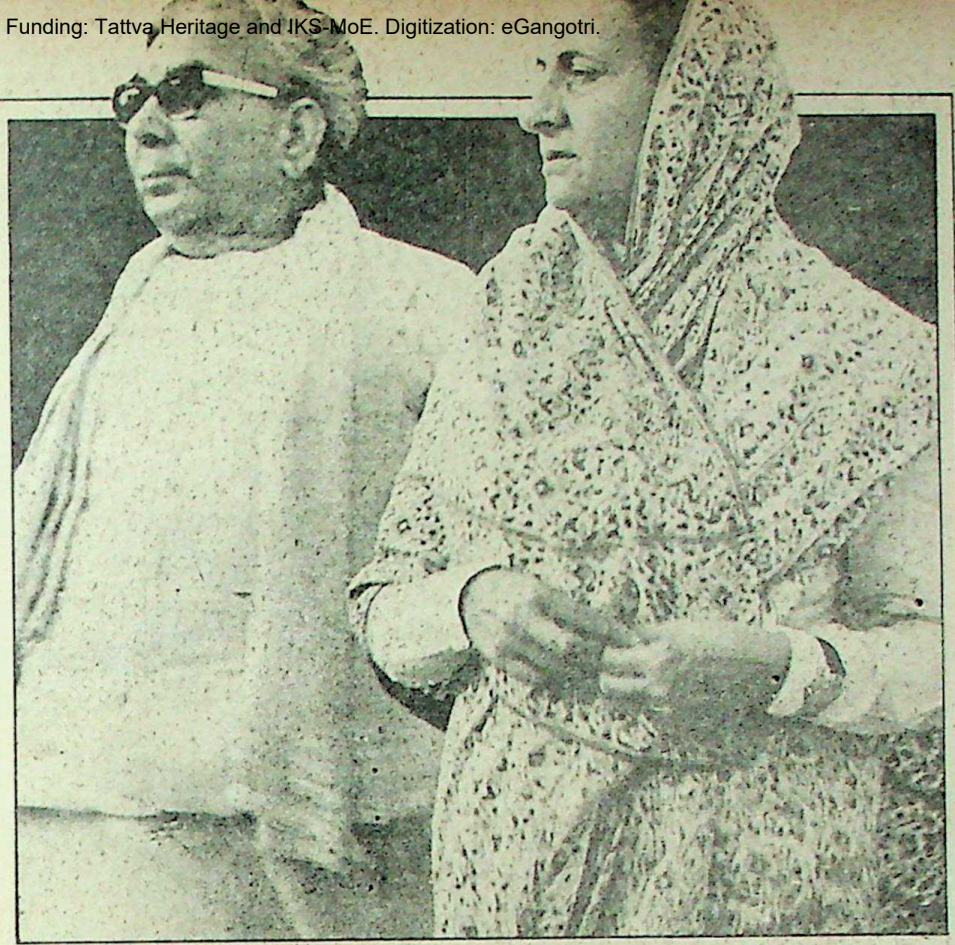
Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

देखता था. वह बहुत बड़े आदमी थे, मैं एक छोटा-सा कार्यकर्ता. उनका नाम एक मशहूर वकील के रूप में लिया जाता था. कोई राजा, महाराजा, या नवाब क्या रहता होगा, जिस शान-शौकत से मोतीलाल जी रहते थे. आनंद भवन की साज-सज्जा देखने अंगरेज गवर्नर आया करते थे. जवाहरलाल जी उन दिनों विलायत में पढ़ते थे. उन्हें लोग वहां 'प्रिंस जवाहर' कहा करते थे. तो यह महिमा थी उस परिवार की. गांधी जी के कहने पर वह आजादी के आंदोलन में कूद पड़े. हम छात्रों को इसी बात से बहुत हौसला मिलता था कि इतना बड़ा आदमी फकीर बन कर देश के लिए लग गया. 1920 के कलकत्ता अधिवेशन में सभी ने गांधी जी के असहयोग प्रस्ताव का विरोध किया, लेकिन मोतीलाल जी ने इसका समर्थन किया.1921 के नागपुर अधिवेशन में यह पारित हुआ. मोतीलाल जी ने उन दिनों अपने लाखों रुपये के विदेशी कपड़ों की होली जला दी थी. इसी दौरान जवाहरलाल जी विलायत से पढ़ कर आ गये और वह भी आजादी की लड़ाई में कूद पड़े. हमें उनका साथ देने का अवसर मिला. वह बनारस भी आये थे. उनकी आवाज में जो ताकत थी, उससे हजारों लोग उनके पीछे हो लिये. हर आदमी इस परिवार के त्याग-बलिदान से बहुत प्रभावित था.



कमलापति त्रिपाठी और इंदिरा गांधी : बरसों का साथ छाया : चित्रजित घोष

□□ **सवाल** : *अच्छा पंडित जी, यह बताइए कि इंदिरा जी के संपर्क में आप कब और कैसे आये ?*

□□ **जवाब** : इंदिरा जी को मैंने पहली बार 1920 में आनंद भवन के गलियारे में घूमते देखा था. उस समय वह चार या पांच साल की रही होंगी. एक फ्राक पहने टहल रही थीं. जिला खिलाफत आंदोलन में अलीबंधु इलाहाबाद आये थे. गांधी जी भी आये थे. हम लोग काशी विद्यापीठ में पढ़ते थे. वालंटियर बना कर इलाहाबाद भेजे गये थे. आज तक मुझे आनंद भवन के गलियारे का वह दृश्य याद है जब पांच साल की एक लड़की गांधी जी की उंगली पकड़े चल रही थी. पूछा किसी से, तो पता चला कि जवाहरलाल जी की बेटी इंदु है. मन बड़ा प्रसन्न हुआ. मैं तो आपसे कहता हूं कि दुनिया में ऐसा कोई परिवार नहीं है, जो इस तरह देश के लिए समर्पित हो. मोतीलाल जी, उनकी पत्नी, जवाहरलाल जी और इंदिरा जी देश की आजादी के लिए कई बार जेल गये. साइमन कमीशन में ये सब पीटे गये. कमला जी, इंदिरा जी, उनके पति फीरोज गांधी, विजयलक्ष्मी, आर. एस. पंडित, उनके चचेरे भाई श्यामलाल नेहरू, पत्नी उमा नेहरू सभी जेल गये. पूरा परिवार देश के लिए ही लगा रहा. कमला जी जेल में ही बीमार हुईं और बाद में उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी.

□ **सवाल** : *मेरा सवाल इंदिरा जी के संबंध में है, नेहरू परिवार के बारे में नहीं.*

□ **जवाब** : बस नेहरू परिवार के प्रति इसी सम्मान की भावना के कारण ही मैं हमेशा इंदिरा जी के भी साथ रहा. मुझे कुछ राजनीतिक मान्यताओं का खयाल था, जिसके कारण इंदिरा जी के साथ जुड़ना मैंने ठीक समझा. मैंने देखा कि यदि कांग्रेस को कोई मरने से बचा सकता है, उसमें शक्ति भर सकता है, तो वह इंदिरा जी ही हैं. इसीलिए 1969 में मैंने इंदिरा जी का ही साथ पकड़ा.

□ **सवाल** : *1969 की घटना क्या थी ?*

□ **जवाब** : 1969 में लोगों ने इंदिरा जी को अकेला छोड़ने की भरपूर चेष्टा की. उन्हें तरह-तरह से तंग किया गया. बंगलूर अधिवेशन में कार्यसमिति की बैठक में इंदिरा जी की ओर से मांग उठायी गयी कि कांग्रेस के पिछले अधिवेशनों में जो प्रस्ताव पारित हुए, उनका पालन सरकार को करना चाहिए. इसमें प्रिवीपर्स खत्म करना और बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण शामिल था. इसका बड़ा विरोध हुआ. कार्यसमिति के ज्यादातर सदस्य प्रिवीपर्स खत्म करने या बैंक राष्ट्रीयकरण के खिलाफ थे. मैंने इंदिरा जी के प्रस्तावों का समर्थन किया. इस पर कांग्रेस के एक वरिष्ठ नेता ने तो यहां तक कहा था कि 'लगता है इंदिरा जी के प्रस्ताव पर पार्टी का विभाजन हो जायेगा. अच्छा है यह कल होने के बजाय आज हो जाये, लेकिन उनके प्रस्ताव को नहीं माना जाना चाहिए.'

बंगलूर में ही मुझे पता चला कि कांग्रेस के अंदर इंदिरा विरोधी गुट की योजना है कि संजीव रेड्डी को राष्ट्रपति बनवा दो, जो बाद में इंदिरा सरकार को भंग कर देंगे और जनसंघियों से मिल कर ऐसी सरकार बनायेंगे, जो नेहरू व समाजवाद के रास्ते से अलग होगी. दूसरे दिन संसदीय बोर्ड की बैठक थी. इंदिरा जी ने वहां राष्ट्रपति पद के लिए जगजीवन राम का नाम प्रस्तावित कर दिया. मतदान हुआ, इंदिरा जी बुरी तरह हारीं. उनके पक्ष में केवल एक वोट और विरोध में यानी संजीव रेड्डी के पक्ष में 13 वोट पड़े. इस बात पर अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति अधिवेशन में जम कर शोरगुल हुआ. बहुत तनाव का वातावरण था. इंदिरा जी मंच से उठ कर मेरे पास आयीं और बोलीं कि जगजीवन बाबू के नाम का ऐलान मैं खुले अधिवेशन में करने जा रही हूं. मैंने उन्हें मना किया कि इससे वह हार जायेंगी. जो कार्यसमिति का फैसला हो, उसे मान लेना चाहिए. वह बोलीं, 'अब मैं इन लोगों के फैसले को कतई नहीं मान सकती हूं. हमें विरोध करना ही होगा.' मैंने कहा, 'फिर आपका जो आदेश होगा, मैं करूंगा.' खैर, उस समय उन्होंने वह घोषणा नहीं की. बाद में वी. वी. गिरि का समर्थन किया गया, वह राष्ट्रपति बने. कांग्रेस में विभाजन के बाद के चुनाव में इंदिरा जी जीतीं. प्रिवीपर्स व बैंक राष्ट्रीयकरण का

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प्रस्ताव राज्यसभा मे एक वोट से गिर गया. ये प्रस्ताव किसके वोट से गिरा , मैं जानता था. लेकिन किसी का नाम अब नहीं लूंगा. जो लोग इस प्रस्ताव के खिलाफ थे, उन्हें भी मैं जानता हूं.

☐ **सवाल :** *1977 से 80 तक इंदिरा जी के संघर्ष के दिनों में आप उनके साथ थे. जबकि कई वरिष्ठ नेताओं ने कांग्रेस छोड़ दी थी. क्यों ?*

☐ **जवाब :** 1977 मे इंदिरा जी के हारने के बाद लोग फिर उनका साथ छोड़-छोड़ कर भागने लगे. मैंने ऐसे न जाने कितने लोगों को समझाया कि जब आप इंदिरा जी के साथ रह कर तमाम ऊंचे-ऊंचे पदों को भोग चुके हैं, तो अब उनके मुसीबत के दिनों में साथ छोड़ना अच्छा नहीं है. मैं इसे अनैतिक मानता हूं. यदि सत्ता-सुख उनके साथ भोगा है, तो दुख भी भोगना होगा, लेकिन वे नहीं माने . इनमें से ऐसे तमाम लोगों को मैं जानता हूं, जिन्होंने इंदिरा जी की तसवीर को जूतों से पीटा, ऐसे भी लोगों को जानता हूं,जिन्होंने अपने घरों से इंदिरा जी की तसवीरें उतार दी थीं और ऐसों को भी जानता हूं, जिन्होंने गांधी टोपी पहनना बंद कर दिया था, क्योंकि कांग्रेस बुरी तरह हार चुकी थी.

☐ **सवाल :** *आपने इन लोगों को क्या समझाया ?*

☐ **जवाब :** मेरे इसी कमरे की बात है. कार्यसमिति के पांच-छह वरिष्ठ सदस्य मौजूद थे. मैंने उनसे कहा कि यह वक्त इंदिरा जी को छोड़ने का नहीं है. हमें उनके पीछे खड़े होना चाहिए, क्योंकि आज अगर कोई उनका साथ छोड़ा, तो कांग्रेस खत्म हो जायेगी और कांग्रेस खत्म हो गयी तो समाजवाद-प्रगतिवाद, निर्गुट आंदोलन, गरीबों की लड़ाई सब कुछ खत्म हो जायेगा. लेकिन उन्होंने हमारी बात नहीं मानी. 1977 से 1980 तक हमने संघर्ष किया और फिर दोबारा इंदिरा जी सत्ता मे आयीं. अब उसी जिम्मेदारी को राजीव जी आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं, जिसमें हमें सहयोग दे कर देश की एकता, अखंडता व स्वतंत्रता बनाये रखनी चाहिए.

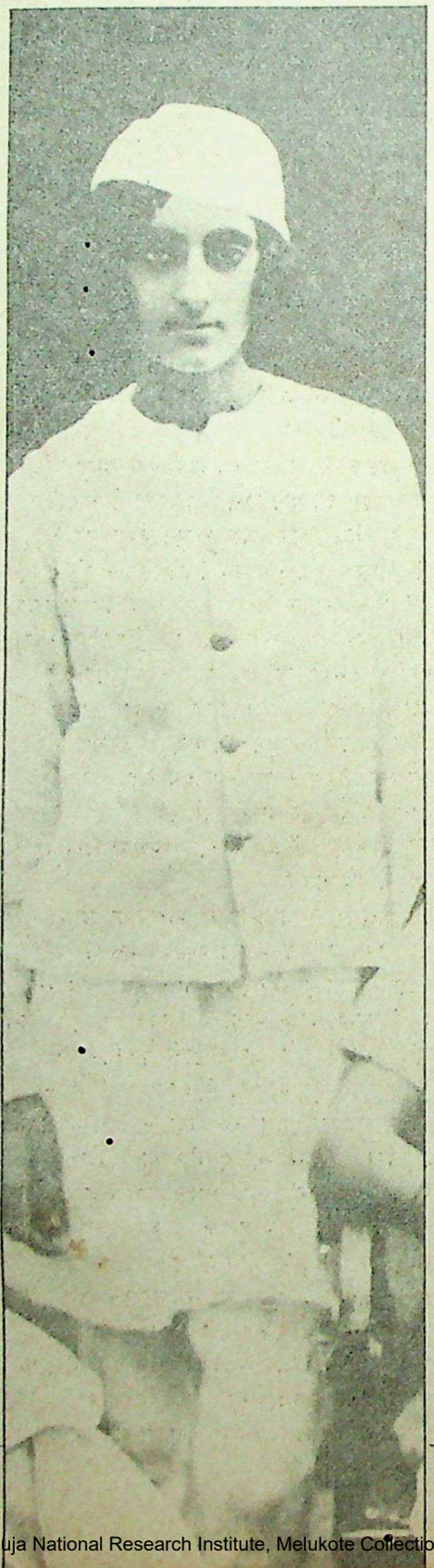
☐ **सवाल :** *अच्छा, अभी आपने बताया कि कुछ लोग इंदिरा जी की तसवीर को जूता मारा करते थे, वे लोग आज कहां हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब :** देखिए एक बात बता दूं. मैं ऐसी कोई बात नहीं कहूंगा, जो विवादास्पद हो, लेकिन ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लूंगा.

☐ **सवाल :** *मैं यह पूछ रहा हूं कि ऐसे लोग दोबारा कांग्रेस में आये या नहीं.*

☐ **जवाब :** बिल्कुल आये. आज भी हमें दिखाई दे रहे हैं. उस समय इंदिरा जी को छोड़ कर भाग रहे थे. मैं उनके पीछे पड़ कर रोकने की कोशिश कर रहा था. दस्तखत करवाता घूम रहा था, लेकिन वे मेरा हाथ छुड़ा-छुड़ा कर भाग रहे थे. आज वही फिर लौट कर आ गये हैं, मंत्री बने बैठे हैं. मैं अच्छी तरह इन सबको जानता हूं, लेकिन उनका नाम नहीं लूंगा.

☐ **सवाल :** *मैं नाम लेने के लिए कहूंगा भी नहीं, लेकिन यह बताइए कि इंदिरा जी का इन लोगों के प्रति क्या रुख था ?*



☐ **जवाब :** दोबारा सत्ता में आने पर जब ये लोग लौट कर कांग्रेस में आने लगे, तो मैंने एक दिन इंदिरा जी से कहा. वह तो बहुत उदारहृदया थीं. वह कहती थीं कि पंडित जी इन लोगों ने हमारी मुखालफत की है, लेकिन पुराने कांग्रेसी हैं. कांग्रेस के सिद्धांत को तो मानते ही होंगे. इसलिए देख लीजिए अगर लेने लायक हों, तो ले लीजिए. कुछ लोगों को उन्होंने नहीं लिया. मैं उनका फैसला ठीक मानता हूं. ऐसी बात नहीं है कि मैं इंदिरा जी की सारी बात मान लेता था. कई विषयों पर मेरे उनके मतभेद थे. उनकी कई नीतियों को मैं ठीक नहीं मानता था, विरोध करता था. लेकिन वह हमारी नेता थीं, जब वह कोई फैसला कर लेती थीं, तो फिर हम उसे पूरी तरह से मानते थे. मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता और गर्व है कि अंततः बात सभी ने मानी. वही लोग, जो कल तक उनका विरोध करते थे, बाद में उन्होंने आ कर माफी मांगी, घुटने टेके, कांग्रेस मे शरीक हुए. मैं नाम ले कर विवाद नहीं छेड़ना चाहता हूं.

☐ **सवाल :** *अच्छा, एक बात बताइए, 1977 से 80 तक की लड़ाई इंदिरा जी ने कैसे लड़ी ?*

☐ **जवाब :** इंदिरा जी मे बहुत दृढ़ता और संकल्प था. वह चुनौतियों से कभी नहीं डरीं. इससे हम लोगों को बहुत दिलासा मिलती थी. इसी भावना से वह जनता पार्टी के भी खिलाफ लड़ीं. मुझे पता चला कि जनता पार्टी ने इंदिरा जी पर हत्या का मुकदमा चलाने की साजिश की थी. ललित नारायण मिश्र हत्याकांड मे फंसाने का प्रयास किया गया. उन दिनों भुट्टो को पाकिस्तान में फांसी दी गयी थी, इसलिए हमें डर लग रहा था कि कहीं जनता पार्टी के लोग इसी तरह उन्हे खून के किसी मुकदमे मे फंसा कर फांसी न दे दें. लेकिन इंदिरा जी इन सारी बातों का डट कर मुकाबला करती थीं. खूब दौरे करती थीं. मुझसे कहा करती थीं कि लोग कहते हैं कि बाहर निकलने पर पत्थरबाजी होगी, तो आइए पंडित जी, लोगों के बीच चला जाये. जिन लोगों ने मुझे फूल मालाएं दी हैं, अगर अब वे पत्थर देंगे, तो उसे भी हम स्वीकार करेंगे.नतीजा यह हुआ कि हम सब उनके साथ तमाम जगहों पर गये, जहां पत्थर चले, लाठियां चलीं, खून-खराबा हुआ, लेकिन उन्होंने बहादुरी के साथ इन सबका मुकाबला किया. कभी झुकी नहीं.

☐ **सवाल :** *क्या इंदिरा जी एक धार्मिक महिला थीं ? ईश्वर में उनका कितना विश्वास था ?*

☐ **जवाब :** मेरी दृष्टि मे वह धार्मिक थीं. उनमे सांप्रदायिक धार्मिकता तो नहीं थी, लेकिन नैतिक धार्मिकता जरूर थी. वह मानती थीं कि कोई अदृश्य शक्ति है, जो काम करने की ताकत देती है

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मेरा और इंदिरा जी का एक भावुक रिश्ता था : कमलापति त्रिपाठी छाया : कैमरा रिपोर्टर्स

और हर चीज को ठीकठाक रखती है, उचित रास्ते पर ले जाती है.

□ **सवाल** : *कुछ लोग कहा करते हैं कि एक बार काशी विश्वनाथ मंदिर में पूजा के समय दूध फट जाने के कारण इंदिरा जी आपसे नाराज हो गयीं और फिर बराबर नाराज रहीं.*

□ **जवाब** : यह सरासर झूठ है. न कभी दूध फटा और न ही इंदिरा जी नाराज रहीं. मुझसे वह कभी नाराज नहीं रहीं. इस तरह की बातें कुछ अखबारवाले और हमारे विरोधी ही लिखते-कहते रहते थे.

□ **सवाल** : *लेकिन वहां कुछ न कुछ तो हुआ ही होगा ?*

□ **जवाब** : नहीं, कुछ भी नहीं. यह सही है कि वह पूजा के लिए विश्वनाथ मंदिर गयी थीं. मैंने ही उनसे कहा था कि आप भगवान विश्वनाथ का अभिषेक करें. वह तैयार हो गयीं. बनारस में दूसरे दिन सुबह तीन बजे वह नहा-धो कर काशी विश्वनाथ मंदिर गयीं, जहां उन्होंने बहुत प्रेमपूर्वक बाबा विश्वनाथ का अभिषेक किया. न कहीं दूध फटा और न कहीं गड़बड़ी हुई. सारा काम पूरे विधि-विधान से संपन्न हुआ. मैं तो उतने सबेरे उनके साथ नहीं जा पाया था, लेकिन मेरे परिवार के बाकी लोग गये थे.

□ **सवाल** : *एक शासक के रूप में उन्हें आप कैसा मानते हैं ? वह सख्त थीं या बहुत उदार ?*

□ **जवाब** : मैंने उनके साथ काम किया है. वह बहुत कुशल शासक थीं. सही समय पर सही फैसला करती थीं. कई बार हम लोग उनकी राय से सहमत नहीं होते थे, लेकिन बाद में समझ में आता था कि इंदिरा जी का फैसला सही था, हम लोग गलत सोच रहे थे.

□ **सवाल** : *उनका कोई ऐसा संस्मरण, जिसे आप आज तक नहीं भूल सके हों ? दिल को छूनेवाला हो... ?*

□ **जवाब** : उनके साथ के सैकड़ों संस्मरण हैं, जो हमेशा हमें याद रहते हैं. एक हो तो बताऊं.

□ **सवाल** : *जो सबसे अच्छा लगता हो ?*

□ **जवाब** : अच्छा लगने की तो बात यह है कि हमें उनका उठना-बैठना, बात करना, निर्णय लेना सभी कुछ अच्छा लगता था. उनकी चाहे अच्छाई हो चाहे गलती, हमें वह भी अच्छी लगती थीं. कभी वह कठोर हो जाती थीं, तो कभी बहुत मुलायम और भावुक. (इस वाक्य के बाद कमलापति जी अचानक पंजाब चुनाव और अकाली दल पर बोलने लगे.)

□ **सवाल** : *मैं किसी अविस्मरणीय घटना के बारे में पूछ रहा हूं ?*

□ **जवाब** : मैं उत्तरप्रदेश कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष था. मनीराम (गोरखपुर) में उपचुनाव था, वहां से मुख्यमंत्री त्रिभुवन नारायण सिंह चुनाव लड़ रहे थे. मैं गोरखपुर में संचालन कर रहा था. लोगों की मांग पर मैंने इंदिरा जी को टेलीफोन किया कि अगर आप एक दिन के लिए आ जायें, तो हम जीत सकते हैं. इंदिरा जी बोलीं, कि प्रधानमंत्री तो उपचुनाव में जाता नहीं है. मैंने कहा, 'ठीक है, लेकिन यहां मुख्यमंत्री की प्रतिष्ठा दांव पर लगी है. कहीं हार गये , तो बहुत बुरा होगा.' उन्होंने मेरी बात मान ली और आ गयीं. इधर अफसरों ने हमसे कहा कि विरोधी पक्ष के लोग रास्ते में ट्रक पर पत्थर आदि जमा करके बैठे हैं, इसलिए प्रधानमंत्री को बंद गाड़ी में जाना चाहिए. मैं उनके पास गया, तो वह बोलीं, 'मैं तो खुली जीप में ही जाऊंगी.' मेरे बार-बार समझाने पर वह बोलीं, 'पंडित जी , आप बंद गाड़ी में चले जाइए, लेकिन मैं तो खुली जीप में ही जाऊंगी, क्योंकि सरकारें रोब और दबदबे से चलती हैं, डरने से नहीं. वे हमें खुली जीप में देखेंगे, तो खुद ही रास्ता छोड़ देंगे. पत्थर मारेंगे, तो देखा जायेगा. अफसरों से कह दीजिए कि उन्हें चलना हो, तो मेरे साथ चलें, वरना अपने घर बैठें.' इतना कह कर वह कमरे से निकलीं और खुली जीप में खड़ी हो गयीं. मैं बगल में खड़ा हो गया, लेकिन उन्होंने मुझे बैठा दिया. फिर काफिला चला. जैसे ही उनकी गाड़ी पहुंची, सब हट गये. वहां राजनारायण, महंत जी सभी खड़े थे. काले झंडे, पत्थर लिये तमाम लोग थे, लेकिन अपने आप सब हट गये. बढ़िया सभा हुई. दो लाख की भीड़ थी. सभा के बाद वहां से लौटी भीड़ ने ही उन लोगों की जम कर पिटाई की. ट्रक में भरे जूतों और पत्थरों से उन्हीं की पिटाई जनता ने की.

बाद में इंदिरा जी ने हमसे कहा, 'देखा पंडित जी, अगर बंद गाड़ी से आती, तो भला इन लोगों की ऐसी दुर्गति कहीं बन पाती. अपने आप सबक मिल गया. यह घटना मुझे आज तक याद है. वह दबती नहीं थीं. चाहे जान भले ही चली जाये.

□ **सवाल** : *एक सूत्र वाक्य में बता सकते हैं कि इतनी परेशानियों के बाद भी आप इंदिरा जी के साथ हमेशा क्यों रहे ?*

□ **जवाब** : मेरा और इंदिरा जी का एक भावुक रिश्ता था, क्योंकि कांग्रेस को वही बचा सकती थीं और कोई नहीं. नेहरू परिवार से बढ़ कर इस विश्व में महान कोई दूसरा परिवार नहीं है.

□ **सवाल** : *अब आखिरी प्रश्न. 31 अक्तूबर को उनकी मृत्यु का समाचार आपको कहां मिला और उस समय आपको कैसा लगा ?*

□ **जवाब** : मैं बनारस में था. खबर सुनते ही बहुत बड़ा धक्का लगा कि अब देश का क्या होगा ? अखबारवाले मेरे पास आये. मैंने कहा अब हिम्मत से काम लेने की जरूरत है. शाम तक दिल्ली आ गया. यहां भी देखा, सन्नाटा था. कुछ जिम्मेदार लोग मेरे पास आये, तो मैंने कहा इस समय पहली जरूरत यह है कि किसी को भी सिंहासन पर बिठाना चाहिए. उसे खाली रखना ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि देश में विद्रोह हो सकता है या कोई विदेशी हमला. इसलिए सरकार तो बना दी जाये. वे बोले कि यह जिम्मेदारी किसे दी जाये. हम लोगों ने सलाह की कि राजीव को बनाया जाये. बस संसदीय बोर्ड में प्रस्ताव हुआ. कार्यसमिति ने भी पारित किया. मैंने ही उनका नाम प्रस्तावित किया. दूसरे दिन उन्हें पार्टी का अध्यक्ष भी चुन लिया गया. अब देखता हूं कि हम लोगों का फैसला एकदम सही था.

राजीव शुक्ल

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इंदिरा जी को वरुण का विछोह असहनीय हो गया था

राजीव शुक्ल

इंदिरा गांधी को अपने पौत्र वरुण फीरोज से गहरा लगाव था. वरुण को वह एक दादी से कहीं बढ़ कर चाहती थीं. सच्चाई तो यह है कि संजय की मौत से इंदिरा जी अंदर-ही-अंदर घुटती थीं, तो वरुण के विछोह ने उन्हे भीतर-ही-भीतर तोड़ दिया था. वरुण का विछोह उनके लिए मानसिक आघात जैसा था. प्रतिकूल परिस्थितियों के कारण उन्हे वरुण से अलग होना पड़ा .

वरुण के जन्म के बाद से ही श्रीमती गांधी उससे जुड़ गयी थीं. जन्म के बाद अस्पताल से जब वरुण 1, सफदरजंग के बंगले में आया था, तभी से वह हर रोज बीच-बीच मे अपना काम रोक कर अंदर कमरे में जा कर उसे खिलाती थीं. अगर वे साउथ ब्लॉक ऑफिस में होती थीं, तब भी वे फोन करके मेनका से उसके बारे में पूछताछ करती रहती थीं. फोन पर वे दो वाक्य कहती थीं, 'हेलो ! वरुण कैसा है, अच्छा,ठीक है ! फिर भी उसका खयाल रखना.'

संजय की मौत के बाद अपने पौत्र के प्रति दादी का प्यार कई गुना बढ़ गया था. वरुण की आंखों में संजय को देख कर वे कहीं-न-कहीं अपने मन को ढांढ़स बंधा लेती थीं.

वरुण अधिकतर इंदिरा जी के बेडरूम में ही सोता था. श्रीमती गांधी रात में कई बार जाग कर मां की तरह फर्ज निभाती थीं. रात मे उसे शीशी से दूध पिलाती थीं. नैपकिन बदलती थीं और बीच-बीच में उठने पर थपकी दे कर सुलाती थीं. रात में काफी देर तक जगने के बाद भी सुबह में तैयार हो कर प्रधानमंत्री की जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वाह करती थीं.

इंदिरा जी के निकट सहयोगी बताते हैं कि इंदिरा जी कभी भी मेनका से ज्यादा प्रसन्न नहीं रहीं. खासतौर पर संजय की मौत के बाद तो वे मेनका के स्वभाव और कुछ कार्यों की वजह से बेहद नाराज रहती थीं. लेकिन मेनका को वे अलग नहीं कर पा रही थीं, क्योंकि वरुण से उन्हे बेहद लगाव था और यही इंदिरा जी की सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी थी.

अंततः परिस्थितियों ने कुछ ऐसा मोड़ लिया कि श्रीमती गांधी के घर से मेनका वरुण को ले कर चली गयीं, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी वरुण से मानसिक तौर पर जुड़ी रहीं. वकीलों के माध्यम से श्रीमती गांधी और मेनका के बीच करारनामा हुआ कि हर रविवार को सुबह वरुण अपनी दादी के पास आयेगा और शाम को मां के पास वापस चला जायेगा. तीन-चार महीने तक यह क्रम चलता रहा. बाद मे संबंध और तनावपूर्ण हो गये और मेनका ने हर इतवार को वरुण का श्रीमती गांधी के घर जाना बंद करा दिया. इसके बाद इंदिरा जी वरुण की याद में परेशान रहने लगीं. एक दिन बहुत भावुक हो कर उन्होंने पुपुल जयकर से कहा था कि 'कोई मुझसे कुछ भी ले ले, लेकिन किसी तरह वह बच्चा मुझे मिल सके, तो बहुत अच्छा हो.'

इधर मेनका गांधी ने भी इंदिरा गांधी की इस कमजोरी को अच्छी तरह भांप लिया था. आपसी मतभेद,जब राजनीतिक प्रतिद्वंद्विता में बदल गये, तो मेनका ने वरुण को एक हथियार की तरह इस्तेमाल करना शुरू कर दिया. उन दिनों मेनका राजनीति मे पूरी तरह सक्रिय हो गयी थीं और संजय मंच के काम से ज्यादातर दिल्ली से बाहर रहती थीं. वरुण दिन भर नौकरों के साथ रहता था. जब इसकी खबर इंदिरा जी को मिली, तो एक दिन उन्होंने मेनका को संदेश भिजवाया कि नौकरों के साथ रह कर वरुण के समुचित विकास पर असर पड़ सकता है, यही वक्त है, उसकी जिंदगी बनाने का. इसलिए कम-से-कम,जब तुम यात्रा पर बाहर रहती हो, उस समय वरुण को मेरे पास भेज दिया करो. वापस आने पर फिर वह तुम्हारे पास चला जायेगा, लेकिन मेनका ने इस प्रस्ताव को ठुकरा दिया.

राजीव गांधी के दोनों बच्चे भी वरुण को बहुत चाहते हैं. उन दिनों वे अकसर वरुण को फोन किया करते थे और वरुण उनसे अपनी तोतली भाषा में प्रधानमंत्री आवास के नौकरों और जानवरों के बारे मे पूछा करता था. एक कछुए और कुत्ते के बारे मे वह अधिक पूछताछ करता था. प्रियंका उसे बराबर राखी भेजती थी और हर हफ्ते प्रधानमंत्री निवास से कुछ तोहफे वरुण के लिए भेजे जाते थे.

वरुण के भविष्य के प्रति श्रीमती गांधी की चेतावनी के बाद मेनका ने अपनी दिल्ली से बाहर की यात्रा के दौरान वरुण को अपनी मां के पास भेजना शुरू किया. वरुण को उसकी नानी अमतेश्वर आनंद ने अपने प्रभाव में कर लिया. पिछली राखी को अपना लिफाफा भिजवाने के बाद प्रियंका ने फोन पर वरुण से बात की. बाद में सोनिया गांधी ने भी उससे बात की. वरुण ने सोनिया से पूछा, 'चाची, क्या मैं आज आपके पास आ सकता हूं.' सोनिया ने कहा, 'क्यों नहीं ? क्या गाड़ी भेजूं ?' वरुण ने जवाब दिया, 'अच्छा मैं नानी से पूछ कर बताता हूं.' उसके बाद फोन पर कोई नहीं आया और कनेक्शन कट गया. वरुण सोनिया गांधी को आंटी नहीं, चाची कहता है.

पिछले वर्ष,जब वरुण का इंदिरा जी से मिलना एकदम बंद था, तो उसके जन्मदिन पर श्रीमती गांधी ने उपहार के साथ सोनिया को गोल्फ लिंक स्थित उसके स्कूल मे भेजा. किसी तरह यह सूचना मेनका को मिल गयी. वह तुरंत स्कूल जा पहुंचीं और फिर सोनिया वरुण से अच्छी तरह मिल भी नहीं सकीं. बाद मे मेनका ने पुलिस के पास यह रिपोर्ट दर्ज करायी

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छाया : संदीप शंकर

कि उसके बच्चे के अपहरण का प्रयास किया जा रहा है.

मार्च 1984 की बात है. वैलेम स्कूल के लिए धन एकत्रित करने हेतु दिल्ली में एक पोलो मैच का आयोजन किया गया. इंदिरा जी मुख्य अतिथि थीं. उस दिन मेनका कहीं बाहर गयी हुई थीं. वरुण को अपने एक रिश्तेदार के यहां छोड़ गयी थीं. इत्तफाकन वह रिश्तेदार भी पोलो मैच देखने गयीं और वरुण को अपने साथ ले गयीं. वरुण उनके साथ दर्शक दीर्घा में बैठा था. इसी बीच इंदिरा जी सोनिया के साथ वहां पहुंचीं. जब वे मैदान से हो कर विशिष्ट अतिथि कक्ष की तरफ बढ़ रही थीं कि दूर से वरुण ने उन्हे देख लिया. रिश्तेदार के मना करने के बाद भी 'दादी-चाची' कह कर वरुण उनकी तरफ दौड़ा. सुरक्षा प्रहरियों ने उसे पहचाना नहीं और वहीं रोक दिया. बाद में वह किसी तरह भाग कर विशिष्ट अतिथि कक्ष की ओर गया. वहां जैसे ही उसने फिर उन्हें पुकारा, इंदिरा जी ने उसे देख लिया. श्रीमती गांधी ने दौड़ कर वरुण को उठाया व अपनी छाती से लगा लिया. इस दृश्य को देख कर तमाम लोग स्तब्ध रह गये. काफी देर तक इंदिरा जी वरुण को चिपकाये रहीं. इस दौरान उनकी आंखें बंद रहीं. बाद में धीरे से उन्होंने रूमाल से आंखे पोछ लीं. बहुत दिनों बाद वरुण उन्हे उस दिन मिला था.

31 अक्तूबर को इंदिरा जी की मृत्यु के बाद जब मेनका वरुण को ले कर 1, सफदरजंग गयी थीं, तो सोनिया ने उनसे सिर्फ यही कहा था, 'बहुत अच्छा होता, अगर तुमने इसे दीवाली पर भिजवा दिया होता.'

प्रधानमंत्री निवास के नजदीकी लोगों का कहना है कि भविष्य में कभी भी यदि राजीव और मेनका के बीच संबंध सुधरे, तो उसकी जड़ में वरुण ही होगा. सुना है, राहुल और प्रियंका अपने पिता पर इस बात के लिए काफी जोर डाल रहे हैं कि किसी तरह वरुण उनके साथ ही रहे.□

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

पुपुल जयकर की यादों में इंदिरा

रश्मि सक्सेना

35 साल तक अपनी दोस्त रही इंदिरा गांधी के बारे में कुछ कह पाना पुपुल जयकर के लिए मुश्किल लगता है. वे कहती हैं, 'ऐसा इसलिए है कि इंदिरा जी कई-कई व्यक्तियों का सम्मिश्रण थीं. वे किसी परिभाषा में नहीं बंधती थीं, क्योंकि उनका व्यक्तित्व ढेर सारी चीजों से मिल कर बना था.' इंदिरा जी कभी-कभी भीड़-भाड़ और गहमागहमी से बचने तथा थोड़ा वक्त आराम-चैन से गुजारने पुपुल जयकर के घर आ जाया करती थीं. एक बार पुपुल से अपने बारे मे बात करते हुए इंदिरा जी ने कहा था, 'मुझमें मर्द और औरत दोनों के गुण हैं. मैं अपनी मां की अपेक्षा अपने दादा पर गयी हूं.'

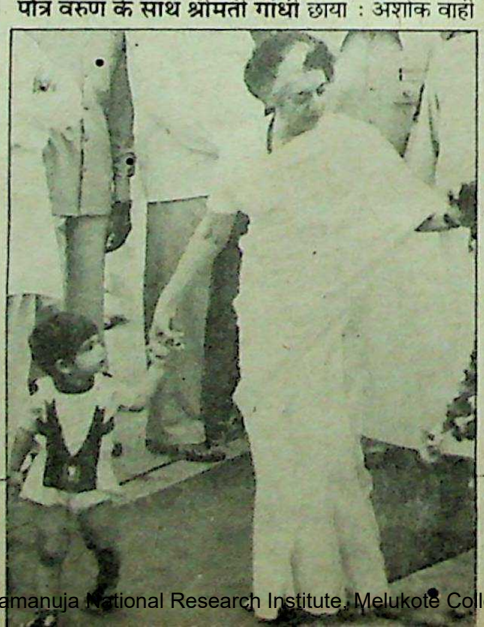
इंदिरा गांधी जब भी पुपुल जयकर की यादों के आईने में उभरती हैं, उन्हें बच्चों की मुसकान देख कर विभोर होती आत्मा, नाजुक नक्काशी, खूबसूरत पेंटिंग, स्वच्छ नीले आकाश, साड़ी की मनोरम बुनावट या बेशकीमती जवाहरात की याद आती है. या फिर ऐसे राजनेता की छवि, जो खूब सोच-विचार कर, पर तुरंत ऐसे निर्णय लेता था, जो लगते तो कठोर थे, पर जरूरी होते थे. इंदिरा जी ने कई बार पुपुल से उन क्षणों के अपने एहसास बयान किये थे, जब उन्हें कोई सख्त या आघात पहुंचानेवाला निर्णय लेना पड़ा था. लेकिन उन्होंने जो कुछ किया, कायल हो कर ही किया.

पुपुल का कहना है, 'मेरे खयाल से चीजों को देखने का उनका नजरिया कुछ और ही था. वे चीजों को चौथे आयाम से देखती थीं. वे सब कुछ साफ-साफ देख सकती थीं और उनमें सच्चाई का सामना करने की क्षमता थी. पुपुल इंदिरा गांधी की खुशी, गम और संकट की घड़ियों की संगी-साक्षी रही हैं. जब पुपुल को यह खबर मिली कि श्रीमती गांधी चुनाव में हार रही हैं, वे अपने घर में ही थीं. खबर सुनते ही वे उनके घर पहुंची. उस दिन को याद करते हुए पुपुल कहती हैं, 'मैं सीधे इंदिरा जी के कमरे में चली गयी. तब तक उनकी हार की घोषणा हो चुकी थी. उन्होंने मुझे देखा और बड़े सहज ढंग से कहा— 'जानती हो पुपुल, मैं हार गयी. आओ, चलो खाना खायें.' इसके बाद उन्होंने परिवार के लोगों को खाने की मेज पर बुलाया. सबने कहला भेजा कि उन्हें भूख नहीं है. वस्तुतः सभी बहुत ही दुखी और परेशान थे. 'उन्होंने जिद पकड़ ली कि नहीं, खाना तो सबको खाना ही पड़ेगा. और उनकी यह जिद सबको खाने की मेज तक ले आयी. आप चाहे यकीन न करें, पर यह सच है कि उस दिन पूरा खाना बस वही खा पायी थीं.'

यही इंदिरा गांधी की विशेषता थी. उन्होंने कभी किसी पर अपना दुख जाहिर नहीं होने दिया. यहां तक कि अपने बेटे संजय की मृत्यु पर भी वे गम को पी गयीं और रोयीं भी तो तनहाई में. इसमें दो राय नहीं हो सकती कि वे दिन उनके लिए बहुत तकलीफ के दिन थे, लेकिन तकलीफ की उन घड़ियों में भी वे दूसरों का हालचाल पूछती रहीं. उनमें यह भूलने का माद्दा था कि वे एक महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति हैं और देश की प्रधानमंत्री हैं. कभी-कभी वे इस सबसे पूरी तरह असंपृक्त हो अपने बाल उन्मुक्त छोड़ देती थीं और अपने को उस क्षण के मूड के हवाले कर देती थीं. पुपुल कहती हैं, 'आखिरी बार वे तब मेरे घर आयी थीं, जब मैंने अपने यहां बौद्ध सम्मेलन के लोगों को डिनर पर आमंत्रित किया था. डिनर हमने खड़े-खड़े लिया और वह बहुत व्यवस्थित भी नहीं था, पर उन्हें बड़ा मजा आया. वे बोलीं, 'मुझे ऐसे मौकों पर और ज्यादा शामिल होना चाहिए.' उन्हें गुजराती खाना बहुत पसंद था. जब कभी मेरे घर में कोई खास चीज बनती, मुझे उनकी याद आ जाती. कभी-कभी वे मेरे घर खाना खाने भी आ जाती थीं.'

'उन्हें इस बात का एहसास था कि धीरे-धीरे वे आम आदमी से दूर होती जा रही हैं. वे अकसर यह जानने के लिए उत्सुक रहती थीं कि लोग क्या पढ़ रहे हैं, क्या पहन रहे हैं और किस बारे में बातें कर रहे हैं.' उन्हें पढ़ने का बड़ा शौक था. वे हर तरह की किताबें पढ़ती थीं और कभी-कभी तो दो-तीन किताबें एक साथ पढ़ना शुरू कर देती थीं. उनके लिए किताबों की खरीदारी की याद करते हुए पुपुल बताती हैं कि उन्हें अकसर इस बात का मलाल रहता कि किसी डिपार्टमेंटल स्टोर से अपने तथा अपने नाती-नातिन के लिए किताबें खरीदने की खुशी से भी उन्हें वंचित रहना पड़ता था.

पौत्र वरुण के साथ श्रीमती गांधी छाया : अशोक वाही



पुपुल को इंदिरा जी की विनोदप्रियता और अपने आप पर हंसने का उनका माद्दा बारहा याद आता है. वे कहती हैं, 'मुझे याद है जब हम उनके पहली बड़ी आम सभा में दिये गये भाषण की चर्चा कर रहे थे. हमारे बीच वे भी बैठी थीं. हम सभा में दिये गये उनके भाषण का टेप सुन रहे थे. टेप खत्म हुआ, तो उन्होंने टिप्पणी की, 'मुझे ऐसा कुछ लहजा सीखना चाहिए, जिससे मुझे बीच-बीच में अटकना न पड़े.' वे जानती थीं कि लोग अकसर उनकी आवाज और भाषण करने के ढंग के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं, लेकिन इसका बुरा मानने के बजाय वे या तो अपने में सुधार लाने की कोशिश करतीं या फिर हंस लेती थीं.

पुपुल उनके साथ धर्म के बारे में अपनी चर्चाओं को याद करते हुए कहती हैं, 'मुझे नहीं लगता कि वे बहुत धार्मिक मिजाज की थीं, लेकिन उनमें आध्यात्मिकता का भाव था. बाद में उनकी जिंदगी में ऐसा दौर जरूर आया, जब उन्होंने धार्मिक स्थलों की यात्रा की और धर्मगुरुओं-संतों के दर्शन किये.' इंदिरा गांधी को इतिहास और भारतीय परंपरा की समझ अपने पिता से विरासत में मिली थी और यह सब वे अपने नाती-नातिन को दे जाना चाहती थीं. वे ऐसा कोई भी मौका गंवाना नहीं चाहती थीं, जब उन्हें इस बारे में कुछ बता सकें.

खाने की मेज पर वे केवल परिवार के लोगों या बहुत ही करीबी दोस्तों से मिलती थीं. रात के खाने के वक्त उनका सारा ध्यान राहुल और प्रियंका पर रहता था. वे उन्हें कहानियां सुनातीं और दिन भर की घटनाओं के बारे में बतातीं, जिनमें से कुछ मजेदार होतीं, कुछ गंभीर और कुछ विचारोत्तेजक. कभी-कभी वे उनके साथ शब्द बनाने के खेल भी खेलतीं, रिक्त स्थानों के लिए सही शब्द खोजतीं, उनके विकल्प तलाशतीं और उनकी सही वर्तनी बतातीं.

पुपुल बड़ी उदासी से बताती हैं कि मौत के ऐन पहले तक इंदिरा गांधी को दो बातें बहुत साल रही थीं. इन्होंने करीब-करीब उनका दिल ही तोड़ दिया था. इनमें से एक थी पंजाब की घटनाएं और दूसरी अपने नाती वरुण को न देख पाने का दुख. वे वरुण से असीम स्नेह करती थीं और जब उसे उनसे जुदा कर दिया गया, वे बहुत मर्माहत हुई थीं. जब कभी वे सुनतीं कि वरुण उनसे मिलने आ रहा है, वह देर तक व्यग्रता से उसकी बाट जोहती रहतीं और अगर वरुण का वहां आने का कार्यक्रम रद्द हो जाता, तो उनके दुख की सीमा नहीं रहती थी.□

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

युवा पीढ़ी की प्रेरकशक्ति

माधवराव सिंधिया

इंदिरा जी और युवा इन दो शब्दों को एक साथ सुनते ही मुझे एक घटना याद आ जाती है और मेरी आंखों के सामने इंदिरा जी का एक धुंधला-सा चित्र उभर आता है. बात संजय गांधी की मृत्यु के तुरंत बाद की है. हमें राजीव जी के साथ संजय जी का अस्थिकलश ले कर संगम में विसर्जन के लिए इलाहाबाद जाना था. हमें सुबह की गाड़ी से इलाहाबाद जाना था. इंदिरा जी ने हम सबको जबरन बिठा कर नाश्ता करवाया. उस समय एक मां के रूप में आप इंदिरा जी की मानसिक स्थिति का अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं, लेकिन इसके बावजूद जिस भावना से वह हम सबको नाश्ता करा रही थीं, हमारे जाने की तैयारी में व्यस्त थीं, उससे हम सब आश्चर्यचकित थे. सबसे अधिक अचंभा तो तब हुआ, जब वह अचानक अंदर के कमरे में गयीं और कुछ स्टिकर ले कर आयीं और बोलीं कि, 'तुम सब लोग अपने-अपने सूटकेसों पर स्टिकर लगा कर नाम लिख लो. कभी-कभी रेलवे स्टेशनों पर चोरियां हो जाती हैं. स्टिकर लगा कर नाम लिखना मत भूलना.' स्टिकर देने के बाद वह बोलीं, 'तुम लोगों के पास पेन है या नहीं ?' हम लोगों को चुप देख कर अंदर गयीं और खुद पेन ला कर दिया.

इस घटना को बताने का अर्थ सिर्फ इतना है कि एक घर में जिस तरह से मां अपने बच्चों की छोटी-से-छोटी बातों के लिए चिंतित रहती है, इंदिरा जी का बिल्कुल वैसा ही व्यवहार युवकों के प्रति रहता था. संजय जी की मृत्यु के उन शोकाकुल क्षणों में भी जो आत्मनियंत्रण, गंभीरता और दृढ़ता उन्होंने दिखाई, उसे हम कभी नहीं भूल सकते. कहने को तो यह घटना बहुत छोटी मानी जायेगी, लेकिन इससे यह आभास मिलता है कि उन्होंने देश के युवकों को अपने बेटों की तरह माना, एक 'मां और बच्चे' के रिश्ते को कायम रखा.

इंदिरा जी के व्यक्तित्व की एक और खासियत थी. वे बहुत जल्दी ही व्यक्ति के मन की भावनाओं को भांप लेती थीं. उसे अच्छी तरह परख लेती थीं. जिन नौजवानों में उन्हें ईमानदारी और सेवा की भावना दिखाई पड़ती, उसे वे तत्काल बढ़ावा देती थीं.कुछ समय ही उनके साथ रह कर मैंने एक महत्वपूर्ण बात अनुभव की. इंदिरा जी यदि किसी युवक की ओर देख कर सिर्फ मुसकरा देती थीं या शाबाशी दे देती थीं, तो उसे लगता था कि उसे अमूल्य निधि मिल गयी. अपनत्व की भावना वे न केवल हृदय में रखती थीं, बल्कि उसे अपने व्यवहार से प्रदर्शित भी करती थीं. उन्होंने युवकों के अतिरिक्त इस देश के गरीब तबके या आम आदमी से भी हमेशा भावनात्मक संबंध रखा. शायद यही कारण है कि भारत का सर्वहारा इंदिरा जी को उनके अंतिम दिनों तक न छोड़ सका और न इंदिरा जी कभी उस वर्ग को छोड़ सकीं. दोनों के बीच अपनापन के रिश्ते हमेशा बने रहे.

इंदिरा जी के संपर्क में मैं 1977 के बाद आया. उस समय वे सत्ता से बाहर थीं और जनता सरकार उन पर तरह-तरह के जुल्म ढा रही थी. वैसे मैं उनसे अपने कॉलेज के दिनों में भी मिला था, लेकिन अच्छी तरह से '77 के बाद ही मिला. 1977 के चुनाव में मैं गुना संसदीय क्षेत्र से जनता पार्टी को हरा कर जीता था. उस चुनाव में कांग्रेस (इं) ने मुझे समर्थन दिया था. कांग्रेस में युवकों सबसे ज्यादा साथ दिया. 1977 से 1980 तक के संकट के समय में पूरे देश में युवक ही उनके साथ खड़े थे, लाठियां खा रहे थे. इसी कारण दुबारा सत्ता में आने पर उन्होंने युवकों को पर्याप्त अवसर दिये और आगे बढ़ाया. वे जब भी मिलती थीं, तो एक अपनेपन और तहजीब से . उन्हें पद का गुमान नहीं रहता था. इसलिए उनसे मिलने के बाद उनके बड़प्पन के कारण युवक कुछ भी करने को तैयार हो जाते थे.

युवकों के बारे में इंदिरा जी की स्पष्ट धारणा थी कि उन्हें इस पीढ़ी को आगे बढ़ाना है, क्योंकि युवक भूतकाल की स्मृतियों से ग्रसित न हो कर भविष्य की आशाओं से अनुप्राणित रहते हैं. जब भविष्य में इनके हित निहित हैं, तो निश्चित रूप से ये देश के बारे में कुछ सोचेंगे और करेंगे. दरअसल,इंदिरा जी युवकों की भावनाओं तथा उनके महत्व को समझती थीं, जिसका कारण था कि वे भी अपनी युवावस्था से ही राजनीति में थीं. बचपन से ही उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया था और अपनी पूरी युवावस्था देश के लिए लगा दी. इसलिए उन्हें अपने अनुभवों के आधार पर युवकों की क्षमता का पूरा ज्ञान था.

युवक कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में (1976) श्रीमती गांधी

का काम संजय जी देखा करते थे और इंदिरा जी व संजय, दोनों ने ही युवकों को बहुत बढ़ावा दिया. उन्हें राष्ट्रीय राजनीति में महत्व देने का प्रयास किया. इंदिरा जी ने काफी युवकों को चुनाव में टिकट दिये और खासकर अकसर ऐसे मौकों पर वह युवकों का समर्थन करती थीं. बाद में दुबारा सत्ता में आने पर तो उन्होंने आरिफ खां, के. पी. सिंहदेव, पी. ए. संगमा आदि तमाम युवकों को अपने मंत्रिमंडल में स्थान दिया. उनकी मुसीबत के दिनों में ये लोग भी उनके

राजीव जी ने युवा वर्ग को ऐसे भारत का निर्माण करने की प्रेरणा दी है, जहां व्यक्ति को उसकी जाति, धर्म, भाषा, क्षेत्र के कारण नहीं, बल्कि उसकी प्रतिभा से जाना जाये, ऐसा भारत जहां धन का नहीं, मनुष्यता का बोलबाला हो, ऐसा भारत जहां हरिजन, आदिवासी और सर्वहारा सम्मान के साथ चल-फिर सकें, बिना किसी भय के जी सकें, ऐसा भारत जहां सत्ता की नहीं, जनता की जय हो. यही प्रेरणा इंदिरा जी ने भी हम युवकों को दी थी. □

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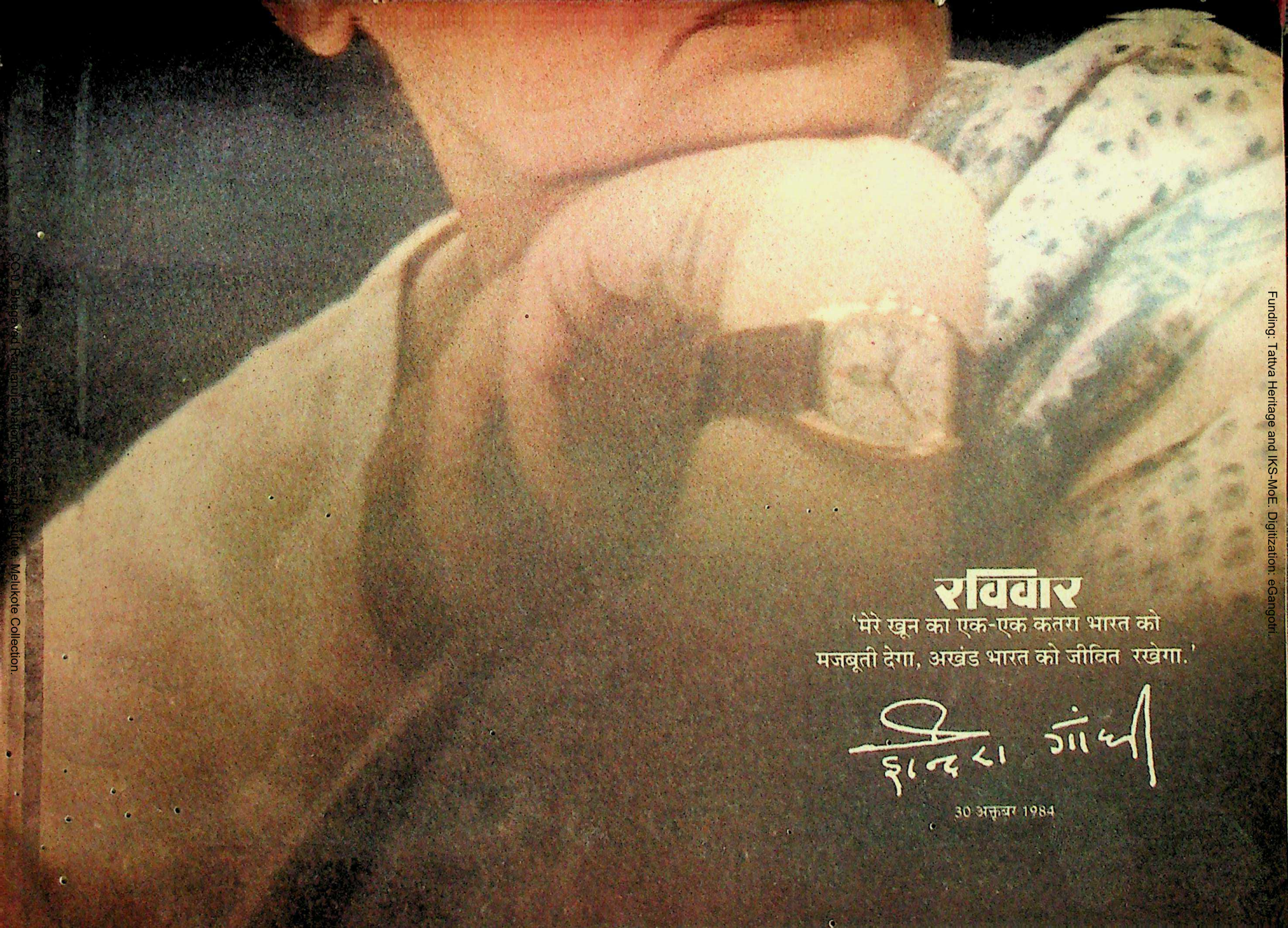

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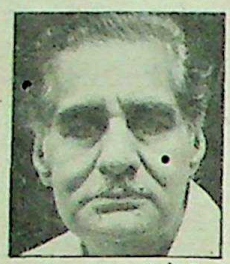
इंदिरा और संजय से राजीव कितने अलग हैं ?

कुलदीप नैयर



अगर मेनका गांधी पर यकीन करें, तो उनके मुताबिक इंदिरा गांधी सिर्फ दो व्यक्तियों पर ही भरोसा करती थीं और वे थे—संजय गांधी तथा सोनिया गांधी. मेनका तो यहां तक कहती हैं कि जब कभी खाने की मेज पर, इंदिरा जी को संजय से राजनीति पर विचार-विमर्श करना होता था, तो वह राजीव को वहां से चले जाने को कह देती थीं.

यह कहना मुश्किल है कि राजीव अपने आप वहां से चले जाते थे—क्योंकि तब राजनीति में उनकी खास दिलचस्पी नहीं थी—या मां के कहने पर, जो संजय को अपने उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में ढाल रही थीं.

हकीकत यह है कि जब विमान दुर्घटना में संजय की मौत हुई, उस वक्त राजीव इटली के एक समुद्र तट पर छुट्टियां बिता रहे थे. रोम स्थित भारतीय दूतावास के एक कूटनीतिज्ञ ने राजीव तक यह दुखद खबर पहुंचायी थी. इस कूटनीतिज्ञ का कहना है कि उस समय भी संजय की जगह लेने के लिए राजीव तनिक भी उत्सुक नहीं थे. यह तो सारी दुनिया जानती है कि शुरू-शुरू में वह विमान चालक का अपेक्षाकृत आसान काम छोड़ कर राजनीति में नहीं आना चाहते थे. बाद में श्रीमती गांधी को कई नये और पुराने कांग्रेसजनों की मदद लेनी पड़ी थी कि वे लोग राजीव को इंडियन एअरलाइंस के पायलट की नौकरी छोड़ कर सांसद बनने के लिए राजी करें.

अब इस बात पर तो सिर्फ अटकलबाजी ही की जा सकती है कि श्रीमती गांधी ने राजीव के बजाय पहले संजय को राजनीति में लाने की बात क्यों सोची. कारण, उन्होंने खुद भी कभी इसका खुलासा नहीं किया. शायद एक वजह यह हो सकती है कि वह संजय को कुछ ज्यादा ही 'जिम्मेदार' व्यक्ति मानती थीं. संजय को श्रीमती गांधी कितना महत्वपूर्ण मानती थीं, यह जताने के लिए मेनका गांधी ने श्रीमती गांधी के कुछ पत्र कुछ गिने-चुने लोगों को दिखाये थे. इन पत्रों से यह बात उजागर होती है कि श्रीमती गांधी मानने लग गयी थीं कि संजय में जिंदगी का उतार-चढ़ाव, सुख-दुख झेलने का काफी माद्दा आ गया था, जबकि राजीव को उस समय भी देखभाल की जरूरत थी.

शायद संजय को राजनीति में लाने की सबसे अच्छी कैफियत खुद श्रीमती गांधी और उनके काम करने के तरीकों में निहित है. वह काम करने के एक खास तरीके पर यकीन करती थीं और उनका रवैया कठोर था तथा राजनीति मूल्यहीन. जयप्रकाश नारायण ने, जो उन्हें बचपन से जानते थे, 22 जुलाई 1975 को अपनी जेल डायरी में लिखा है, 'मेरा हमेशा से यह विश्वास रहा है कि लोकतंत्र में श्रीमती गांधी की कतई आस्था नहीं है. उनकी प्रवृत्ति और धारणा तानाशाह जैसी है.'

उनकी नजर में सरकारी मशीनरी खुद उनकी पार्टी और व्यक्तिगत हित साधन का जरिया भर थी, काम करने के तौर-तरीकों से उन्हें कोई मतलब नहीं था. संजय इस मायने में योग्यता की उनकी कसौटी पर खरे उतरे, क्योंकि वह बखूबी जानते थे कि कौन-सा काम कैसे कराया जा सकता है. लेकिन राजीव इस मामले में 'काम के आदमी' नहीं थे, क्योंकि वह नियम विरुद्ध काम नहीं करना चाहते थे.

संजय के काम करने के तरीके का सबसे बढ़िया उदाहरण है उनकी मारुति कार परियोजना. उन्होंने हरियाणा के तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री बंसीलाल से जमीन का जुगाड़ करवाया और तत्कालीन वाणिज्य मंत्री प्रणव मुखर्जी से लाइसेंस लिया. रुपया उन्होंने राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों से जुटा लिया. जब मारुति की कहानी जगजाहिर हो गयी, तो श्रीमती गांधी ने तत्कालीन केंद्रीय मंत्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर राय को बुलाया और उनसे कहा कि वह इस परियोजना की पड़ताल करें. श्री राय ने श्रीमती गांधी को साफ-साफ बताया कि यह परियोजना पूरी तरह से जालसाजी का मामला है. लेकिन

संजय अपनी मां की हर कसौटी पर खरे उतरे थे

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श्रीमती गांधी को तरीकों से कुछ लेना-देना नहीं था. इसलिए उनकी पूरी कोशिश मारुति परियोजना को किसी तरह कानूनी शक्ल देने की थी और यह उन्होंने किया भी. वैसे बाद में मारुति जांच-आयोग ने हर चीज की पड़ताल के बाद उन्हें अपने बेटे के हितों के लिए अपने अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग करने का दोषी पाया.

दूसरी तरफ, राजीव गांधी ने विमान चालक का कैरियर चुना और इस क्षेत्र में छोटे किस्म के विमान से सफर शुरू करके बड़े-बड़े बोइंग विमान तक उड़ाये. उन्हें नौकरी देने में पक्षपात बरते जाने का मैं खंडन नहीं करता, लेकिन यह जरूर है कि उनके मामले में बहुत कम पक्षपात हुआ होगा. आखिर वह इंडियन एअरलाइंस के अध्यक्ष तो नहीं बने, या उन्होंने अपनी कोई प्राइवेट विमान कंपनी नहीं बनायी, जैसा कि संजय गांधी करते, यदि उनकी जगह पर होते. दोनों में अंतर यह था कि एक बेटा अपनी मां की ममताभरी निगाहों तले घोटाले पर घोटाला करता रहा और दूसरे ने अपने आपको मां-भाई के कृत्यों से पूरी तरह अलग रखा.

आपातकाल और उसके पूर्व की परिस्थितियां बखूबी स्पष्ट करती हैं कि राजीव और संजय-इंदिरा के बीच क्या फर्क था. जब 1975 के चुनावों में भ्रष्ट तरीके इस्तेमाल करने के लिए चुनाव रद्द करने के इलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालय के फैसले की खबर आयी, तब राजीव श्रीमती गांधी के साथ थे. वह मां से विचार-विमर्श कर रहे थे, पर उन्हें यह नहीं मालूम था कि अब क्या करना चाहिए. उस वक्त संजय मारुति कारखाने में थे. उलझन और परेशानी में किसी को इसकी सूचना संजय को देने का खयाल ही नहीं रहा. हालांकि तब तक वह कम्युनिस्टों से अपनी मां की 'रक्षा' करने के लिए राजनीति में सक्रिय हो गये थे. कम्युनिस्टों से संजय खासी नफरत करते थे. दोपहर को जब संजय अपनी आयातित कार से घर लौटे, तो उन्होंने देखा कि घर के बाहर काफी भीड़ जुटी है. वह समझ गये कि क्या हुआ है. वह सीधे मां के पास चले गये. मां से वह बोले कुछ नहीं, लेकिन संजय को देखते ही श्रीमती गांधी के बुझे चेहरे पर चमक आ गयी. संजय तब महज 28 साल के थे, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी जानती थीं कि सही सलाह देने के मामले में वह कितने परिपक्व हो चुके हैं.

श्रीमती गांधी ने तुरंत अपने घर के एक बंद कमरे में पारिवारिक बैठक की, यह तय करने के लिए कि अब क्या करना चाहिए. उनके दोनों बेटे राजीव और संजय इसके सख्त खिलाफ थे कि श्रीमती गांधी इस्तीफा दे या थोड़े समय के लिए भी पदत्याग करें. संजय इस मामले में कुछ ज्यादा ही उग्र थे. उन्होंने मां से कहा कि क्या वह यह बात नहीं जानतीं कि उन्हें विपक्ष से भी कहीं ज्यादा खतरा खुद अपने ही दल के महत्वाकांक्षी लोगों से ही है.

इसके बाद श्रीमती गांधी अपने घर के भंडारगृह में चली गयीं. जब कभी उनके सामने ऐसा कोई संकट आता था, तो वह इसी कमरे में अकेले आ बैठती थीं. यह उनकी पनाहगाह थी, लेकिन उनका सबसे बड़ा सहारा था संजय. उन्हें पूरा यकीन था कि जरूरत की इस घड़ी में संजय ही उनकी मदद कर सकते हैं. 1971 में चुनाव जितानेवाला नारा संजय ने ही दिया था : 'वे कहते हैं इंदिरा हटाओ, लेकिन मैं कहती हूं गरीबी हटाओ.'

लेकिन इस बार उन्हें नारा गढ़ने से भी कहीं ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण काम करना था. उन्हें पता था कि उनकी मां आसानी से हार माननेवाली नहीं हैं. पर उस वक्त उनकी हालत हार मान बैठने जैसी ही हो गयी थी और संजय नहीं चाहते थे कि ऐसा हो. उन्होंने सोचा कि उन्हें अपनी मां के लिए जंग समर्थन जुटाना चाहिए, केवल इसलिए नहीं कि वह उन्हें यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहते थे कि देश को उनकी जरूरत है, बल्कि इसलिए भी कि उनके दुश्मनों के हौसले भी पस्त किये जा सकें. उस वक्त राजीव इस मामले में कहीं भी नहीं थे. उस वक्त क्या, वह तो संजय की मौत तक भी दृश्य में कहीं नहीं थे ?

1977 में लोकसभा चुनाव हारने के बाद, जब श्रीमती गांधी निर्वासित-सा जीवन बिता रही थीं, उस वक्त वह संजय के और करीब आ गयी थीं. संजय ने दून स्कूल के अपने दोस्तों और आभिजात्य वर्ग के युवकों की एक भीड़ जुटायी, जो उनकी ब्रिगेड बनी. उनकी इस ब्रिगेड ने ही अदालत की कार्रवाइयों में बाधाएं डालीं. उनके लिए यह बात कोई अहमियत नहीं रखती थी कि ऐसा करने से उनकी बदनामी हो रही है. उनके लिए महत्वपूर्ण यह था कि उनके नाम अखबारों में आने लगे थे. इन लोगों ने अपने जीवन में शायद ही कभी लोगों के बीच कोई अच्छा काम किया होगा. गुंडागर्दी उनका एकमात्र काम था. उनमें से कई यह ख्वाब देखने लगे थे कि यदि श्रीमती गांधी—जिनके बेटे संजय उनके 'गॉडफादर' हैं—फिर सत्ता में आती हैं, तो उन्हें भी सत्ता में स्थान मिल जायेगा.

राजीव ने अपने आपको इस सबसे अलग रखा. एक सरकारी विमान सेवा में पायलट की नौकरी कर रहा व्यक्ति इससे ज्यादा और कुछ कर भी नहीं सकता था. फिर वह श्रीमती गांधी के घनिष्ठ सलाहकारों में भी नहीं थे. संजय की मृत्यु के बाद, श्रीमती गांधी का घर छोड़ते वक्त मेनका ने राजीव गांधी के बारे में टिप्पणी की थी कि वह (मेनका) और संजय उस वक्त श्रीमती गांधी के साथ रहे, जबकि दूसरे उन्हें छोड़ जाने को तत्पर थे. मेनका ने यहां तक कहा था कि आपातकाल के दौरान राजीव गांधी और उनके परिवार ने तो इटली के एक उद्योगपति के दिल्ली स्थित घर में पनाह ली थी. अगर मेनका गांधी के आरोप को गंभीरता से न लें, तो भी यह लगता है कि संजय के विपरीत राजीव ने अपने आपको मां से दूर

राजीव : मां को सहारा देने की मजबूरी छाया : सुनील दत्त

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छाया : संदीप शंकर

छाया : दुर्गाप्रसाद

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रुख. और शायद यही वजह है कि आपातकाल के दौरान सत्ता के दुरुपयोग की जांच करने के लिए बने किसी भी आयोग में राजीव के नाम का जिक्र तक नहीं आया. यहां तक कि जब शाह आयोग ने बोइंग सौदे की जांच के दौरान यह पाया कि 'इस सौदे का वित्तीय लेखा-जोखा ऐसे लोगों को भी दिखाया गया, जिनका इस मामले से कोई संबंध नहीं था,' तब भी राजीव का नाम नहीं आया. हां, इसमें संजय का नाम जरूर शामिल था.

श्रीमती गांधी और संजय गांधी दोनों पर आरोप लगाया गया. शाह कमीशन ने कहा, "श्रीमती गांधी या अन्य लोगों की ओर से किसी स्पष्टीकरण के अभाव में आयोग इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा कि ऐसा लगता है कि 'आंतरिक आपातकाल' की घोषणा करने जैसी असामान्य सलाह राष्ट्रपति को देने के पीछे एक ही प्रेरणा-शक्ति काम कर रही थी. चुनाव में भ्रष्ट तरीके अपनाने के आरोप में इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट द्वारा श्रीमती गांधी के चुनाव को रद्द कर देने के बाद सत्तारूढ़ दल और विपक्ष की राजनीतिक गतिविधियों में जो तेजी आयी थी, वही आपातकाल लागू करने की प्रेरणा बनी.

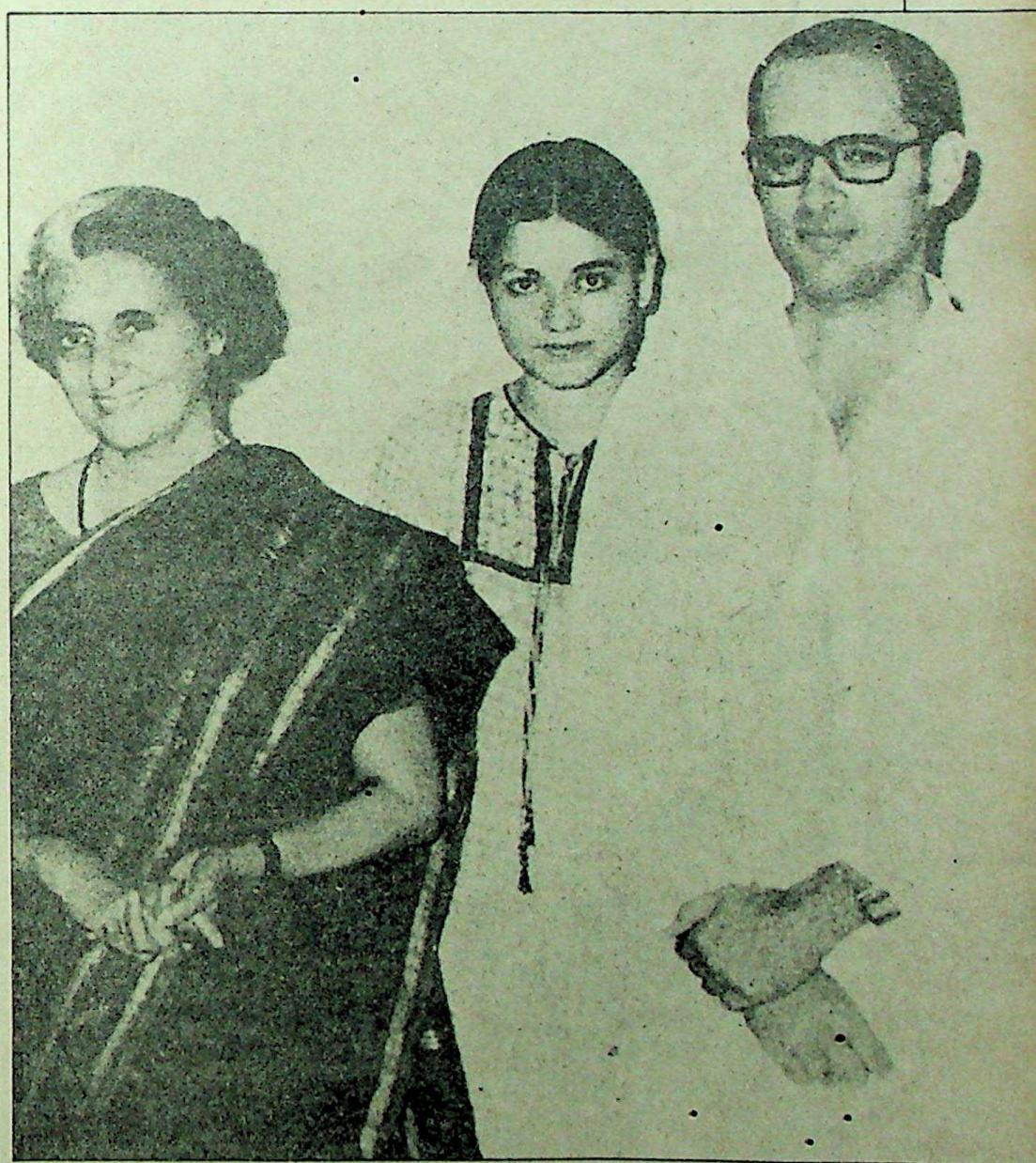
आयोग ने इस बात पर गहरा खेद व्यक्त किया था कि बुलडोजर चलाने का काम संजय के हुक्म पर और उनकी सनक को पूरा करने के लिए किया गया, जबकि संजय न तो किसी के प्रति जवाबदेह थे और न ही उनकी कोई प्रशासकीय हैसियत ही थी. आयोग के समक्ष संजय की कुछ और भी कारगुजारियों का परदाफाश हुआ. मकान ढहाने की कार्रवाई में संजय के द्वारा किये गये कई कृत्यों की कई दर्दभरी दास्तानें सामने आयीं. यह बात भी उजागर हुई कि किस तरह दिल्ली के जिला मजिस्ट्रेट और अन्य मजिस्ट्रेटों पर दबाव डाला गया कि वे यह स्वीकार कर लें कि उन लोगों ने ही तुर्कमान गेट पर गोली चलाने का हुक्म दिया था. जबकि आयोग के समक्ष बयान देते हुए इन मजिस्ट्रेटों ने बताया कि उन्होंने गोली चलाने का हुक्म नहीं जारी किया था. आयोग की जानकारी में यह बात भी आयी कि संजय के हुक्म पर सम्माननीय नागरिकों तक की गिरफ़्तारियां हुईं.

लोग सोचते थे कि सत्ता से निर्वासन के काल में इंदिरा गांधी ने इस पर जरूर गौर किया होगा कि उनसे ऐसी कौन-सी गलती हो गयी, जिसके चलते 1971 में दो-तिहाई बहुमत पानेवाली उनकी पार्टी 1977 के चुनाव में महज 150 सीटों तक सिमट कर रह गयी. लोगों का यह भी खयाल था कि शायद श्रीमती गांधी को इस बात का भी एहसास हुआ होगा कि 'गंभीर परिस्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिए'-जैसा वह अकसर कहती थीं-जो तरीके और साधन अपनाये, वे न केवल गलत ही थे, बल्कि विपरीत परिणाम देनेवाले थे. लेकिन जनता पार्टी के शासनकाल में उनके द्वारा दिये गये वक्तव्यों ने यह जाहिर कर दिया कि वह जरा भी बदली नहीं थी. उन्होंने अपनी गलतियों से कोई सबक नहीं सीखा था. आपातकाल में उन्होंने जो तरीके इस्तेमाल किये थे, उन्हें वह सही मानती रही थीं. अपने तौर-तरीकों के प्रति उनकी मान्यता बदली नहीं थी.

दूसरी ओर, वह बार-बार कहती थीं कि 1977 में उन्हें सिर्फ इसलिए हार का मुंह देखना पड़ा कि उनके विरोधियों ने अपने गलत प्रचार से जनता को 'मूर्ख' बना दिया था. लोग यह नहीं समझ पा रहे थे कि आखिर वह अपने आपको भरमा क्यों रही हैं, जबकि उनके कुशासन की बात एक स्थापित तथ्य बन चुकी थी.

यह बात जग-जाहिर है कि आपातकाल के दौरान निरंकुश और स्वेच्छाचारी ढंग से सरकार ने कार्रवाइयां कीं. गलत अभियोग लगा कर गिरफ़्तारियां की गयीं और ऐसी गिरफ़्तारियां ज्यादातर पार्टी या व्यक्तिगत हितों को पूरा करने के लिए की गयीं. यह सच है कि लोगों को 'मूर्ख' बनाया गया था. लेकिन दरअसल, लोग तो आपातकाल और उनकी ज्यादतियों का औचित्य सिद्ध करनेवाले श्रीमती गांधी के प्रचार तंत्र द्वारा नित उगले जा रहे झूठ से 'मूर्ख' बनाये गये थे.

श्रीमती गांधी ने कहा था कि आपातकाल के दौरान 'कुछेक गिरफ़्तारियां' की गयी थीं. सरकारी आंकड़ों के मुताबिक इन 'कुछेक गिरफ़्तारियों' की संख्या एक लाख थी. हो सकता है यह संख्या और भी अधिक रही हो. शायद यह ज्यादा बेहतर होता अगर उन्होंने कहा होता कि भारत की 70 करोड़ की आबादी का एक चौथाई हिस्सा भी तो जेल में नहीं था. उनकी नजरों में व्यक्ति की औकात ही क्या थी !



इंदिरा, मेनका और संजय : वे दिन कुछ और थे

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इंदिरा गांधी की इन ढिठाईभरी बातों के बावजूद लोगों को उन्हें फिर वापस बुलाना पड़ा, क्योंकि जब जनता सरकार के लोगों में तू-तू,मैं-मैं हुई और फिर सरकार का पतन हुआ,तो देश की जनता के समक्ष कोई दूसरा विकल्प ही नहीं था. वह सत्ता में लौटीं, तो बदले की भावना के साथ. संजय के दिमाग में भी कुछ ऐसी ही बातें थीं और इस बार उनके साथ एक अजीबोगरीब भीड़ थी. इस बार युवकों को महत्व दिया गया था और उन पर संजय की मुहर लगी थी.

नये आये लोग संजयवादी थे. जब राजीव ने सत्ता संभाल ली, तब भी न तो इन लोगों में कोई खास बदलाव आया और न ही पार्टी में इनके दखल में कोई खास कमी हुई. इनके भाषण देने का तरीका और पोशाक परंपरागत राजनीतिज्ञों से अलग है. किसी का अभिवादन 'नमस्कार' के बजाय 'हाय' कह कर करते हैं. आप इनसे हिंदी में बात करें, तो आपको अंगरेजी में ही जवाब देंगे. इनमें से शायद ही मुश्किल से कभी किसी ने गांधी टोपी पहनी होगी. उन्होंने न खादी काती, न जेल गये और न ही कोई रचनात्मक कार्य ही किया और न ही राज-काज में विधिवत दीक्षित ही हुए. नम्रता और निष्ठा उनके स्वभाव में शामिल नहीं. वे अपने बारे में ही ज्यादा बोलते हैं. उनकी बोली अलग है और चीजों को आंकने का नजरिया भी. संसद के सेंट्रल हॉल में यदि आप इनसे मिलें, तो आपको पता चल जायेगा कि क्या चीज इन्हें राजनीति में खींच लायी है.

इनके लिए सफलता ही प्रगति को मापने का मानदंड है, इनके लिए साधन कोई मायने नहीं रखते. इनकी नजर तो बस परिणाम पर रहती है. समर्पण-भाव, प्रतिबद्धता या बलिदान की भावना इनके लिए उतना महत्व नहीं रखती, जितना कि सफलता पाने और नतीजे दिखाने की ललक. इनकी सारी आस्था नेता पर होती है, विचारधारा पर नहीं. ये पूर्ण वफादार होते हैं और बदले में ऐसा ही चाहते हैं.

इंदिरा गांधी अपनी नीतियों के कार्यान्वयन के लिए ऐसे ही लोगों और साधनों का इस्तेमाल करती थीं और अब राजीव भी यही कर रहे हैं. और इसमें हैरत की कोई बात नहीं कि दोबारा सत्ता में आने के बाद 1980 और 1984 के बीच उनकी कोई उपलब्धि नहीं रही. उनकी असफलता का एक कारण उनकी यह सनक भी थी कि वह अपने आगे किसी को कुछ समझती ही नहीं थीं. असम और पंजाब की समस्याओं को ही लें. ये समस्याएं वर्षों पूर्व ही सुलझ गयी होतीं, अगर उन्होंने यह साबित करने की जिद छोड़ दी होती कि इन समस्याओं के जो हल वह सुझा रही हैं, उससे अच्छा हल और कुछ हो ही नहीं सकता. इस जिद ने ही इन समस्याओं को जटिल बना दिया था.

राजीव को जब उन्होंने भविष्य के लिए तैयार करना शुरू किया, तो वह अपनी मां के सांचे में पूरी तरह 'फिट' नहीं हो पा रहे थे, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी के सामने दूसरा कोई विकल्प भी तो नहीं था. वह दिल्ली की गद्दी पर अपने परिवार में से ही किसी को देखना चाहती थीं, ताकि उनकी मौत के बाद कोई उन्हें बदनाम न कर सके और न ही कोई नेहरू वंश के लिए चुनौती बन सके. शायद वह सोचती थीं कि भारतीय जनता एक अरसे तक राजाओं -महाराजाओं के शासन की आदी रही है, और इसलिए भारत की जनता प्रतीकात्मक रूप से नेहरू परिवार में भी ऐसी ही आस्था रखती है कि नेहरू परिवार ही देश चला सकता है.

गुजरात के राज्यपाल व नेहरू परिवार के सदस्य बी. के. नेहरू ने एक बार नेहरू की भांजी नयनतारा सहगल को इस बात के लिए खूब लताड़ा था कि उन्होंने इंदिरा गांधी की आलोचना क्यों की. बी. के. नेहरू ने कहा था कि नेहरू खानदान तो भारत पर राज करने के लिए ही बना है, क्योंकि इस परिवार ने देश को एक ऐसा बिंदु दिया है, जिसके इर्द-गिर्द जनता इकट्ठा और एकताबद्ध हो सकती है .

राजीव को राजनीति में लाने के बाद इंदिरा गांधी ने राजीव और उनके पिछलग्गुओं को काफी मौका दिया था, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी ने कभी भी इन लोगों को पंजाब और असम, यहां तक कि मिजोरम के मामले में भी दखलंदाजी नहीं करने दी. इनमें से दो समस्याएं राजीव ने उनकी मृत्यु के बाद हल भी कर दीं. अगर उनकी जगह संजय होते, तो ये समस्याएं कभी हल ही न होतीं, क्योंकि वह श्रीमती गांधी के ही सांचे में ढले थे.

श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या के बाद अब शायद श्रीमती गांधी से जुड़े तमाम विवादास्पद मुद्दे गौण हो जायें, क्योंकि लोग उन्हें 'शहीद' मानने लगे हैं. लेकिन इंदिरा युग का आकलन, चाहे वह कितना भी दुखद क्यों न हों, न तो पूरी तरह सफेद हो सकता है, न स्याह, न तो अच्छा और न ही बुरा.

देश को धर्मनिरपेक्ष और एकताबद्ध रखने के श्रीमती गांधी के प्रयासों को किसी भी दृष्टि से कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं कहा जा सकता. उन्होंने आडंबर और रूढ़ियों से लड़ने का साहस दिखाया. यहां तक कि राजनीतिक मामलों में भी उन्होंने वह राह अपनायी, जिसे अपनाने में दूसरे बहुत-से लोग डरते. लेकिन सिर्फ साहस से ही सब कुछ नहीं होता. अच्छे कार्यों के बदले में साहस को नहीं तौला जा सकता. न ही साहस के नाम पर हर तरह के अच्छे-बुरे तरीकों को स्वीकारा जा सकता है. श्रीमती गांधी के शासन का यही सबसे सशक्त और सबसे कमजोर बिंदु था. उनके लिए तरीके महत्व नहीं रखते थे, अगर कुछ महत्व रखता था, तो वह था परिणाम.

चाहे 1969 का कांग्रेस का विघटन हो या 1975 में आपातकाल की घोषणा, या फिर 1984 का ऑपरेशन ब्लूस्टार—इन सबसे यह सिद्ध हो गया कि वह अपनी जीत के लिए कोई भी हथियार प्रयोग करने से नहीं हिचकती थीं. उन्हें हर कीमत पर जीत और सफलता चाहिए थी. उन्हें इससे कोई मतलब नहीं था कि यह जीत कैसे हासिल की गयी. इस मामले में संजय उनकी कार्बन कापी थे. हां, राजीव शुरुआत से ही उनसे भिन्न दिख रहे हैं.

यह सच है कि उनके जो बुनियादी कार्यक्रम थे, उनमें वामपंथी रूझान दिखता था, लेकिन विचारधारा का भी वह कहीं न कहीं, किसी दूसरे उद्देश्य के लिए इस्तेमाल करती थीं. 1969 में उनके द्वारा किया गया बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण प्रशंसनीय कदम था, लेकिन इसका मकसद सिर्फ अपने परम विरोधी मोरारजी देसाई को चित करना था. समाजवादी विचारधारा ने उन्हें प्रगतिशील छवि दी, जिससे आम जनता काफी हद तक प्रभावित हुई. लेकिन उनके शासनकाल में 20 करोड़ लोग और गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे चले गये. यानी भारत की 68 प्रतिशत आबादी गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे आ गयी. यह था उनकी नीतियों का असली चेहरा.

1980 से 1984 के उनके शासन को हमारे इतिहास में 'चौपट राज' के रूप में ही दर्ज किया जायेगा. उन्होंने अपने पीछे एक ऐसी शासन पद्धति छोड़ी है, जिसने रातोंरात हर स्तर पर अत्याचारियों और तानाशाहों की जमात पैदा कर दी है. ऐसे लोगों के लिए आज कुछ भी काम करा लेना संभव है, जो सत्ता के नजदीक हों. जो सत्ता के जितना ज्यादा करीब हैं, वह उतना ही मनमाने ढंग से काम कर और करा सकता है. उनका यह रवैया इसका परिचायक है कि सही काम करने की इच्छा और प्रेरणा को लकवा मार गया है. जनता में भी नैतिकता की भावना धुंधलाती जा रही है. अनैतिकता ही आज की नैतिकता बनती जा रही है.

यदि अब भी लोकतांत्रिक समाज के आधारभूत मूल्यों की रक्षा करनी है, तो हर व्यक्ति को, चाहे लोकसेवक हो या सामान्य नागरिक, मूल्यों के प्रति चौकस रहना होगा और उत्सर्ग की भावना विकसित करनी होगी. जब तक हममें यह चेतना नहीं आती कि सही क्या है और उसे कैसे किया जाये, तब तक हम यह नहीं समझ पायेंगे कि गलत क्या है. अगर आज श्रीमती गांधी या संजय गांधी जीवित होते, तो यह बात उनके लिए कोई मायने नहीं रखती. क्या यह बात राजीव के लिए मायने रखती है ! अगर रखती है, तो किस हद तक—यह तो आनेवाला कल ही बतायेगा.□

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उन्हें लोकतंत्र से अधिक अपने परिवार से प्रेम था

शरद यादव

इंदिरा गांधी के अभ्युदय ने भारतीय राजनीति में कई नकारात्मक फेर-बदल किये. श्रीमती गांधी ने राजनीति में जिस व्यक्तिवाद के बीज बोये हैं, उसकी खरपतवार लंबे अरसे तक काटने के बाद भी समाप्त नहीं होगी. पंडित नेहरू आजादी की विरासत एवं गांधी की धरोहर के मालिक थे. कांग्रेस पार्टी के इतिहास में दर्जनों फैसले नेहरू की मर्जी के विरुद्ध हुए. एक लोकतांत्रिक पार्टी के रूप में उस दल का विकास हुआ था, चाहे उसका वर्ग चरित्र कितना ही पूंजीवाद समर्थक रहा हो.

श्रीमती गांधी ने सबसे पहले अपने व्यक्तित्व को कांग्रेस पार्टी पर थोप दिया. 1969 में इस पार्टी की नींव किसी सैद्धांतिक आधार पर नहीं पड़ी थी. श्रीमती गांधी की तानाशाह की तरह काम करने की शैली ने लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया को जड़मूल से समाप्त किया. बेशक उन्होंने अपनी पार्टी को चुनावी समीकरण के हिसाब से पहले से ज्यादा उपयोगी एवं दुधारू बनाया. लेकिन उसमें आत्मा नाम की चीज नहीं बच पायी. कांग्रेस पार्टी में महत्वपूर्ण सवालों पर बहस बंद हो गयी. श्रीमती गांधी पार्टी के नेताओं को बहस के नतीजे बताने में ज्यादा रुचि लेने लगीं. जब वह अपनी पार्टी में निरंकुश बनने में सफल हो गयीं, तो वही प्रक्रिया उन्होंने देश में लागू कर दी. विपक्षी दलों से विचार-विमर्श, असहमति की गुंजाइश उनके स्वभाव के विपरीत चीजें थीं. विपक्ष की स्वस्थ आलोचना, आर्थिक-सामाजिक विषयों पर सरकारी नीतियों की नुक्ताचीनी उन्हें असह्य थी. जून 1975 में देश में नागरिक आजादी का खात्मा, लाखों विपक्षी कार्यकर्ताओं को जेल में बंद करना, प्रेस की आजादी की समाप्ति आदि उनकी उसी निरंकुश मनोवृत्ति की परिचायक थी. उस दौर में उन्हें संसद से भी चिढ़ हो गयी थी.

मुझे याद है, जब मैं जबलपुर उपचुनाव में विजयी हो कर पहली बार संसद में पहुंचा था, तो 'तुलमोहन राम भ्रष्टाचार कांड' को ले कर बड़ा बावेला मचा हुआ था. विपक्ष के धुरंधर नेता मधु लिमये एवं स्व. ज्योतिर्मय बसु सरकार पर प्रहार कर रहे थे. उस समय श्रीमती गांधी का स्वभाव एवं व्यवहार लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों के विरुद्ध था; वे मानने लगी थीं कि जो संसद उनकी मनमानी रोकने एवं उनके स्वभाव के स्वच्छंद विकास में बाधक हो रही है, क्यों न उसे ही समाप्त किया जाये ? व्यक्तिवाद का ऐसा रूप राजशाही एवं तानाशाही में तो देखने को मिलता है, लोकतंत्र में नहीं. निरंकुश तानाशाह पहला प्रहार सहमति का निर्माण करनेवाली संस्थाओं पर करता है. फिर पूरे राज्य में नायक के रूप में स्थापित होना चाहता है, यही इंदिरा गांधी ने किया.

श्रीमती गांधी के अभ्युदय ने राजनीति में पैसे एवं भ्रष्टाचार के भस्मासुर को भी पैदा किया है. श्रीमती गांधी ने एक बार बीजू पटनायक से निजी बातचीत में कहा भी था कि वह चुनाव को ऐसा कर देंगी कि विपक्षी दलों के लिए चुनाव लड़ना मुश्किल हो जायेगा. 1967 के चुनावों से पहले कालेधन का कभी नंगा नाच नहीं हुआ था. न्यायपालिका एवं कार्यपालिका पर कोई संदेह नहीं करता था. लेकिन कांग्रेस विभाजन के बाद, 1971 के पहले चुनाव में कालेधन का पहली बार व्यापक पैमाने पर इस्तेमाल हुआ एवं प्रशासन की निष्पक्षता पर पहली बार प्रहार हुआ. सामान्यजनों एवं सर्वहारा की राजनीति करनेवाले ईमानदार कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए राजनीति में जिंदा रहना श्रीमती गांधी की रणनीति ने असंभव-सा कर दिया है.

दरअसल, श्रीमती गांधी को लोकतंत्र से ज्यादा अपने परिवार से मोह था. मुल्क को वह अपनी एवं अपने स्व. पिता की जागीर मानती थीं.

अपने जीवनकाल में अपने पुत्रों को राजनीति में प्रतिष्ठित कराने में उन्होंने एक बार तो अपने राजनीतिक जीवन तक को दांव पर लगा दिया था. पुराने सामंतों, राजा-रजवाड़े, पूंजीपति वर्ग के नुमाइंदे इस अविकसित राजनीति में सम्मान एवं पद पाने लगे. मध्यप्रदेश में पं. रविशंकर शुक्ल, उत्तरप्रदेश में गोविंदवल्लभ पंत एवं कमलापति त्रिपाठी, बिहार में मिश्र परिवार राजनीति में स्थापित होने लगे. श्रीमती गांधी को पिछड़े मुल्कों में लोकप्रिय नारों से राजनीति करने का अद्भुत अनुभव था. वामपंथी नारे दे कर घोर दक्षिणपंथी कार्य करना उनकी राजनीतिक शैली का अंग बन गया. श्रीमती गांधी अपने बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के प्रचार के चलते देश के सबसे गरीब तबके में लोकप्रिय बनी रहीं. इजारेदार पूंजीपति वर्गों को उनके शासन में काफी लाभ हुआ. अब राजीव गांधी की आर्थिक नीतियों से इन पूंजीपतियों को अधिक फायदा होगा. समाज के गरीब तबके, शोषित एवं उपेक्षित वर्ग गांव के सामंती ढांचे में कभी सीना तान कर नहीं चल पाये. आपातकाल में उत्तर भारत के कई प्रमुख राज्यों में उन्होंने अपनी ही जाति के मुख्यमंत्री चुने, फिर भी वह वर्गविहीन एवं जाति-विहीन समाज के निर्माण के संकल्पों को दोहराती रहीं.

श्रीमती गांधी की कोई अपनी राजनीतिक विचारधारा नहीं थी. राजनीति उनके लिए सत्ता समीकरण से अधिक कुछ नहीं थी. बाद के दिनों में उनमें उपजी असहिष्णुता एवं ईर्ष्या-द्वेष की राजनीति इसी का परिणाम थी.

पंजाब, असम और उत्तर-पूर्व राज्यों की विस्फोटक स्थिति, जम्मू-कश्मीर का तनाव, भाषाई दंगे, सांप्रदायिक हिंसा इन्हीं के शासन की उपज हैं. पंजाब समस्या को कभी उन्होंने चुनाव के चश्मे से दूर रख कर नहीं देखा. जनता शासनकाल के दौर में और बाद में जिन व्यक्तियों के द्वारा उन्होंने पंजाब में राजनीति का संघटन कराया, उन्हीं के कारनामों की परिणति उनकी क्रूर हत्या में हुई. 1982 के जम्मू-कश्मीर विधानसभा चुनावों के दौरान सांप्रदायिक प्रचार में आर. एस. एस. उनसे पीछे रह गया. उनकी धर्म-निरपेक्षता के सिद्धांतों में भी कोई राजनीतिक 'कमिटमेंट' नहीं था.

मुझे अफसोस है कि वह हमारी पीढ़ी के लिए कोई आदर्श छोड़ कर नहीं गयीं. भ्रष्टाचार में आकंठ डूबा देश, गरीबी की सीमा रेखा से नीचे कराहते 60 प्रतिशत लोग, सीमावर्ती राज्यों की अशांति, पड़ोसी मुल्कों से हर वक्त युद्ध की आशंका, नैतिकता का अभाव एवं विचारहीन राजनीति का चलन ये सब श्रीमती गांधी के राजनीतिक जीवन की देन हैं. □

रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

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इंदु इतनी 'बड़ी' न हो सकी कि जयप्रकाश को पहचान पाती

कुमार प्रशात

इसे चाहे जिस तरह से हम समझे— इतिहास की चाल कहे या वक्त का प्रवाह— 1970 के दशक मे जयप्रकाश नारायण और इंदिरा गांधी की दो नितांत भिन्न प्रतिभाएं, एक -दूसरे का सामना कर रही थीं. भिन्न इतनी कि ऐसी भिन्नता का दूसरा कोई उदाहरण खोजना मुश्किल है. यह भिन्नता वैचारिक नहीं थी— इंदिरा जी के पास कोई खास विचार था, ऐसा मुगालता राजनीति विज्ञान के किसी गंभीर अध्येता को नहीं होगा— यह भिन्नता मूल्यों से ले कर व्यक्तित्व के संपूर्ण गठन तक थी.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू से जयप्रकाश का प्रगाढ़ रिश्ता था. इतना प्रगाढ़ कि उसकी आंच मे समाजवादी पार्टी बुरी तरह जल गयी. इस रिश्ते से ज्यादा प्रगाढ़ रिश्ता था प्रभावती जी और कमला जी के बीच. व्यक्तिगत से व्यक्तिगत बाते उनके बीच बंटती थीं. दस्तावेज ही था पत्रों का वह बंडल, जिसे ले कर प्रभावती जी की मृत्यु के बाद जयप्रकाश उलझन मे पड़े थे. कमला जी के पत्र प्रभावती जी के नाम. नेहरू परिवार की सारी भीतरी जिंदगी उनमें खुलती थी. हैसियत, रोबदाब, नस्ल का एक घमंड और उसमे कुछ 'छोटी हैसियत' के परिवार से गयीं कमला जी— वह सारा कुछ बयान करनेवाले उन पत्रों के साथ ठीक न्याय तो इंदु ही कर सकती है, ऐसा सोच कर जयप्रकाश ने वह बंडल उन्हे सौंप दिया. इतना जरूर लिखा कि इनमें से जो पत्र व्यक्तिगत बातों से अलग ऐतिहासिक महत्व रखते हों, उन्हे छांट कर राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय में भिजवा देना. (इंदिरा जी ने उन पत्रों की पावती भी कभी नहीं भेजी, राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालयवाली बात तो दूर रही).

जिन दो परिवारों के बीच इतनी बड़ी नजदीकी थी, उनके बीच एक ही बच्चा था इंदु ! स्वाभाविक था कि जयप्रकाश-प्रभावती का इंदु से स्नेह होता, लेकिन स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में डूबे जयप्रकाश का ज्यादातर विदेश में पढ़ाई करती इंदु से कुछ ज्यादा संपर्क रहा, ऐसा प्रमाण नहीं मिलता है. फिर भी वह इंदु के जीवन के विकास, उसके उतार-चढ़ाव से वाकिफ रहते थे. जन्मदिन की बधाइयों या प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू से मुलाकात के वक्त इंदु की बाते तो होती ही थीं, पटना में जब प्रभावती जी ने बालकों के लिए कमला नेहरू शिशु विहार शुरू किया, तो इंदिरा जी को उसके विशेष समारोह में बुलाया था और दोनों ने अपनी बेटी का आत्मीयता से सत्कार किया था.

इसके बाद सतह पर उभरता है 1966. इंदिरा जी प्रधानमंत्री चुनी गयीं और जयप्रकाश ने उन्हें बधाई का पत्र लिखा— 'मेरी हार्दिक बधाई स्वीकार करो. बहुत बड़ा भार अपने कंधों पर उठाया है तुमने. तुम्हारी परीक्षा और तनाव की इस घड़ी में मेरा दिल तुम्हारी तरफ है... अपनी तरफ से मैं पूरे समर्थन का— उसका मूल्य चाहे कुछ भी हो— विश्वास दिलाता हूं. इस देश की जनता की शांति व खुशी के लिए जो भी तुम करोगी, उसमें मुझे अपने साथ पाओगी.' (20 जनवरी 1966)

यह वह वक्त था जब पिता की छाया मे राजनीति के पाठ पढ़नेवाली इंदु, सक्रिय राजनीति के शीर्ष पर पहुंच रही थी और जयप्रकाश, सत्ता की राजनीति को अंतिम तौर पर छोड़ कर सर्वोदय के, समाज परिवर्तन के बुनियादी काम में लगे हुए थे.इंदिरा जी ने अपने पिता का अंतिम काल देखा था. वे सब, जो जवाहरलाल जी के इशारे पर उठते-बैठते थे, तब इतना बढ़-चढ़ गये थे कि जवाहरलाल जी पर ही घात लगाने लगे थे. अकेलेपन व असुरक्षा के जिस दायरे में इंदु का बचपन बीता था, अविश्वास की एक और बेल उस पर चढ़ गयी. जयप्रकाश का विकास एकदम दूसरी तरह से हुआ था.अपने पारिवारिकजीवन के तमाम रास्ते उन्होंने खुद बनाये थे, इसलिए असुरक्षा की भावना का लेश भी उनके गठन में नहीं था और हर रास्ते पर चलते हुए, वह उस राह की सबसे बड़ी हस्तियों से टकराते ही रहे थे. अमरीका में पक्के साम्यवादी बने, तो साम्यवादियों से ही टकराये. पहली सैद्धांतिक बहस, इंग्लैंड की साम्यवादी पार्टी के आलादिमाग दत्त बंधुओं से ही की कि भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में साम्यवादियों को पूरा हिस्सा क्यों नहीं लेना चाहिए. साम्यवादी जयप्रकाश भारत आ कर कांग्रेस में शामिल हो गये और फिर गांधी के साथ एक बुनियादी मतभेद की शुरुआत हुई, जो कांग्रेस के इतिहास में पहली और अनोखी घटना थी. स्वतंत्रता के बाद नेहरू-पटेल से टकराये, अपनी बनायी पार्टी से टकराये. एक अकेलेपन की यात्रा ही थी, जिसकी चालक शक्ति थी सहकर्मियों पर अटल विश्वास.

कुरसी पर पहुंच कर एक महत्वाकांक्षी राजनीतिज्ञ की तरह इंदिरा जी ने कुरसी बचाना जरूरी माना, तो इसमें आश्चर्य नहीं. जयप्रकाश के लिए ये खेल कोई मतलब नहीं रखते थे और जल्दी ही उन्होंने देख लिया कि नयी प्रधानमंत्री नया कुछ करने नहीं जा रही हैं. फिर भी जहां और जब उन्हे जरूरी लगा, उन्होंने अपनी राय से इंदिरा जी को अवगत कराया. 1966 में जब कश्मीर समस्या को सुलझाने की एक कोशिश प्रधानमंत्री की तरफ से हुई, जयप्रकाश ने बगैर मांगे एक लंबा खत प्रधानमंत्री को लिखा और उसमे इस गांठ को खोलने के बारे में कई बाते लिखीं. 1967 में भाषा के सवाल पर सरकारी नीति का समर्थन करते हुए उन्होंने सार्वजनिक बयान दिये और हिंदीवालों के गुस्से का केंद्र बने. मुसहरी प्रखंड (बिहार) के अपने सर्वोदय के काम के अनुभव पर लिखी पुस्तिका उन्होंने इंदिरा जी को भेजी, तो उन्होंने जवाब दिया, 'मुसहरी की परिस्थिति के विषय मे आपकी समीक्षा मैंने रुचिपूर्वक पढ़ी. आपका प्रयोग ठेठ बुनियाद में अहिंसक परिवर्तन की संभावनाओं को खोजनेवाला एक साहसपूर्ण प्रयोग है.' (9 दिसंबर, 1970)

दो भिन्न राहों से चलनेवाले यात्रियों की ऐसी दुआ-सलाम ठीक-ठीक ही चल रही थी कि तभी एक व्याघात आया. कांग्रेस को तोड़ने, वी. वी. गिरि को परदे के पीछे से राष्ट्रपति बनाने आदि को

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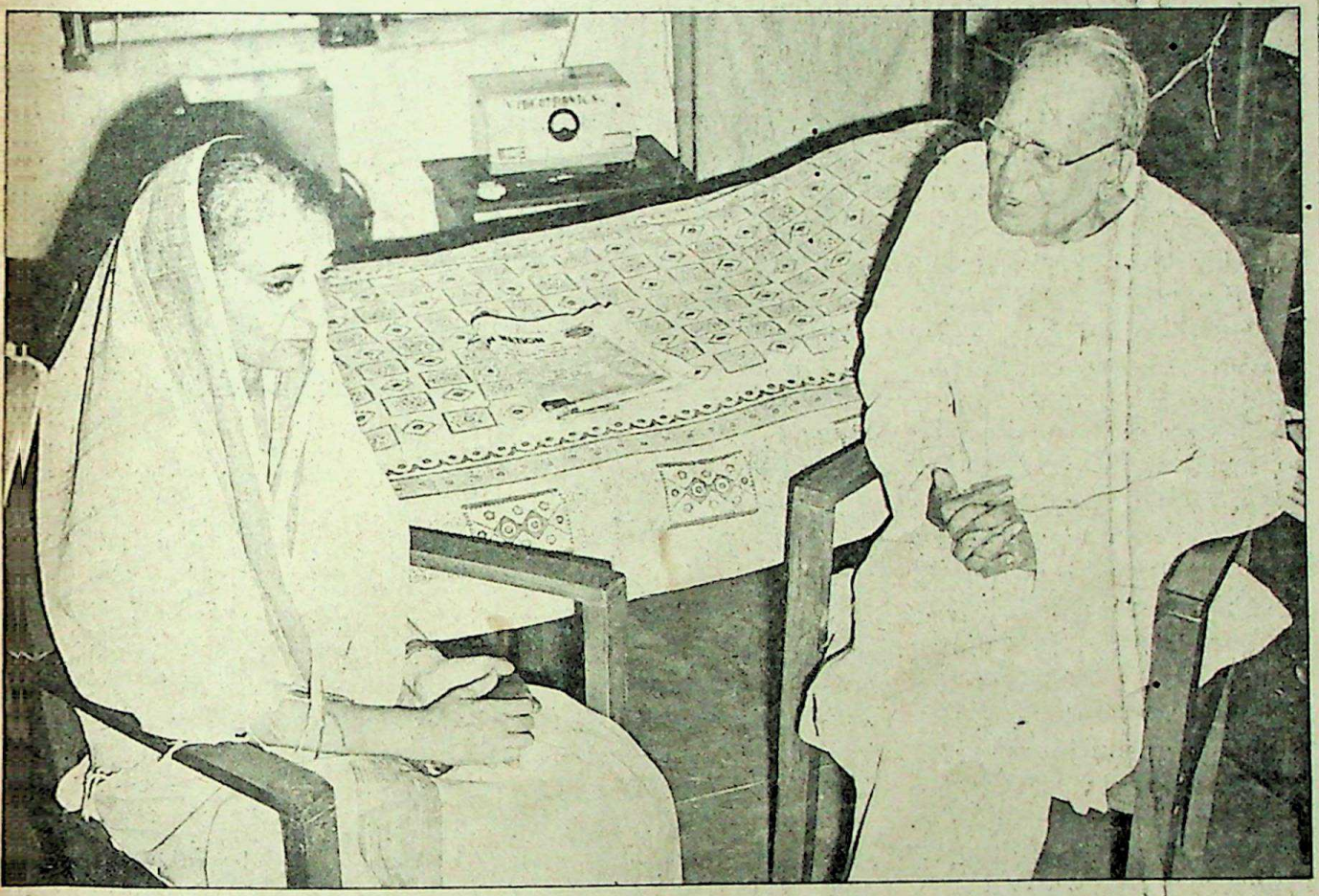
शांतिर चालों के बाद 1971 का 'गरीबी हटाओ' वाला चुनाव हुआ. चमत्कारिक बहुमत से श्रीमती गांधी जीतीं. जयप्रकाश तब केंद्र मे संभाव्य अशांति से चिंतित थे. इसलिए स्थिरता प्रदान करनेवाली विजय से वे खुश हुए. उनके मन में एक आशा भी कहीं जगी कि अब इंदिरा-सरकार ठीक काम कर सकेगी. 13 मार्च 1971 को उन्होंने इंदिरा जी को पत्र लिखा : 'यह पत्र भारत की प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी को नहीं, बल्कि इंदु को लिख रहा हूं. सबसे पहले प्रभा और मैं तुम्हे बहुत-बहुत बधाई देते हैं . यह जीत भारत के लोकतांत्रिक इतिहास की एक अभूतपूर्व घटना है, जिसका पूरा श्रेय तुम्हे है... देश की जनता की सेवा करने का यह अपूर्व अवसर तुम्हे प्राप्त हुआ है... मैं आशा करता हूं कि तुम गहराई मे जाओगी और धैर्य व नम्रता से आज की चुनौतियों का मुकाबला करोगी... राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के वक्त का तुम्हारा राजनीतिक आचरण मुझे पसंद नहीं आया था, हालांकि मुझे मालूम है कि वह तुम्हारे राजनीतिक जीवन-मरण की घड़ी थी, अब जब कि तुम्हे निर्द्वंद्व सत्ता प्राप्त हुई है, मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि वे तुम्हें निर्मल विवेक दें...'

इंदिरा जी की अरक्षा की ग्रंथि चिटक उठी. बधाई के पत्र के जवाब में उन्होंने लिखा : 'आपने लिखा है कि राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के समय आपने मेरा आचरण पसंद नहीं किया, हालांकि मेरे राजनीतिक जीवन के लिए आपने उसे आवश्यक समझा था. यह पढ़ कर मुझे दुख हुआ और यह जान कर खास तौर पर दुख हुआ कि आप मुझे इतना कम जानते या समझते हैं. राजनीतिक या किसी और प्रकार के अस्तित्व के लिए मैंने कभी चिंता नहीं की. उस समय जो सवाल था, वह मेरे भविष्य का नहीं, बल्कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के भविष्य का और इसलिए देश के भविष्य का था. आप जिस प्रकार भी इन घटनाओं को देखें, इतना विश्वास करें कि जीवन में मेरी ऐसी कोई आकांक्षा नहीं है, जो मुझे अपने सिद्धांतों से विचलित करे.'

गलती करने से ज्यादा बुरा है, गलती को पहचानने से इनकार करना, इसलिए जयप्रकाश ने एक लंबा जवाब लिखा, 'मेरे उस वाक्य का तुमने बिल्कुल उलटा अर्थ लगाया है. तुम्हारा वह आचरण तुम्हारे राजनीतिक जीवन के लिए आवश्यक था, ऐसा मेरा मतलब नहीं था. जो कदम ठीक नहीं है, उसे मैं आवश्यक कैसे समझ सकता हूं ? उस वाक्य से मेरा मतलब तो इतना था कि यह जानते हुए भी कि वह घड़ी तुम्हारे राजनीतिक जीवन के लिए इतनी महत्वपूर्ण थी, मैंने तुम्हारा आचरण पसंद नहीं किया था इंदु, यह ठीक है कि एक राजनीतिक नेत्री के रूप में मैं तुम्हे बहुत कम या तुम्हे नहीं ही जानता हूं. मैं तो तुम्हे दूसरे रूप में ही जानता और मानता रहा हूं. आज भी तुम्हे उसी रूप मे देखता हूं और इसलिए तुम्हारी सफलताओं से हृदय प्रसन्न होता है और भविष्य में भी तुम्हारी सफलता हृदय से चाहता हूं.

'लेकिन इंदु, राजनीति का मेरा भी लंबा अनुभव है और राजनीति से अलग होने के बाद भी, मैं तटस्थ रूप से उसका अध्ययन करता रहा हूं. दलों की फूट का भी काफी अनुभव है मुझे. इन सारे अनुभवों के आधार पर यह कहने की धृष्टता करता हूं कि जब भी किसी दल मे फूट पड़ती है, तो दोनों तरफ के नेताओं का दावा यही होता है कि झगड़ा सिद्धांत और नीति का है. कोई यह नहीं कहता है कि झगड़ा व्यक्तिगत सत्ता या पद का है. हर फूट मे थोड़ा-बहुत विचार -भेद तो होता ही है. यद्यपि सब उसे ही बढ़ा-चढ़ा कर पेश करते हैं— लेकिन उसमें नेतृत्व का, पद का झगड़ा भी कम नहीं होता... और अंत मे इतना और लिख दूं कि अब तक कई मौकों पर तुम्हारे राजनीतिक आचरण को मैंने पसंद नहीं किया है,



इंदिरा और जयप्रकाश : सबंधों के अलग-अलग धरातल छाया : कृष्ण मुरारी किशन

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फिर भी सार्वजनिक रूप से तुम्हारे विरुद्ध कभी कुछ नहीं कहा है... यह सब इसलिए नहीं लिख रहा हूं कि तुम्हें खुश करना चाहता हूं या तुमसे कुछ अपेक्षा अपने लिए करता हूं, बल्कि इसलिए कि मुझे लगता है कि तुम भी मुझे कम जानती हो.'

संबंधों के बारे में यहां से एक नया सोच शुरू हुआ. अरक्षा और अविश्वास की ग्रंथि ने इंदिरा जी को जयप्रकाश के प्रति सशंकित कर दिया. अपने पिता की तरह एक नैतिक भूमिका से बोलना और नैतिक प्रभामंडल का निर्माण करना तो इंदिरा जी ने सीख लिया था, लेकिन यह सच्चाई भी वह जानती थीं कि अपने पिता की अपेक्षा वह एक कमजोर धरातल पर खड़ी हैं. इसलिए नैतिक भूमिका पर प्रत्यक्षतः दूर, पर सत्ता से बराबरी का संवाद करनेवाला जयप्रकाश उन्हें रास नहीं आया और घटनाएं ऐसी घटती गयीं कि जयप्रकाश के समकक्ष उनकी नैतिक हैसियत घटायी गयी. जयप्रकाश की कुरसी में दिलचस्पी नहीं थी, लेकिन कुरसी के पीछे काम कर रही ताकतों को वह पहचानने लगे थे. उनके मन में ऐसा कुछ भाव बनने लगा था कि इंदिरा जी के इरादे कुछ और हैं और वह किसी मूल्य से ज्यादा कुरसी में दिलचस्पी रखती हैं.

पहली घटना थी बांगलादेश की प्रसव पीड़ा. इस अनोखी स्थिति के बारे में जब देश के एक हिस्से ने अपने ही देश के खिलाफ बगावत कर दी हो, तो क्या रुख लिया जाये, इसे ले कर सरकार व राजनीति के व्याख्याकार उलझन में पड़े थे. जयप्रकाश ने तुरंत रास्ता दिखलाया और बांगलादेश के संघर्ष के पीछे छिपे नैतिक, सामाजिक, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सवालों को उजागर किया. लोकतंत्र में स्वस्थ जनमत बनाने की कला का वह पदार्थ-पाठ ही था. इंदिरा जी ने इसे पसंद नहीं किया. उनकी राजनीति का हर सूत्र उनसे ही शुरू हो कर उन पर खत्म होता था. दल की ऐसी हालत बना दी थी उन्होंने कि कोई चूं-चपड़ नहीं होती थी. विरोधी दल 'गरीबी हटाओ' की आंधी में ऐसे उखड़े थे कि होश ही गुल था. ऐसे वक्त जयप्रकाश की पुकार उन्हें कर्कश लगती रही, तो आश्चर्य नहीं. बांगलादेश के सारे सवाल को, लोकतंत्र के जिस नैतिक धरातल पर जयप्रकाश ने ला दिया था, वह सारी दुनिया को स्तब्ध कर गया था. वह विश्व की अंतरात्मा को झकझोरने के लिए विदेश की लंबी यात्रा पर गये. सारी दुनिया में सरकार और जनता के बीच जैसा फासला उन्हें दिखा था, वह कल्याणकारी राज्यों का चरित्र साफ करने के लिए काफी था. इंदिरा जी अंत तक सावधान रहीं कि सफलता का कोई श्रेय जयप्रकाश को न मिल जाये. जयप्रकाश विदेश यात्रा पर बांगलादेश का सवाल ले कर जायें, इसके लिए भी वह कई साझे के मित्रों के दबाव पर ही राजी हुई थीं. बांगलादेश को राजनीतिक मान्यता मिले, हम उसकी खुली मदद करें,आदि जयप्रकाश की सारी बातें सरकार ने कीं, लेकिन तभी,जब जयप्रकाश की नैतिक भूमिका अपना रंग खोने लगी थी.

उस सारे प्रकरण में से इंदिरा जी राजनीतिक चातुरी से ज्यादा कुछ नहीं बटोर सकीं. फिर जयप्रकाश ने बांगलादेश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन बुलाया, तो उसमें इंदिरा जी के इशारे से कांग्रेस का कोई प्रतिनिधि नहीं भेजा गया. जयप्रकाश ने फिर एक लंबा पत्र लिख कर अपनी भूमिका स्पष्ट की और बांगलादेश के संघर्ष के वक्त उनके नेतृत्व की सार्वजनिक प्रशंसा की. छोटी राजनीतिक जीतों का समीकरण बनाने में व्यस्त-मस्त इंदिरा जी को अब अपनी स्थिति बहुत मजबूत लगने लगी थी. विरोधी दलों ने भी उन्हें 'दुर्गा' का विशेषण दे दिया था. वह तेजी से कदम उठाने लगीं. आत्मसुरक्षा की भावना मजबूत करने के लिए अधिकारों को अधिकाधिक समेटनेवाले कदम ! जयप्रकाश को लोकतंत्र का यह संकोच बरदाश्त नहीं हो रहा था. वह पत्र लिख कर, बयान दे कर अपनी भूमिका बताने की व्याकुल चेष्टा करते थे, लेकिन इंदिरा जी के पास से बेसिर-पैर के जवाब आते थे. वह अपने कदमों को आदर्श का जामा पहनाने की जितनी कोशिश करती थीं, वे उतने ही नंगे होते जाते थे. न्यायाधीशों की नियुक्ति का अवसर आने पर जब वरिष्ठता की प्रचलित परंपरा को छोड़ कर मनमानी नियुक्ति की शुरुआत हुई, तो जयप्रकाश ने इसे बहुत गंभीरता से लिया. सारे सांसदों को पत्र लिखा, पत्र इंदिरा जी को भी लिखा. जवाब में इंदिरा जी ने न्यायपालिका और विधायिका के बीच संतुलन साधने आदि की गोलमोल बातें लिखीं और जयप्रकाश के उस सीधे प्रस्ताव के बारे में एक पंक्ति भी नहीं लिखी, जिसमें उन्होंने सुझाया था कि संसद की एक सर्वदलीय समिति बना दी जाये, जो सब पहलुओं पर विचार कर न्यायाधीश की नियुक्ति के बारे में एक निश्चित पद्धति की सिफारिश करे. इंदिरा जी के जवाब से इस बार भी जयप्रकाश को गहरी निराशा हुई. 27 जून 1973 को जयप्रकाश ने पत्र का जवाब देते हुए लिखा : 'तुम्हारे साथ किसी तर्क-वितर्क में पड़ने की मेरी इच्छा नहीं है... मेरी बात सीधी-सी इतनी ही है कि न्यायपालिका की स्वाधीनता को बचाये रखने के लिए, संवैधानिक व्यवस्था की जरूरत है और इसके लिए सरकार, विरोधी दल तथा लोकमत में एक राय कायम होनी चाहिए. लोकतंत्र में विश्वास रखनेवाले किसी व्यक्ति की कल्पना भी नहीं कर पा रहा हूं,जिसकी, इस सीधी-सी बात से असहमति हो. यह तुम्हारी किसी दूसरे के हेतु पर शंका करने की बात नहीं है. हमें हर वक्त खुद को ही सत्ता में रख कर सोचना चाहिए. लोकतंत्र और समाजवाद के नाम में कुछ दूसरा ही नक्शा रखनेवाली सरकार जब सत्ता में आती है, तो क्या वह भी संतुलन साध सकेगी ?

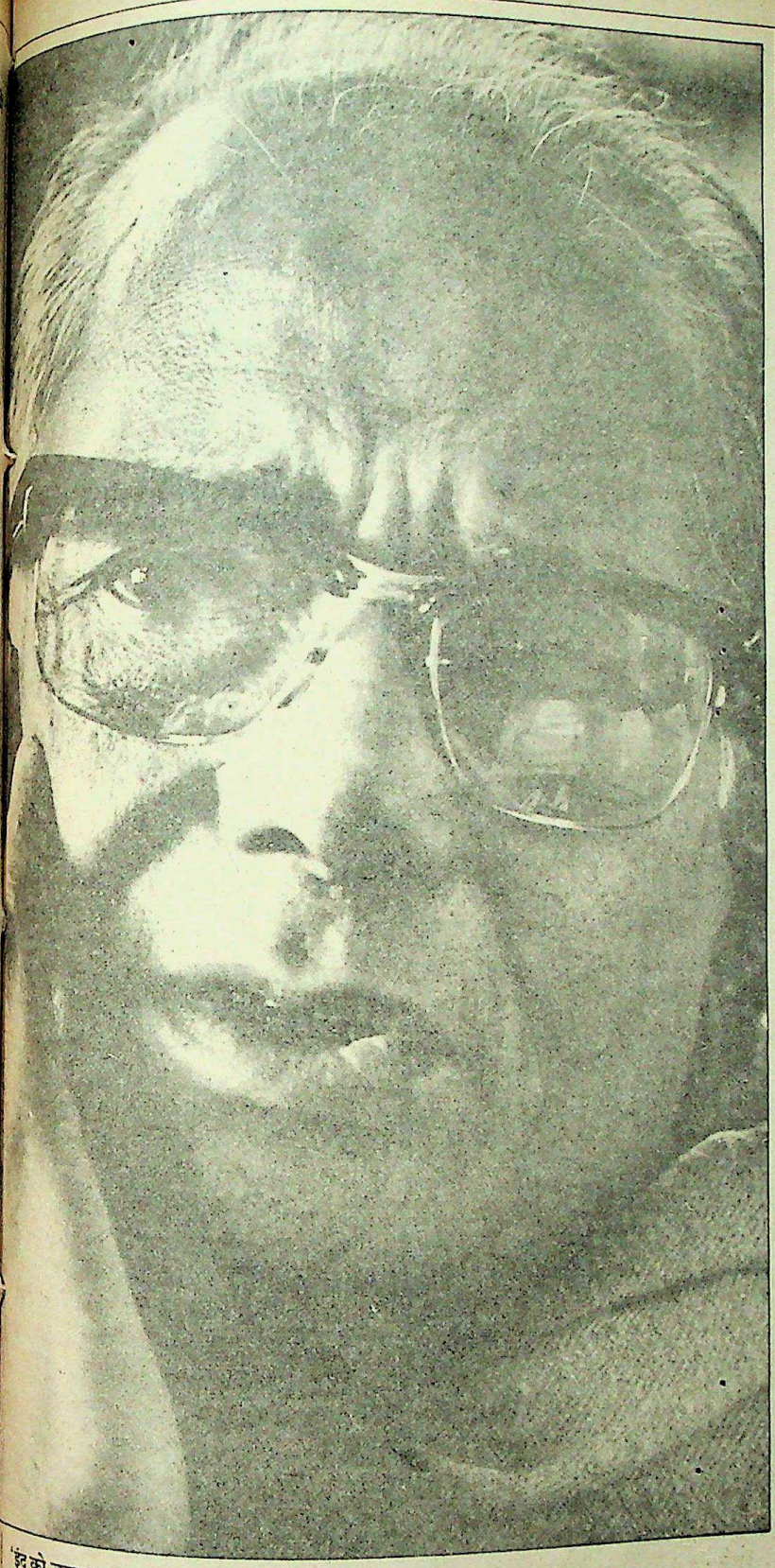
'मेरा बयान तुमसे एक 'ईमानदार प्रार्थना' है. उस प्रार्थना के जवाब में यदि यह पत्र तुमने सोच-समझ कर लिखा है, तो मैं बहुत निराश और दुखी हुआ हूं.'

1974 में नहीं, उससे बहुत पहले से जयप्रकाश को ऐसा लगने लगा था कि इंदिरा जी को लोकतंत्र नहीं चाहिए. 1972 की जुलाई में बंगलूर के निकट तिप्पगोंडनहल्ली गांव में उन्होंने एक गोष्ठी बुलायी थी, जिसमें देश की बिगड़ती स्थिति की चर्चा हुई थी. तब उन्होंने कहा था– 'आज एक ही व्यक्ति के हाथ में लगभग सारी सत्ता केंद्रित होती जा रही है और सारे ढांचे को ऐसी मजबूती के साथ कसा जा रहा है कि कोई किसी तरह की चूं-चपड़ तक न कर सके. राज्यों के मुख्यमंत्रियों की हैसियत पटवारी-सी बना दी गयी है.'

1966 में बहुत विश्वास के साथ इंदु से जिस संबंध की शुरुआत हुई थी, वह 1974 तक इस कदर पटरी से उतरा कि इतिहास का एक नया अध्याय ही लिख गया.बारिश में इकट्ठा मेढकों की तरह हर नयी राजनीतिक परिस्थिति से पैदा होनेवाले राजनीतिक समीक्षकों में से कुछ ने ऐसा समझाने की कोशिश की है कि 1 अप्रैल 1974 को भुवनेश्वर में इंदिरा जी ने जयप्रकाश के लिए जो ओछी बातें कहीं, 3 अप्रैल को दिल्ली में बिहार के सांसदों के समक्ष उसे और भी आक्रोश से दोहराया, उसने ही जयप्रकाश को लड़ाई के लिए उत्तेजित किया. ऐसे लोगों को न तो इतिहास की जानकारी है और न वे जयप्रकाश को पहचानते हैं. 1974 में जो कुछ हुआ, वह एक लंबी प्रक्रिया का परिणाम था. जयप्रकाश परिस्थिति और व्यक्ति के अपने विश्लेषण में जब निश्चित परिणाम पर पहुंच गये, तब उन्होंने लोकतंत्र को एक अभेद्य कवच पहनाने के लिए संपूर्ण क्रांति का आंदोलन छेड़ा था. लेकिन वह उस प्रसंग को छेड़ना जरूरी नहीं है.

1974 के संघर्ष के दौरान विनोबा के पास भेजे अपने पत्र में जयप्रकाश ने लिखा, 'जहां तक आध्यात्मिक मूल्यों का प्रश्न है, मेरी समझ में उनका घनिष्ठ संबंध नैतिकता के साथ है. राजनीतिक और शासकीय नैतिकता का जिक्र

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digi



'इंदु को जयप्रकाश कभी भुला नहीं सके

गहरा पतन इंदिरा जी के शासनकाल में हुआ है, उतना कभी नहीं हुआ था. उनका स्वयं का आचरण इस दृष्टि से दूषित रहा है. सत्ता की लड़ाई में हर साधन क्षम्य है, यह इंदिरा जी का राजनीतिक दर्शन मालूम होता है.' इतनी साफ तरह से वह जिस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे थे, उसने लड़ाई को लंबा , गहरा और निर्णायक बना दिया था.

लेकिन इंदु ? उसे जयप्रकाश कभी भुला नहीं सके. सारे संघर्ष के दौरान वह उनके भीतर जिंदा ही रही. उन्हें इस बात का अफसोस रहा कि इंदु उन्हें समझ नहीं सकी. 'मेरा आंदोलन उसे गद्दी से हटाने के लिए नहीं था. वह हटी तो इसलिए कि वह आंदोलन के रास्ते में आ खड़ी हुई.'

जनता पार्टी के सांसदों को राजघाट पर शपथ दिलाने के बाद से ही वह कुछ सोच में थे. जब नयी सरकार अपना विजयोत्सव मना रही थी, जयप्रकाश अचानक ही इंदु के घर जा पहुंचे. उनके लिए वह इतना ही स्वाभाविक था, जितना इंदु की तानाशाही का विरोध. इंदु से मिल कर लौटे, तो मैंने भेंट की बाबत पूछा. कुछ खिन्न -से बोले, 'मैंने तो कहा कि चुनाव की जीत-हार को खेल की स्पिरिट से लेना चाहिए. लेकिन उतनी पस्त, घबरायी इंदु मुझे अच्छी नहीं लगी.' 'सूर्या' की संपादिका के रूप में मेनका मिलने आयी, तो इंटरव्यू के बाद इंदिरा जी की पूछताछ की, मेनका ने डाक के सेंसर होने व संजय के मुकदमों के संदर्भ में उनकी गहरी परेशानी की बात बतायी, तो एक दर्द उनके चेहरे पर खिंच आया : 'ओह ! ... क्या कर सकता हूं मैं ? तुम इंदु से कहना कि मैं अपनी तरफ से इस दिशा में जो कर सकता हूं, जरूर करूंगा.'

जब पराजित और राजनीति से करीब-करीब निर्वासित इंदिरा जी जयप्रकाश से मिलने पटना निवास पर आयीं, तो उन्होंने बड़े प्रेम से उनका स्वागत किया और बाद में उन्हें छोड़ने सीढ़ियों तक गये. पत्रकारों ने पूछताछ की तो 'उज्ज्वल भूत और उज्ज्वलतर भविष्य' का वह विवादास्पद बयान दिया. दूसरे दिन अखबारों ने उस आशीर्वाद पर बड़ी तीखी प्रतिक्रिया की, तो कुछ झुंझला कर बोले : 'क्या उसके भविष्य के लिए कामना नहीं करनी चाहिए ? किसी का बुरा क्यों चाहना चाहिए ?'

यह अकारण नहीं था कि 1977 में इंदिरा जी की पराजय के बाद से ले कर अपनी मृत्यु तक जयप्रकाश ने सबसे कम चर्चा यदि किसी की की, तो इंदिरा जी की. उन्होंने इंदिरा शासन पर सबसे घातक प्रहार किया, पर उनकी दृष्टि से इंदु कभी लुप्त नहीं हुई. अब यह बात दीगर है कि इंदु कभी इतनी बड़ी न हो सकी कि इस भेद को, इस दृष्टि को पहचान पाती. 21 जुलाई 1975 को चंडीगढ़ जेल से लिखे अपने ऐतिहासिक पत्र में 'आपके राज में मैं एक कैदी की तरह मरूंगा, तो भी मेरे मन में उसका संतोष रहेगा.' कह कर जयप्रकाश ने अंत में लिखा था : 'भगवान आपके साथ सदा बना रहे.'

संबंधों का यह धरातल न तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से इंदिरा जी के पास था और न सार्वजनिक जीवन में उन्होंने उसे शेष रहने दिया. □

CC-0. Bhagavad P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

कमजोर वर्गों की मसीहा

अर्जुन सिंह

इंदिरा गांधी को मध्यप्रदेश से विशेष लगाव था. उसके कारणों मे इस प्रदेश के लाखों हरिजन-आदिवासियों और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग थे. वह जब-जब मध्यप्रदेश आयीं, जहां तक मुझे याद है, हर बार किसी-न-किसी आदिवासी इलाके मे जरूर गयीं. वैसे उनका खुले मन और उत्साह से स्वागत भी, जितना इन पिछड़े इलाकों में होता था, वैसा शायद ही कहीं और होता हो. इन दौरों मे उनके चेहरे पर जो सहजता और जो आत्मीयता होती थी, उसका अनुमान लगाना मुश्किल है, जब तक किसी ने खुद अपनी आंखों से आदिवासियों के बीच में इंदिरा जी को घुलते-मिलते नहीं देखा हो. मध्यप्रदेश में उनकी आखरी यात्रा, जो उनकी शहादत के कुछ ही दिन पहले हुई, उसमे भी वह कई आदिवासी और पिछड़े इलाकों में गयीं.

आदिवासियों, समाज के सभी शोषितों और 'वचितों' के संबंध में इंदिरा जी के नजरिये को समझना, उतना आसान नहीं है, जितना कि उनकी सहज करुणा या संवेदनशीलता से प्रकट होताथा उनकी दृष्टि मे किसी तरह की ऐसी भावुकता नहीं थी, जो समाज के शोषित वंचितों के प्रश्न को महज एक भावनात्मक प्रश्न बना दे. आदिवासी और शोषित-वंचित उनकी दृष्टि में सहानुभूति, दया या किसी रोमानी धारणा के मोहताज नहीं थे. इस तरह से उनकी समस्याओं को देखना एक तरह से उनके साथ एक क्रूर मजाक भी था. इस तरह के क्रूर मजाक को इंदिरा जी कभी भी माफ नहीं करती थीं. इन तबकों में उनकी दिलचस्पी का एक बड़ा कारण यह था कि वह इन वर्गों को, हमारी समाज व्यवस्था का शिकार मानती थीं और उनके पक्ष मे जिहाद करना उनको सबसे ज्यादा प्रेरित करता था.

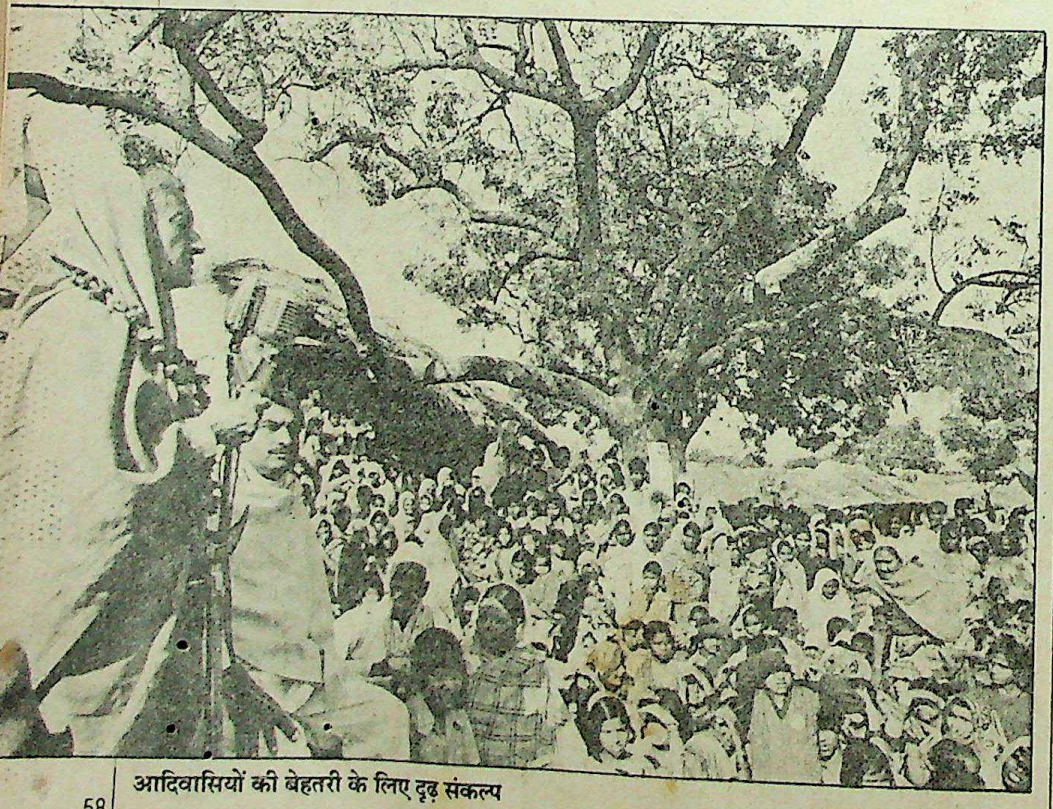
नवंबर 1982 में उन्होंने अमरकंटक में आयोजित एक विशाल आदिवासी सम्मेलन मे भाग लिया था. उस अवसर पर उन्होंने आदिवासियों को विभिन्न योजनाओं और उसके उद्देश्यों के बारे मे बहुत आसानी से समझाया था. आदिवासियों की ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता बताते हुए उन्होंने कहा था, 'इसके दो कारण हैं, एक तो मानवता का प्रश्न है कि जिनके प्रति अन्याय हुआ, उन्हें न्याय मिलना चाहिए, जो आर्थिक रूप से आज भी पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनको पिछड़ेपन से उठाना है. दूसरे, जब तक हम इन लोगों को नही उठाते हैं, चाहे वो आदिवासी हों,चाहे देश के दूसरे गरीब लोग तो देश की जो नींव है, बुनियाद है, वह मजबूत नहीं होती. अगर बुनियाद मजबूत नहीं होगी देश भी शक्तिशाली नहीं हो सकता.'

देश को शक्तिशाली बनाने की उनकी आकांक्षा बहुत गहरी थी. और इसे वह अलग-अलग तरीके से व्यक्त करती रहती शायद ही किसी और विषय पर उन्होंने इतना दिया हो. यही कारण है कि कमजोर वर्गों को ऊपर उठाने को वह देश को शक्तिशाली की बात से जोड़ कर देखती थीं.

कमजोर वर्गों की वर्तमान स्थिति को बुनियादी रूप से ऐतिहासिक परिस्थितियों देन मानती थीं. उनका पिछड़ापन उनकी आंतरिक विफलता के कारण नहीं, बल्कि निर्मम सामाजिक व्यवस्था द्वारा उनके शोषण के कारण था. पर विकास के वर्तमान में, इंदिरा जी जानती थीं कि जब तक इन समान रूप से समाज मे आगे बढ़ने का मौका मिलेगा, तब तक किसी भी तरह का सामाजिक विकास न केवल बेमानी होगा, बल्कि उसे किसी भी तरह से स्थायित्व भी नहीं मिल सकता.

इंदिरा जी इस बात को बखूबी जानती थीं कि कमजोर वर्गों के हित मे उठाये गये कदमों का लाभ उनको नहीं मिलता और अकसर विरोधी की एक पूरी जमात उन लाभों को बीच मे ही हड़प कर लेती थी. प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था के वर्ग-चरित्र से भी वह वाकिफ थीं, जो शोषक व्यवस्था का एक हिस्सा है और जो अकसर समाज के उन्हीं वर्गों के हितों की पहरेदारी करता है, जिनके कारण कमजोर वर्ग लगातार पिछड़ते रहे हैं. अमरकंटक के इसी सम्मेलन मे उन्होंने कागजी कार्यक्रमों की उपलब्धियों की चर्चा भी की थी. उन्होंने कहा था, 'हमारे संविधान के अनुसार सब को बराबर के अधिकार हैं, लेकिन यह सच है कि जो गरीब हैं, जो पिछड़े हुए हैं, वे इन अधिकारों का लाभ नहीं उठा पा रहे हैं. उनके लिए ये अधिकार सिर्फ कागज पर ही हैं. कोशिश है कि कागज की बातें कागज पर न बनी रहे, उसका प्रभाव आपके ऊपर, आपके जीवन पर देखने को मिले. आजादी के फल सिर्फ कुछ तबकों, कुछ लोगों या कुछ इलाकों मे ही सीमित न रह कर दूर-दराज के पिछड़े विशेषकर पहाड़ी इलाकों के गरीब और दबे लोगों तक पहुंचने चाहिए.

प्रशासनिक मशीनरी की सीमाओं को जानती थीं और उन्हें यह भी मालूम था कि बूते कुछ भी हासिल नहीं किया जा सकता. लेकिन गरीब और पिछड़े वर्गों के हितों के लिए कार्यक्रमों के अमल मे सिर्फ प्रशासकीय की अक्षमता या बेईमानी ही बाधक नहीं थी.



आदिवासियों की बेहतरी के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE.

बिरसा कृषि विश्वविद्यालय के उद्घाटन समारोह में श्रीमती गांधी

क्योंकि ये सीमाएं तो किसी भी क्षेत्र में काम करने के लिए बाधक हैं. अक्षमता और बेइमानी से बढ़ कर शासकीय मशीनरी का वर्ग-चरित्र, गरीबों के संरक्षण के कार्यक्रमों के लिए सबसे बड़ा बाधक है. इसका इलाज प्रशासकीय मशीनरी में सुधार नहीं है, क्योंकि सुधारों से किसी व्यवस्था को मजबूत और अधिक कार्यकुशल तो बनाया जा सकता है, पर उसके बुनियादी चरित्र को नहीं बदला जा सकता. इसलिए इंदिरा जी सिर्फ सुधारों पर निर्भर नहीं रहती थीं और प्रशासकीय व्यवस्था के विकल्प के रूप में पिछड़े वर्गों की जागृति और जन-आंदोलन को उनसे जुड़े कार्यक्रमों को गति देने में सबसे निर्णायक मानती थीं. इसलिए ज़ब भी मौका मिलता वह सीधे इन लोगों के बीच जाती औं उन्हें प्रेरित करती थीं.

इंदिरा जी इस बात से भी वाकिफ थीं कि औद्योगिक विकास जहां आवश्यक है, वहीं दूसरी ओर उसकी बहुत बड़ी कीमत कई बार उस वर्ग को चुकानी पड़ती है, जिसे इस औद्योगिक विकास से कोई सीधा फायदा नहीं होता. इसलिए विकास के प्रश्नों पर विचार करते समय ऐसे लोगों की समस्याओं के प्रति वह हमेशा जागरूक रहती थीं. 21 मार्च, 1981 को जगदलपुर में आदिवासियों को संबोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था 'जब से ये योजनाएं बनीं , तब से कुछ अंतर आया है. लेकिन इसमें हमें चौकन्ना रहना है, होशियार रहना है, क्योंकि कभी-कभी बनती तो हैं किसी इरादे से योजनाएं और इसका लाभ भी होता है, संग-संग कुछ लोगों को इससे हानि भी होती है. बहुत-से आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में बड़े-बड़े औद्योगिक कांप्लेक्स या कारखाने बने हैं, लेकिन आदिवासियों को उसका कुछ विशेष लाभ नहीं हुआ. उनकी जमीन भी गयी, जंगलात भी काटे गये और उसके बदले उन्हें बहुत कम मिला. तो हमें यह देखना है कि जब एक युग से दूसरे युग

आदिवासी युवतियों के साथ श्रीमती गांधी

मे देश जाता है, तो बहुत से लोग उखड़ते हैं, कितना ही चाहें-वे न उखड़े, पर वे उखड़ते हैं. लेकिन हमें यह कोशिश खास तौर से करनी चाहिए कि जो लोग ऐतिहासिक और आर्थिक कारणों से दुर्बल हैं, उनके हितों की पूरी तरह से रक्षा हो.

विकास की इस विडंबना से वह हमेशा चिंतित रहती थीं. इसीलिए उन्होंने ऐसे कार्यक्रमों पर हमेशा जोर दिया, जिनका लाभ सिर्फ पिछड़ेवर्गों को ही मिल सके. हमारी सभी योजनाओं मे एक निश्चित राशि इन लोगों के लिए खर्च की जाये, इसकी उन्होंने हमेशा पहल की. गरीबी हटाने और रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ाने के लिए उनके द्वारा जो उपाय किये गये, उनके पीछे भी विकास से बढ़ कर सामाजिक न्याय की अहमियत मंजूर करने की दृष्टि थी. वस्तुतः श्रीमती गांधी के लिए सामाजिक न्याय हमेशा ही एक प्रेरक सिद्धांत रहा है.

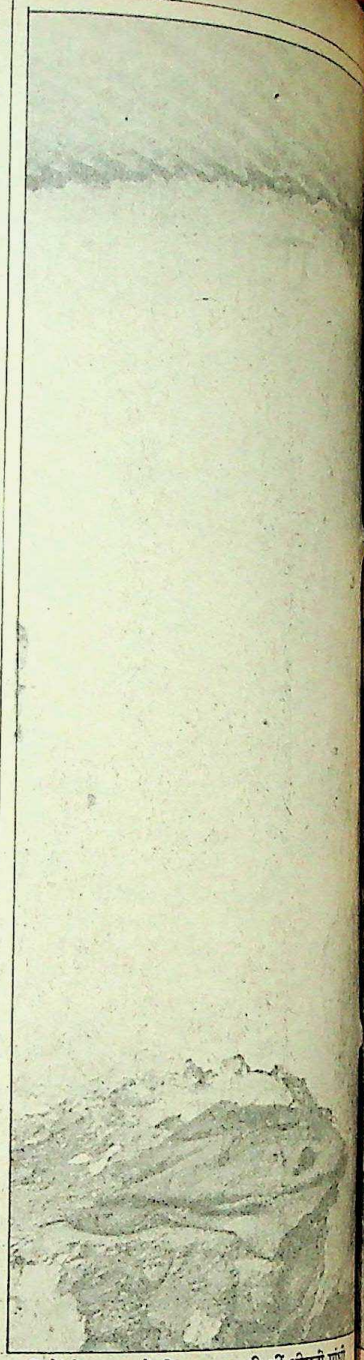
आदिवासियों के विकास के साथ दूसरी विडंबना हमेशा से ही उनकी सांस्कृतिक विरासत के संरक्षण की रही है. अभी तक इस सवाल को कोई सर्वमान्य समाधान नहीं मिला है. विकास की अनिवार्य शर्तों में आधुनिक प्रतीकों का लोकव्यापीकरण है. इस सामान्यीकरण की प्रक्रिया से स्वाभाविक रूप से अपनी पृथक अस्मिता और सांस्कृतिक पहचान कुछ हद तक खो जाते हैं. यह भी विकास की एक कीमत है. सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों

रघुराय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी से साभार

CC-0. Bhagavad P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

सरगुजा (म. प्र.) के सूखा पीड़ित इलाके में बच्चों को श्रीमती गांधी ने अपने सामने ही भोजन कराया



गरीबों के हृदय में निवास करती थीं श्रीमती गांधी

की रक्षा करने की आड़ में, हम विकास के लाभ से समाज के एक वर्ग को वंचित नहीं कर सकते, खासकर सांस्कृतिक मूल्य अगर शोषण का प्रतिरोध करने में विफल रहते हैं. वहीं दूसरी ओर विकास की अंधाधुंध रफ्तार में हम समाज द्वारा सदियों से संचित धरोहर को पूरी तरह तिलांजलि भी तो नहीं दे सकते. विकास और संस्कृति का कैसा संतुलन हो, यह हमारे देश में एक ज्वलंत प्रश्न रहा है, और यदि इसका सही उत्तर नहीं मिला, तो भयंकर गलतियां हो सकती हैं. श्रीमती गांधी और दूसरे लोगों के इस संबंध में विचारों में यही बुनियादी फर्क था. अधिकांश लोगों के लिए यह प्रश्न एक बार उठनेवाला है और एक बार समाधान खोज लेने पर, आदमी उसी ज्ञान के आधार पर आगे बढ़ता रह सकता है. जगदलपुर की 21 मार्च, 81 की सभा में भी इंदिरा जी ने इस प्रश्न को उठाया था. उन्होंने कहा था, 'बहुत सी चीजें हैं, जो बदलनी है, जिनसे नुकसान हो. जैसे बीमारी फैल रही है अगर किसी कारण से, तो पूरी तौर से उसको रोकना है. लेकिन यह भी देखना है कि शिक्षा देने में या विकास की धारा से उन्हें जोड़ने के क्रम में हम उनको अपनी तरह बनाने की कोशिश न करें... वे खुद जैसे हैं, जैसे वे रहना चाहते हैं, जैसे उनका लिबास है, मेरी तो पक्की राय है कि इन सबके बारे में हमको दखल नहीं देना चाहिए. तो इसमें भी एक बात है, जो हर समय हमें ध्यान में रखनी है.'

सांस्कृतिक प्रश्न से जुड़ा हुआ और उसके समानांतर पर्यावरण का भी सवाल है, जिससे हर समाज को जूझना आवश्यक है. आदिवासियों के साथ तो पर्यावरण का प्रश्न रोजमर्रा की जिंदगी के सवालों से जुड़ा है और अगर इस संबंध में कहीं गफलत की जाती है, तो आदिवासी जीवन पर उसका सीधा प्रभाव पड़ता है. इंदिरा जी इस मामले में हमेशा सतर्कता बरतती थीं. आदिवासियों के संदर्भ में जंगलों का सवाल बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है. अमरकंटक की जनसभा में उन्होंने कहा था— 'मेरी रुचि है कि जो जंगलात हैं, वे काटे नहीं जायें... ताकि इसमें जो रहनेवाले हैं, जंगल से अच्छी कमायी कर सकें, लेकिन इसलिए नहीं कि जो बाहर से आयें वो जंगलात से कमायें और जो आदिवासी लोग हैं, उनको इससे

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE

छाया : संतोष वर्मा

लाभ नहीं पहुंचे. वह स्पष्ट कहना चाहती थीं कि पर्यावरण का सवाल आदिवासियों के लिए एक आर्थिक सवाल है, ऐसा आर्थिक सवाल, जिसके नतीजे उन्हे तुरत भुगतने पड़ते हैं.

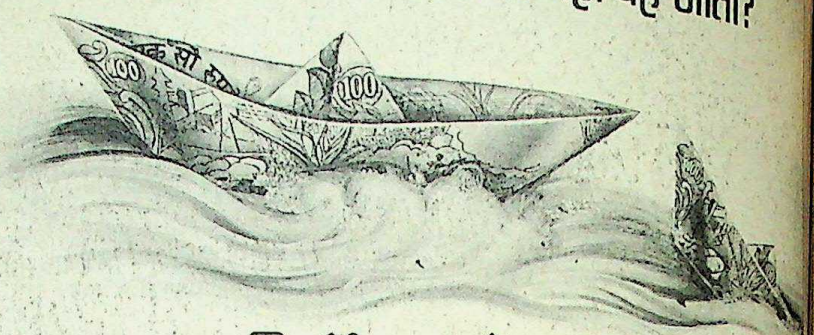
मैं एक आखरी मुद्दे पर चर्चा करना चाहूंगा. अकसर कई लोग पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों की समस्याओं के संबंध में एकांगी दृष्टिकोण अपनाते हैं और बहुत सारी उलझनें और समस्या को समझने में गलतियां हो जाती हैं. यह दिक्कते विशेषकर विकास के लिए साधनों को ले कर हैं. एक ओर जहां यह माना जाता है कि पिछड़ेपन की समस्या बुनियादी रूप से साधनों के अभाव की समस्या है, वहीं दूसरी ओर, पिछड़ेपन को संरचनात्मक सवाल माना जाता है. इसका मतलब यह है कि कुछ लोग सोचते हैं कि यदि कुछ और साधन होते, तो पिछड़े वर्गों की दशा और सुधर सकती थी. दूसरी ओर एक आकर्षक धारणा यह भी है कि अगर सामाजिक संरचना में हेराफेरी कर दी जाये, तो पिछड़ापन दूर हो जायेगा. श्रीमती गांधी दोनों सवालों को जुड़ा हुआ मानती थीं. हमें जहां संरचना में परिवर्तन करना है, वहीं साधनों की भी उतनी ही केंद्रीय आवश्यकता है. अर्थात हम संरचना में इस रफ़्तार से परिवर्तन नहीं कर सकते कि समाज के पास विकास के अतिरिक्त साधन ही उपलब्ध होना बंद हो जाये.

इन सवालों के जवाब में भी वैसा ही संतुलन आवश्यक है, जैसा ऊपर के सभी सवालों में हमने देखा है. वस्तुतः अगर हम गौर करें, तो देखेंगे कि पिछड़ेपन , विकास, सामाजिक न्याय आदि सभी मामलों में जो गुत्थियां हैं, उनका भोला और आसान समाधान संभव नहीं है. परस्पर विरोधी चीजों और मान्यताओं के बीच में एक ऐसा संतुलन खोजना आवश्यक है, जिससे सही रास्ता निकल सके. सही रास्ता एक बार मिल जाने पर यह तय नहीं है कि वह हमेशा हमें सही मंजिल पर ले जायेगा. क्योंकि इन रास्तों में हमें बकौल मुक्तिबोध के कदम-कदम पर दोराहे या शायद चौराहे मिलते हैं. हमारा हश्र इस बात में होगा कि हमने कौन-सा रास्ता चुना और इसके लिए श्रीमती गांधी जैसी चौकन्नी और संवेदनशील दृष्टि हमारे निर्धारकों में हमेशा बनी रहनी चाहिए.

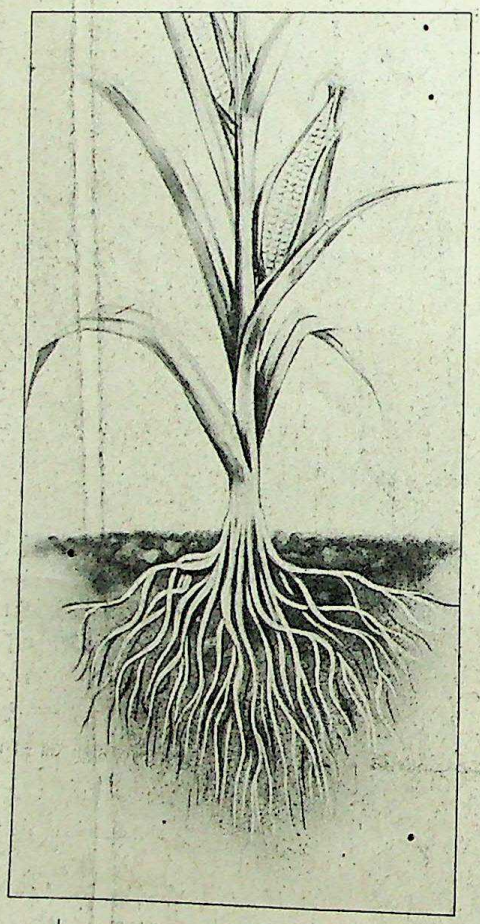
CC-0. Bhagavad P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

कहीं आपका रूपया
पानी में तो नहीं बह जाता?



जय किसान सम्राट पानी में न बहे
खाद का कण-कण पौधे को मिले



क्योंकि जय किसान सम्राट में पूरा नाइट्रोजन अमोनिएकल रूप में होता है इसलिए खाद के बह जाने का खतरा नहीं होता. १८% नाइट्रोजन और ४६% फ़ॉस्फेट से भरपूर जय किसान सम्राट जड़ों को ज़्यादा मज़बूत बनाती है, विकास में तेज़ी लाती है. बारिश पर निर्भर खेती के लिए उत्तम.

हर मिट्टी, हर फ़सल जैसे दलहनों, तिलहनों, नकदी फ़सलों और बागान फ़सलों के लिए उत्तम.

मिट्टी को ज़्यादा उपजाऊ बनाने के लिए इसमें कैल्शियम, मैग्नेशियम और गंधक के तत्त्व भी शामिल हैं.

अपनी मेहनत की कमाई सही खाद पर लगाइए, जय किसान सम्राट ले आइए और खेतों में धन उगाइए!

सही-संतुलित खाद यानी अधिकतम उपज.
ज़ुआरी की मुफ़्त मिट्टी-परीक्षण सेवा का लाभ उठाइए.

JAI KISAAN

जय किसान का राज-अनाज ही अनाज

ज़ुआरी ऐग्रो केमिकल्स लिमिटेड, गोवा.

क्षेत्रीय बिक्री कार्यालय: सिकंदराबाद, विजयवाड़ा, बंगलौर, हुबली, नागपुर, पुणे, इंदौर, आगरा, ज़ुआरीनगर.

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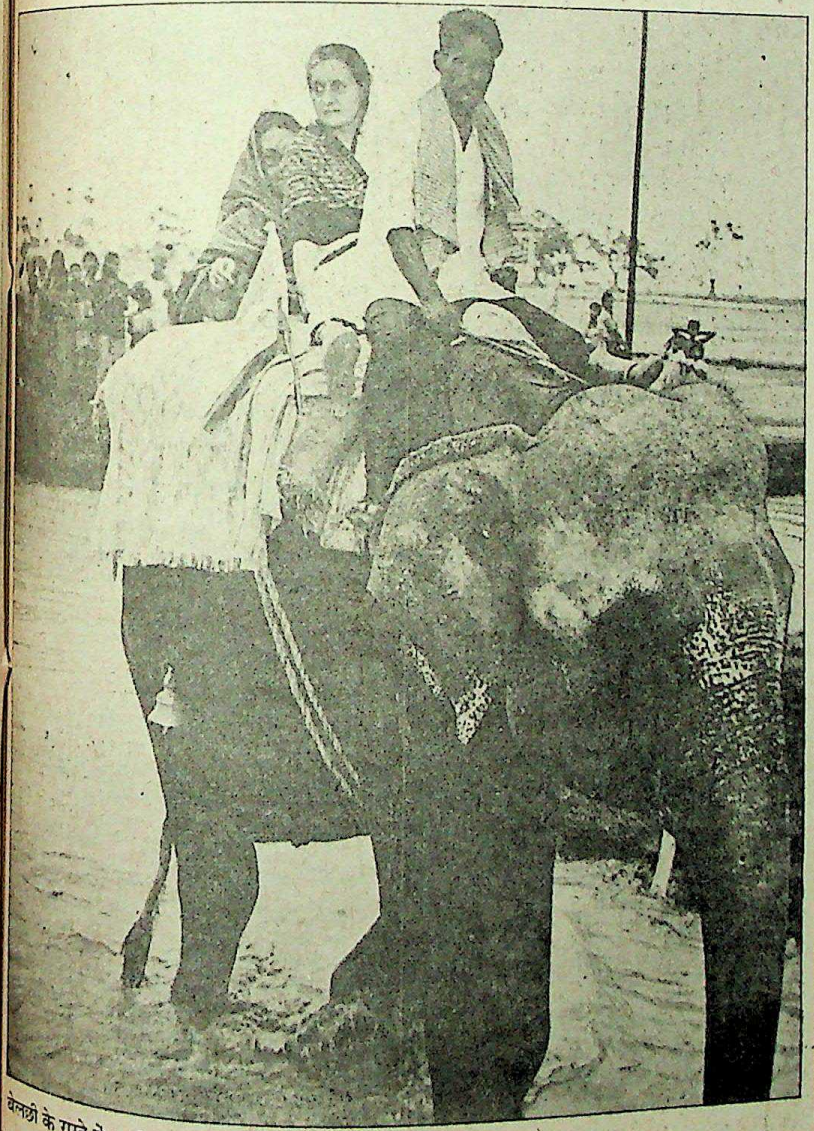
इंदिरा जी की बेलछी यात्रा

तारिक अनवर

इंदिरा जी के बारे में मैं अपने दो संस्मरणों का उल्लेख करूंगा. जनता शासन के दौरान उनकी बेलछी यात्रा की काफी चर्चा हुई थी. आज तक लोग कहते हैं कि श्रीमती गांधी हाथी पर चढ़ कर बेलछी गयी थीं, लेकिन इस यात्रा की असली कहानी अभी तक कम लोगों को ही मालूम है.

इंदिरा जी के साथ मुझे कई बार सफर करने का मौका मिला, लेकिन इनमें सबसे अधिक दिलचस्प और कठिन यात्रा बेलछी की थी.

बेलछी में हरिजन हत्याकांड के बाद, हम लोग पटना से इंदिरा जी के साथ बेलछी के लिए रवाना हुए. रास्ते में लोगों ने उनका जैसा स्वागत किया, उसे देख कर यह अनुमान लगाना कठिन था कि श्रीमती गांधी प्रधानमंत्री नहीं हैं. कारों का काफिला साथ चल रहा था. रास्ते में भारी भीड़ थी. हम उस जगह पहुंचे, जहां से बेलछी जाने के लिए कच्चा रास्ता है. बेलछी गांव मुख्य सड़क से दस किलोमीटर अंदर पड़ता है. बरसात के दिन थे. पूरे रास्ते में कीचड़ था. हम लोगों ने इंदिरा जी से कहा कि वहां जीप नहीं जा सकती है, आप ट्रैक्टर से चलें. वे तुरंत ट्रैक्टर पर बैठ गयीं. कुछ दूर आगे चलने के बाद ट्रैक्टर भी कीचड़ में फंस गया. हम सभी मुश्किल में फंस गये. इसी बीच कुछ लोगों ने इंदिरा जी को सलाह दी कि वे यहीं बैठें, बेलछी गांव के लोगों को यहीं बुला लेते हैं. उनसे आप यहीं मिल लीजिए. यह सुनते ही इंदिरा जी गुस्से में आ गयीं. तुरंत बोलीं कि 'मैं तो गांव में ही जाऊंगी. आप लोग न जाना चाहें, तो यहीं बैठें, मैं अकेली ही जाऊंगी.' इतना कह कर वे पैदल ही चल पड़ीं. हम लोग भी उनके साथ रवाना हुए. लगभग एक फर्लांग चले होंगे कि उधर से अचानक एक हाथी आता हुआ दिखाई पड़ा. हमने हाथीवाले को अपनी परेशानी बतायी और गांव जाने के लिए तैयार किया. हम यह भी सोच रहे थे कि इंदिरा जी हाथी पर बैठ पायेंगी या नहीं ! हिम्मत करके उनसे कहा, तो वे तुरंत तैयार हो गयीं. हाथी के बैठते ही लपक कर वे उस पर सवार हो गयीं. हाथी पर हौदा भी नहीं था, सिर्फ चादर थी. राज्यसभा सदस्य प्रतिभा सिंह उनके साथ बैठ गयीं, लेकिन सरोज खापर्डे हम लोगों के साथ पैदल ही चलीं. केवल जगन्नाथ मिश्र और रामलखन सिंह यादव ने उस दिन इंदिरा जी के साथ जाने से इनकार किया.



बेलछी के रास्ते में हाथी पर सवार श्रीमती गांधी छाया : कृष्ण मुरारी किशन

इंदिरा जी बेलछी गयीं. हाथी पर बैठ कर रस्सी पकड़े रहने के कारण उनके हाथ सूज गये थे, लेकिन चेहरे पर परेशानी के भाव नहीं थे. इससे हम सब कार्यकर्ताओं को बहुत बल मिला. वे बहादुर थीं. इसका इससे बड़ा कोई सबूत नहीं मिल सकता है.

दूसरा संस्मरण 1977 का है. चुनाव में कांग्रेस हार चुकी थी. हम लोग भी हार गये थे. उन दिनों संजय जी से ही हम लोग मिलते थे. इंदिरा जी से बहुत कम मिलते थे, लेकिन इस हार के बाद हम लोग उनसे मिलने गये. जाने से पहले हमें लग रहा था कि इंदिरा जी पता नहीं हम लोगों से बातें करेंगी या नहीं ! इतनी बड़ी घटना के बाद उनका मूड न जाने कैसा होगा ! लेकिन जब हम गये, तो उन्होंने बहुत सामान्य हो कर बातें कीं और कहा कि 'हिम्मत मत हारो. जो हो गया, सो हो गया. कांग्रेस की मर्यादा फिर वापस लाओ.'

हारने के चौबीस घंटे बाद ही उनकी प्रतिक्रिया सुन कर हमें ऐसा लगा कि वे कांग्रेस को फिर से सत्ता में लाने के लिए मन बना चुकी हैं.

इंदिरा जी से हमेशा हमें अपनत्व की भावना मिली. उनसे बातें करते समय यह नहीं लगता था कि हम किसी प्रधानमंत्री से बातें कर रहे हैं. उनके साथ जब हम लोग विदेश जाते थे, तो वे हम सबके खाने-पीने का बहुत खयाल रखती थीं. युवकों को उन्होंने हमेशा बढ़ावा दिया, इसका कारण यह हो सकता है कि 1977 में बूढ़े लोगों ने उनसे विश्वासघात किया था. □

CC-0. Bhagavad P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

श्रीमती गांधी अपने आपको देश मानती थीं—प्रभाष जोशी

□ **सवाल :** *प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में श्रीमती गांधी भारतीय प्रेस और विदेशी प्रेस से अलग-अलग तरीके से व्यवहार करती थीं, एक वरिष्ठ पत्रकार के नाते क्या आप को यह बात कभी खली नहीं कि भाषाई पत्रकारों को वे महत्व नहीं देती थीं ?*

□ **जवाब :** व्यक्तिगत रूप से इंदिरा गांधी से कोई खास मिला-जुला नहीं. उन्हे पहली बार एक पत्रकार के नाते देख कर मेरे मन पर जो छाप पड़ी, वह यह थी कि वे अखबारवालों से दोस्ताना या कहें कि संवाद की स्थिति नहीं रखना चाहती थीं. कांग्रेस विभाजन के ठीक बाद उन्होंने मध्यावधि चुनाव करवाये. जिस वक्त मध्यावधि चुनाव के नतीजे आ रहे थे, लगभग 200 सीटें उनकी पार्टी जीत चुकी थी, अखबारवाले उनसे मिलने गये. किसी अखबारवाले ने पूछा कि मैडम आप कितनी सीटें जीतेंगी ? इस पर मुड़ कर उन्होंने बड़े कटाक्ष से कहा कि आप लोग मुझे कितनी सीटें देने को तैयार हैं ? मुझे शुरू में लगा कि श्रीमती गांधी अच्छा संवाद करनेवाली नहीं थीं. उनका बचपन असुरक्षा में बीता, और जो राजनीतिक असुरक्षा अपने पिता के निधन के बाद उन्होंने महसूस की, उस कारण से उनमें खुल कर किसी से संवाद करने की कोई इच्छा शेष नहीं रही थी. जो नेता खुल कर बात नहीं करना चाहता, उसके प्रेस से अच्छे संबंध नहीं हो सकते.

वे प्रेस का इस्तेमाल करना चाहती थीं. अपनी बात लोगों के सामने रख कर लोगों की जो प्रतिक्रिया मिलती है, वे उसे प्राप्त करना चाहती थीं. या फिर प्रेस को किस प्रकार कोड़े मारे जायें, जिससे प्रेस उनके साथ चले, यही वह चाहती थीं. उनका तरीका यह था कि वे लोगों को अलग-अलग बांट देती थीं, फिर आपस में भिड़ा देती थीं. यही उन्होंने विभिन्न संस्थानों, पार्टियों और अपनी सरकार में किया. अपने कैबिनेट और यहां तक कि अपने स्टाफ में भी वे एक बैलेंस बनाये रखना चाहती थीं. यही कारण था कि भारतीय प्रेस उनके जमाने में जितना डिवाइडेड रहा, जितने उनमें मत-वैभिन्य रहे, उतने पहले कभी नहीं थे. इंदिरा जी के समय में प्रेस पक्ष और विपक्ष में बंट गया था. यह सब इंदिरा जी के एटीट्यूड के कारण था.

□ **सवाल :** *भारतीय प्रेस में एक अनिर्धारित विभाजन था. एक पक्ष के लोग कमोबेश उन्हे सराहते हुए चलते थे और दूसरे वे लोग थे, जिनके लिए श्रीमती गांधी का हर काम नकारात्मक था, या देश हित के विरुद्ध था. इस पर आपकी टिप्पणी ?*

□ **जवाब :** श्रीमती गांधी का जो काम करने का तरीका था, वह अंततः चीजों को तोड़ता था. नेहरू जी से बात करते समय एक मधुरता नजर आती थी. राजीव से बात करने पर एक प्रकार की संभावना दिखाई देगी, लेकिन जब श्रीमती गांधी से बात करते, तो ऐसा लगता था कि जैसे हवा में तलवार घूम रही है, वैसे समय में कुछ लोग समर्पण कर जाते थे. इस देश के प्रेस ने जितनी प्रधानमंत्री की सेवा की है, शायद ही किसी ने इतनी सेवा की हो. उन्हें माता, दुर्गा क्या-क्या नहीं कहा गया. अगर प्रेस उन पर हमला भी करता था, तो लगता था, किसी जानदार चीज पर हमला हुआ है. वे एक खंबे की तरह खड़ी हो जाती थीं. एक तरफ उनको सलाम बोलनेवाले लोग थे और दूसरी तरफ खिलाफ बोलनेवाले. लेकिन वे ऐसी सख्त थीं कि उदारवादी लोगों को ठीक नहीं लगती थीं.

1969 में जब श्रीमती गांधी ने कांग्रेस को विभाजित किया, उस समय देश के सबसे उदारवादी लोग उनके समर्थक थे, वही लोग 72-73 आते-आते श्रीमती गांधी के खिलाफ हो गये. अखबारवालों के लिए वह महत्वपूर्ण थीं, कारण था कि श्रीमती गांधी जब तक थीं, चाहे वह विपक्ष में रहीं या सरकार में, उनकी अवहेलना कर देना बड़ा मुश्किल था. जिसे आप भुला नहीं सकते, वह हमेशा खबर में बना रहेगा. इस कारण अखबारवालों के लिए उनसे बेहतर प्रधानमंत्री कोई हो ही नहीं सकता.

□ **सवाल :** *पिछले 35 साल से अधिक समय तक नेहरू परिवार से शासित रहने के कारण भारतीय प्रेस में खुल कर लिखने की कमी या दब्बूपन महसूस किया जा रहा है ? आप क्या सोचते हैं ?*

□ **जवाब :** मैं यह तो नहीं मानूंगा कि नेहरू परिवार से शासित रहने के कारण दब्बूपन रहा. दब्बूपन के कारण अलग थे. भारत में अंगरेजी प्रेस हमेशा से सरकार के साथ रहा है. आज भी हालत यही है कि अंगरेजी प्रेस सरकार के साथ है. हमारी भाषाई पत्रकारिता पहले आजादी की लड़ाई का हथियार मानी जाती थी. आजादी की लड़ाई खत्म होने के बाद 1960 तक प्रेस यह मानता रहा कि भारत सरकार, हमारी सरकार है और जो काम सरकार कर रही है, उसके काम को अच्छी तरह पेश करना हमारा कर्तव्य है. उस समय भी नेहरू जी ही हमेशा सुर्खियों में रहते थे. प्रेस ने नेहरू जी को एक राष्ट्र का नेता माना था. जब भाषाई पत्रकारिता ने अपने को कांग्रेस के

प्रेस की आजादी को हमेशा श्रीमती गांधी ने नापसंद किया रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digi

जब मैंने उन्हें सूत की माला पहनायी

इंदिरा जी हमेशा यही चाहती रहीं कि सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और वैज्ञानिक सभी क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं को आगे आना चाहिए. उनके हर भाषण में महिलाओं के लिए एक विशेष प्रोत्साहन भरा पुट रहता था. उनकी मुसकान, उनका चुंबकीय व्यक्तित्व हमेशा ही लोगों के लिए आकर्षण का केंद्र था. यही कारण था कि इंदिरा जी के दर्शन के लिए हजारों की संख्या में महिलाओं का हुजूम उमड़ पड़ता था.

मेरा परिवार परंपरागत कांग्रेसी परिवार है. मेरे दादा स्वर्गीय पंडित शंभुदयाल मिश्र केंद्रीय एसेंबली में होशंगाबाद क्षेत्र से 22 वर्षों तक सदस्य रहे और पं. नेहरू के करीबी भी. विद्यार्थी जीवन से ही इंदिरा जी की ओर मेरा रूझान रहा. उनकी तसवीर अपनी कॉपी में रखा करती थी. कॉलेज में जब प्रवेश लिया, तो राजनीति से जुड़ गयी. उन दिनों युवा कांग्रेस की चर्चा थी. मैं भरपूर प्रयास करती थी कि इंदिरा जी के कार्यक्रमों और उनके विचारों से अधिक-से-अधिक लड़कियों को जोड़ूं. तब घर-घर जा कर हमने लड़कियों को युवा कांग्रेस का सदस्य बनाया.

मुझे याद है 1979 में मैं पागलों की तरह इंदिरा जी के पीछे सूत की माला देने के लिए दौड़ी थी. इंदिरा जी सागर में एक जनसभा को संबोधित करने आनेवाली थीं. जैसे ही सभा समाप्त हुई, मैं मंच के नीचे खड़ी हो गयी. अपार भीड़ थी. इंदिरा जी जैसे ही मंच के पीछे बने हुए हेलीपैड की ओर जाने लगीं, उनके पीछे भारी भीड़ चलने लगी. उस भीड़ में मैं अकेली लड़की सूत की माला लिये खड़ी थी. जैसे ही मैं घबरा कर वापस जाने को हुई, इंदिरा जी के सिर का पल्लू दिखाई पड़ा. मुश्किल से पांच कदम की दूरी पर श्रीमती गांधी दिखाई दीं. किसी तरह भीड़ को चीर कर उनके करीब पहुंची और इंदिरा जी की बांह पकड़ ली. इंदिरा जी ने चौंक कर देखा, तो पाया कि एक लड़की ने भीड़ से घबरा कर बांह थाम ली है. मैंने जल्दी से सूत की माला उनकी हथेली में शुभकामनाओं सहित रख दी. इंदिरा जी लगभग चिल्ला कर बोलीं—'वापस जाओ, भीड़ में दब जाओगी.' एक डी. एस. पी. की मदद से मैं सुरक्षित स्थान पर पहुंची.

23 अक्तूबर को इंदिरा जी अंतिम बार मध्यप्रदेश की यात्रा पर रायपुर आयी हुई थीं. कड़ी सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था के बीच उनका आगमन हुआ. हवाईअड्डे पर स्वागत करने के बाद कांग्रेस भवन में कार्यकर्ताओं को संबोधित करना था. पहले से ही मंच की सीढ़ियों के पास मैं खड़ी हो गयी और जैसे ही इंदिरा जी कार से उतरीं, मैंने जल्दी से उनसे कहा, 'देखिए, ये सुरक्षा अधिकारी मुझे मंच पर नहीं चढ़ने दे रहे हैं.' इंदिरा जी मुसकरायीं, मुझे साथ चढ़ाते हुए बोलीं, 'अरे ये तो लड़की है, इसको चढ़ने दो' इस तरह मुझे वह मंच पर ले गयीं.

एक बार इंदिरा जी ने महिलाओं को उनके अधिकारों के प्रति सचेत करते हुए कहा था कि समाज में एक प्रकार से कई युग एक साथ जी रहे हैं. कारण स्पष्ट है कि शासन लिखित विधान से चलता है, समाज अलिखित मजबूत परंपराओं से चलता है. जब वैधानिक स्थिति परस्पर विरोधी हो, तब आपके अधिकार मात्र पहननेवाले खूबसूरत गहनों की ही तरह हैं. अतः महिलाओं को अपने अधिकारों के लिए सजगता बरतनी चाहिए, किंतु साथ-साथ कर्तव्य का भी खयाल रहना चाहिए.

सरला मिश्र

नाल से काटा, तब जा कर प्रेस स्वतंत्र हुआ.

'मास' सर्कुलेशन भाषाई अखबारों का हो सकता है, अंगरेजी अखबारों का नहीं. अंगरेजी अखबार वोट को उतना प्रभावित नहीं कर सकते, जब कि कोई भी भाषाई अखबार वोट को इधर-से-उधर करने की क्षमता रखता है.

□ **सवाल** : *नेहरू परिवार के प्रति प्रेस के 'एटीट्यूड' के संबंध में बतायें ?*

□ **जवाब** : नेहरू जी प्रेस के लिए हीरो थे. आजादी की लड़ाई के कारण वे हीरो बने थे. स्वभाव से वे उदारवादी थे. अपने नेतृत्व में अपने-आपको सुरक्षित महसूस करते थे. श्रीमती गांधी के साथ बिल्कुल उलटा था. नेहरू जी प्रेस को अपनी स्वतंत्रता का गलत इस्तेमाल करने की इजाजत देने के लिए भी तैयार रहते थे. उन्होंने कहा है कि अगर प्रेस अपनी आजादी का गलत इस्तेमाल करता है, तो भी मैं उसको आजाद रखना पसंद करूंगा, क्योंकि उसकी आजादी लोकतंत्र के लिए आवश्यक है.

राजीव गांधी को जितनी सहानुभूति देशी और विदेशी प्रेस से मिली है, उतनी सहानुभूति शायद ही किसी प्रधानमंत्री को मिली हो. यह एक जवान आदमी है, जिसे चारों तरफ से सहानुभूति मिल रही है. राजीव के पास 400 सीटें हैं, जितनी उनके नाना के पास भी नहीं थीं. राजीव गांधी को लगता है कि उनके सामने भविष्य है. उनमें वह आत्मविश्वास है, जो उनकी मां, श्रीमती गांधी में नहीं था. राजीव गांधी को जो बहुमत मिला है, इसके आधार पर वह अपने नाना की तरह प्रेस के साथ दोस्ताना संबंध बना सकते हैं. जिस तरह के साक्षात्कार वह एम. जे. अकबर और अन्य संपादकों को दे सकते हैं, उस प्रकार श्रीमती गांधी नहीं दे सकती थीं. क्योंकि इंदिरा गांधी कभी प्रेस से खुल कर बात नहीं करती थीं. नेहरू जी के बहुत-से पत्रकार अच्छे दोस्त थे, जैसे फ्रैंक मॉरिस, मुलगांवकर आदि. प्रेस के कई लोग थे, जिनसे जवाहरलाल नेहरू दिल खोल कर बात करते थे. लेकिन इंदिरा जी का एक भी अखबारवाला नजदीकी मित्र नहीं था, जिससे वे दोस्ताना बातचीत करती रही हों. इंदिरा के साथ या तो सलाम बजाया जा सकता था या फिर तलवार चलायी जा सकती थी. दोस्ताना तरीके से यानी बराबरी से उनके साथ व्यवहार नहीं किया जा सकता था.

□ **सवाल** : *भारत की राजनीति में प्रचार माध्यमों के उपयोग से 'पर्सनाल्टी कल्ट' तैयार करने में श्रीमती गांधी की क्या भूमिका रही ?*

□ **जवाब** : श्रीमती गांधी 'पर्सनाल्टी कल्ट' में भरोसा करती थीं. जैसे कि इंग्लैंड के एक राजा ने कहा था, 'आइ एम द स्टेट यानी मैं ही देश हूं.' उसी तरह वे मानती थीं कि 'मैं देश हूं'. वे कई बार कोशिश करती थीं कि भारत माता के रूप में उनका नाम बना रहे, बरुआ ने जो कहा था, 'इंडिया इज इंदिरा ऐंड इंदिरा इज इंडिया', तो यह बरुआ जैसे सेकेंड ग्रेड आदमी के दिमाग की उपज नहीं थी, उस वक्त प्रचार के द्वारा ऐसा माहौल बनाया गया कि अगर इंदिरा नहीं, तो देश खत्म हो जायेगा. अगर इंदिरा को चोटें पहुंचायी गयीं, तो वे देश को नुकसान करेंगी.

इस तरह से उन्होंने और उनके लोगों ने प्रचारित किया. जो भी व्यक्ति 'पर्सनाल्टी कल्ट' में विश्वास करता है, वह निरंकुश बन जाता है. यही कारण था कि इंदिरा जी के आसपास के लोग और उनकी मदद करनेवाले लोग निरंकुश थे, वे सब व्यक्ति पूजा को मानते थे.

प्रस्तुति : राकेश सहाय

CC-0. Bhagavad P

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

इस परिवार में अखबार पढ़ने की बुरी आदत किसी को नहीं रही है

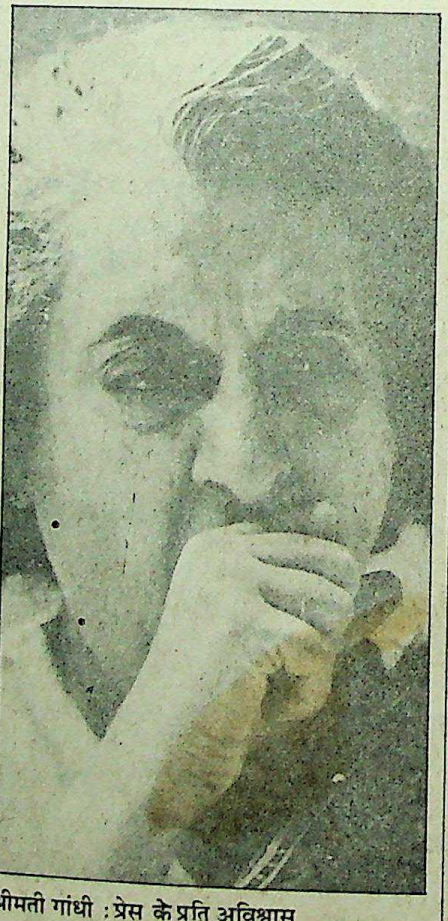
खुशवंत सिंह

1969 के आसपास की बात थी. पेरिस में श्रीमती गांधी का संवाददाता सम्मेलन था. एक संवाददाता ने उठ कर बड़ी दयनीयता से कहा कि 'मैडम प्राइम मिनिस्टर, मैं अंगरेजी से बहुत अधिक वाकिफ नहीं और अगर आप कहें, तो मैं अपना सवाल फ्रेंच में करूं .' श्रीमती गांधी ने कहा कि 'जरूर, अपना सवाल आप फ्रेंच मे ही करे, मैं उत्तर दूंगी.' संवाददाता ने फ्रेंच मे सवाल किया और श्रीमती गांधी ने उतनी ही कुशलता से बढ़िया फ्रेंच मे उत्तर दिया. इस पर वहां खूब तालियां बजीं और श्रीमती गांधी को इतना साधुवाद मिला कि पूछिए मत. मैंने भी कहा कि भई क्या खूब हमारी प्रधानमंत्री हैं. उस दिन ऐसा लगा कि ऐसी प्रधानमंत्री दुनिया मे नहीं हैं. मैं तो बिल्कुल बिक गया ..

लेकिन यह एक घटना हो सकती है. प्रेस के प्रति श्रीमती गांधी के सोच का सच यह है कि उन्होंने प्रेस पर कभी भरोसा नहीं किया, जबकि उन्हें प्रेस ने सबसे ज्यादा कवरेज दी. अब तक जिस किसी को भी प्रेस से कवरेज मिली है, उन सबसे अधिक प्रशंसात्मक कवरेज श्रीमती गांधी को मिली, इसके बावजूद वह प्रेस से क्षुब्ध रहीं. वह तब तक ही प्रेस से खुश रहती थीं, जब तक प्रेस उनके पक्ष में रहता. जैसे ही जरा-सी आलोचना हुई कि फिर प्रेस का उनके लिए कोई इस्तेमाल नहीं रहता था. वह विपक्ष को भी पसंद नहीं करती थीं. सबसे अधिक तो जयप्रकाश नारायण के नाम से ही वह उखड़ जातीं थीं और कहतीं थी कि 'उसको किसने लीडर बनाया... आप लोगों ने ही उसे लीडर बनाया है.' वह इस किस्म की बातें ही नहीं करतीं, बल्कि उनका व्यवहार भी कुछ इसी किस्म का हो गया था. बिहार में जब सूखा पड़ा, तो वह वहां गयीं. जेपी ने उनसे कहा था कि अपील कीजिए राहत के लिए. वह वहां गयीं. भाषण दिया, मगर जेपी का नाम तक नहीं लिया. उन्हें याद दिलाया गया, तो वह बोलीं कि 'अरे, मैं तो भूल ही गयी.' यही नहीं, वह पैंतरा भी अच्छा बदल लेती थीं. उदाहरण के लिए ब्लिट्ज के रूसी करंजिया. ढेरों गालियां देतीं थीं, उन्हें और कहती थीं, 'मैं उसका मुंह तक नहीं देखना चाहती हूं... ये नहीं ... वो नहीं.' वगैरह-वगैरह. जब मैंने कहा कि बड़ा अखबार है, उसका सर्कुलेशन ज्यादा है, आप मिल तो लीजिए, तो काफी ना.. नुकुर के बाद वह बोलीं कि 'आप कहते हैं, तो मैं मिल लेती हूं.' लेकिन उसके बाद तो क्या बतायें, 'शी वाज आल हनी ऐड शुगर फार रूसी करंजिया'. (रूसी करंजिया के लिए वह सब-कुछ थीं).

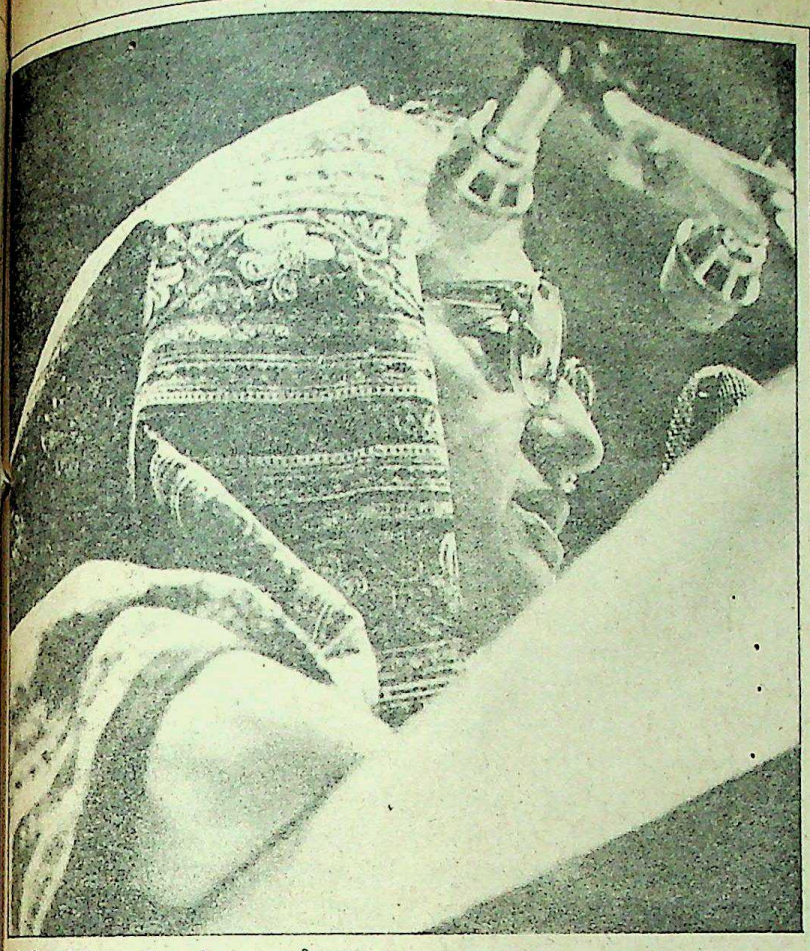
इंदिरा गांधी से मेरे संबंध बहुत अच्छे रहे, उनके प्रधानमंत्रित्व के दूसरे दौर तक, बल्कि यह कहें तो ठीक रहेगा कि संजय गांधी की असामयिक मृत्यु तक. लेकिन बाद में उन्हें ऐसा लगा, उनके दिमाग में कुछ ऐसा वहम भर गया कि मैं मेनका को समर्थन दे रहा हूं. मैं कहता रहा लेकिन उसका कोई असर नहीं हुआ. इस मामले में वह बहुत ही 'पेट्टि' (क्षुद्र) महिला थीं, छोटी-छोटी बातों पर अड़ जाती थीं. लोग उनके कान भरते रहते थे. वे कहते कि मेनका मुझसे मिलने आती है और सही बात भी थी कि वह बच्चे को ले कर मुझसे मिलने आती थी, लेकिन बस बात इतनी ही थी और इससे ज्यादा कुछ था नहीं था. लेकिन उन्होंने मुझको काट कर बिल्कुल अलग कर दिया.'

जिस वक्त उन्होंने इमर्जेंसी लगायी, उस वक्त वह बेहद प्रसन्न थीं. मैं श्रीमती गांधी से मिलने गया था इमर्जेंसी मे. मैंने उनसे कहा कि मैं इमर्जेंसी का समर्थन करता हूं, लेकिन प्रेस पर सेंसरशिप के खिलाफ हूं... प्रेस पर सेंसरशिप का मैं कतई समर्थन नहीं करता. सेंसर लगा कर आपने मेरे जैसे लोगों की विश्वसनीयता पर रोक लगा दी है. मैं कुछ भी लिखूं कि इमर्जेंसी मुल्क के लिए जरूरी है, तो लोग उसका कतई भरोसा नहीं करेंगे और कहेंगे कि ऐसा लिखने के लिए मुझ पर दबाव डाला गया है... ' यहां तक कि विधानसभा के चुने हुए सदस्यों को विधानसभा नहीं जाने देने जैसे कदमों की आलोचना करते हुए जयप्रकाश नारायण को मैंने लिखा था कि उनका आंदोलन समाजवादी समुदाय द्वारा दी गयी आजादी की सीमा को पार कर रहा है... इसलिए मैंने इमर्जेंसी का समर्थन किया था. मगर श्रीमती गांधी के लिए इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़नेवाला था. उन्होंने तो इलस्ट्रेटेड वीकली पर भी प्रि-सेंसरशिप लागू कर दी. मजे की बात यह है कि यह आदेश उस लेख के कारण लागू किया गया, जो उसमें छपा ही नहीं था. सहयोगी पत्रिका 'फेमिना' में छपा था. लोगों ने गलती से मान लिया कि वह 'वीकली' में छपा था. इस किस्म की कई बेवकूफियां हुई थीं. और जब श्रीमती गांधी हार गयीं, तो मैं उन्हें सांत्वना देने गया और कहा कि यह कैसे हो गया कि आपको सूचना देनेवालों ने बिल्कुल ही गलत सूचना दे दी. श्रीमती गांधी ने बड़े ही भोलेपन से उत्तर दिया कि वास्तव में कोई 'फीडबैक' ही नहीं था. मैंने कहा



श्रीमती गांधी : प्रेस के प्रति अविश्वास

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Dig



उन्हें इमेज की चिंता अधिक थी छाया : सुनील दत्त

कि 'फीडबैक' कहां से होता, आपने तो प्रेस पर सेंसर लगा दिया था. तब उन्होंने स्वीकार किया कि उनसे गलती हो गयी थी कि प्रेस पर सेंसरशिप लगायी. जबकि पहले उनकी राय थी कि इस किस्म की कोई इमर्जेंसी नहीं हो सकती, जिसमें प्रेस पर सेंसरशिप नहीं हो.

वह प्रेस के साथ बदमिजाजी से पेश आती थीं. प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में सवाल पक्ष में हुए, तो उनके जवाब दरियादिली से देती थीं. लेकिन जैसे ही जरा-से 'क्रिटिकल' सवाल हुए, 'लोडेड' सवाल हुए कि फटाफट उन्हें रफादफा कर देती थीं. मैंने कई बार उनका इंटरव्यू किया था. वह इंटरव्यू के दौरान पूरा अटेंशन देती थीं, टोटल अटेंशन. न कोई टेलीफोन, न कोई मिलनेवाला. जबकि पंडित जी के समय में तो सेक्रेटरी भी बीच में आता था, टेलीफोन भी आते थे. इंटरव्यू देने के पहले वह संबंधित पत्रकार की फाइल देखा करती थीं और उस फाइल से कुछ सवाल भी उस पत्रकार से अचानक ही पूछ लेती थीं. एक बार मैं इंटरव्यू ले रहा था. उन्होंने मुझसे एक सवाल पूछ लिया कि 'आपने किसी लेख में मेरे बारे में ऐसा लिख दिया था कि मैंने फलां-फलां किया है.' मैंने हंस कर कहा कि 'मैडम, आप गलत फाइल देख रही हैं. वह मैंने नहीं लिखा था.' इस पर वह भी हंसने लग गयीं. शारदा प्रसाद क्लिपिंग इकट्ठा कर उन्हें दे जाते थे, उसी पर वह नजर डाल लेती थीं जल्दी-जल्दी कि पक्ष में क्या लिखा है, और आलोचना में क्या लिखा है. अखबार उन्हें सबसे अच्छा नेशनल हेरल्ड लगता था.

एक और दफा की बात है. उन्होंने आर्थिक विषय पर कोई भाषण किया था, जिसकी काफी सराहना की गयी. बाद में पता चला कि वह शारदा प्रसाद और पी. एन. धर ने मिल कर तैयार किया था और वह पूरा का पूरा भाषण 'फार ईस्टर्न इकॉनामिक रिव्यू' से उड़ाया हुआ था, जिसे किसी पाकिस्तानी अर्थशास्त्री ने लिखा था. मैंने तो काफी लिखा था इसके बारे में कि ऐसे तो लापरवाह इनके सलाहकार हैं. लेना भी था, तो पाकिस्तानी अर्थशास्त्री का पेपर ! वह अपने सलाहकारों से काफी खिन्न थीं, मगर उन्हें सजा नहीं दी. उन लोगों ने माफी-वाफी मांग ली होगी. अपने साथ काम करनेवालों के प्रति वह काफी सदाशय थीं. निर्गुट राष्ट्रों के सम्मेलन में उस पाकिस्तानी अर्थशास्त्री से मेरी मुलाकात हुई, तो मैंने पूछा कि 'क्या आप वही अर्थशास्त्री हैं, जिन्होंने श्रीमती गांधी का भाषण लिखा था !' तो वह हंस कर बोले कि 'हां, वास्तव में यह मुझे काफी सम्मानजनक लगा.'

पंडित नेहरू भी प्रेस से अकसर गुस्सा रहते थे. लेकिन विदेशी प्रेस में अपनी छवि बनाने के प्रति वह बहुत सतर्क रहते थे. मैं उस जमाने में लंदन में जनसंपर्क अधिकारी था. मुझे आदेश मिला कि नेहरू जी की लंदन यात्रा के दौरान मैं एक संवाददाता सम्मेलन का आयोजन करूं. उन दिनों कश्मीर का मामला बहुत गरम था. इसलिए संवाददाता -सम्मेलन में काफी पत्रकार आये. हाल पूरा भर गया था. पंडित जी के आने में देर हो रही थी. मैंने मथाई से बात की. जब उन्होंने पंडित जी को बताया, तो वह बोले, 'ह्वाट प्रेस कांफ्रेंस... आइ नो नथिंग एबाउट दि प्रेस कांफ्रेंस... नोबॉडी टोल्ड मी एनीथिंग.' जबकि यह उनके प्रोग्राम में लिखा हुआ था. खैर वह आये, माइक्रोफोन पर बैठते हुए भी वह जोर-जोर से बोलते रहे कि 'ह्वाट ए स्ट्रेंज वे ऑफ रनिंग ऐन आफिस. आई नीडेड टाइम टु प्रिपेयर... नाऊ ह्वाट यू एक्सपेक्ट मी टु डू.' मैंने कहा कि ये लोग आये हैं, सवाल पूछेंगे, टीवी के लोग भी हैं, तो वह पलट कर बोले— 'यस जेंटलमेन, ह्वाट डू यू वांट ?' संवाददाताओं ने कश्मीर पर कई सवाल पूछे, पंडित नेहरू ने एक बयान दे दिया. काफी बढ़िया बयान था यह. स्पष्ट था कि वह तैयारी करके आये थे. बाद में मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप तो नाराज हो रहे थे, तो वह बोले कि 'यह तो ट्रिक था.' इस तरह उन्होंने तो हमें उल्लू बनाया और खुद हीरो हो गये.

श्रीमती गांधी भी बहुत सशंकित रहती थीं. विदेशी प्रेस के बारे में कि वहां इमेज खराब नहीं हो. राजीव का भी यही हाल है. अभी श्रीकांत वर्मा ने तारकुंडे को जेल तक भेजने की बात कह दी थी, तो मैंने कहा कि 'अच्छा, मैं सबक सिखाऊंगा.' फिर मैंने इस बारे में जब यह लिखा कि 'यहां के प्रेस की बात तो छोड़िए, बी. बी. सी. और विदेशी प्रेस क्या कहेगा...' बस, श्रीकांत वर्मा को पार्टी के सेक्रेटरी पद से हटा दिया गया.

राजीव गांधी की 'परफार्मेंस उनके नाना और मां से अच्छी है, बस कभी-कभी वह स्कूली लड़कों की तरह बोल जाते हैं. जैसे संसद में यह बोल दिया कि कलकत्ता तो एक मरता हुआ शहर है. बात कुछ नहीं थी, पर लगा दिया एक नुक्ता. मधु दंडवते को कह दिया कि उन्हें तो अंगरेजी नहीं आती. नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह भी नाराज हो गये. मुझे उम्मीद है कि वह अपने नाना और मां के मुकाबले अच्छा बोलेंगे, अच्छा काम करेंगे. पंडित जी वगैरह तो काफी तैयार हो कर जाते थे, मगर राजीव पंजाब पर अच्छा बोले. बिना ज्यादा पढ़े-लिखे भी राजीव को इतिहास की अच्छी जानकारी है. हां इतना जरूर कहूंगा कि इस परिवार में अखबार पढ़ने की बुरी आदत किसी को नहीं रही है.

प्रस्तुति : राकेश सहाय

CC-0. Bhagavad P

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इंदिरा जी का संस्कृति-प्रेम जनसंपर्क का परिष्कृत संस्करण नहीं था

अशोक वाजपेयी

बात 1973 की है. दिल्ली में रवींद्र भवन की दीर्घाओं में मध्यप्रदेश के कलाकारों ने एक प्रदर्शनी आयोजित की थी. उसके उद्घाटन के लिए इंदिरा गांधी को आमंत्रित किया गया था. उनके यहां से उत्तर आया कि प्रधानमंत्री इस प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन नहीं कर सकेंगी, पर मौका मिलने पर प्रदर्शनी देखने जरूर आयेंगी. एक शाम वह प्रदर्शनी देखने आ गयीं. उन्होंने दो-चार उन कलाकृतियों को पहचाना भी, जिनके चित्र तब तक दिल्ली के कुछ अखबारों में छप चुके थे.

दिसंबर 1980 में दिल्ली से फोन आया कि फलां तारीख को प्रधानमंत्री ने कुछ लेखकों-कलाकारों को अनौपचारिक चर्चा के लिए आमंत्रित किया है, उनमें आप भी हैं. नियत समय पर हम तेरह-चौदह लोग प्रधानमंत्री निवास पहुंचे. नेमिचंद जैन, चित्रकार-कथाकार रामकुमार, ब. व. कारंत, नामवर सिंह, रघुवीर सहाय, केदारनाथ सिंह, बंसी कौल आदि. उषा भगत ने बताया था कि हमारे लिए 45 मिनट का समय निर्धारित है, पर अगर बात रम गयी तो समय बढ़ाया जा सकता है. अंततः बात कुछ ऐसी रमी और इंदिरा जी ने उसमें ऐसी दिलचस्पी ली कि हम लगभग डेढ़ घंटे बतियाते रहे. वह बहुत खुलेपन से बात करती रहीं, बल्कि ज्यादातर हमारी बातें सुनती रहीं. उन्होंने अपनी किसी बात या धारणा को हम पर थोपने की या चतुराई से हमारा समर्थन पाने की कोई चेष्टा नहीं की. राजकाज का कोई बोझ उनके मन पर रहा हो, हमें उस दौरान ऐसा महसूस नहीं हुआ, हालांकि वह पूरा दिन दफ़्तर में बिता कर लौटी थीं. रघुवीर सहाय ने उनका ध्यान इस ओर दिलाया कि ही में ऋषि वैली में उन्होंने कुछ समय चिन्मय कृष्णमूर्ति के साथ गुजारा था और पूछा कि बीच क्या संवाद हुआ, तो इंदिरा जी ने तपाक कहा कि कृष्णमूर्ति मानते हैं कि संसार में कु इतनी बद्धमूल है कि कुछ भी सुधारा नहीं जा सकता. 'ऐसे व्यक्ति से मेरा क्या संवाद संभव होता !'

संस्कृति के संबंध में एक स्पष्ट नीति के अभाव की चर्चा हुई, जिसे उन्होंने स्वीकार किया मैंने तीनों राष्ट्रीय अकादमियों की किंचित मुक्त आलोचना की और उत्साह में यहां तक कह कि ये तीनों संस्थान 'मीडियाक्रिटी' के राष्ट्रीय बन कर रह गये हैं, जिनसे युवा सृजनकर्ताओं कोई संबंध ही नहीं रह गया है. इस पर उन्होंने कहा कि यह ठीक है, मगर रास्ता क्या है ? समय जो चर्चा हुई, उसी में यह सुझाव आया

भारत भवन के उद्घाटन में मुल्कराज आनंद, सुभाष मुखोपाध्याय और अशोक वाजपेयी के साथ

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Dig

अकादमियों से अलग और सभी कलाओं और साहित्य के लिए उत्कृष्टता केंद्र के रूप में एक राष्ट्रीय कला परिषद बनायी जाये, जिसकी अध्यक्ष स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री हों. बाद में ऐसी परिषद बनी भी, पर शायद उसकी एक ही बैठक उनके जीवनकाल में हो पायी.

जुलाई 1981 में भोपाल के रवींद्र भवन में श्रीमती गांधी को मध्यप्रदेश के राष्ट्रीय और प्रादेशिक पुरस्कार कालिदास और शिखर सम्मान देने आना था. हमारे लिए डेढ़ घंटे का समय निर्धारित था. 30 मिनट का समय प्रशस्ति-वाचन और प्रधानमंत्री का संबोधन तथा उसके बाद 30-30 मिनट मल्लिकार्जुन मंसूर और सेमन गुड़ी श्रीनिवास अय्यर के गायन के लिए तय था. दो बार पूर्व सूचना आयी कि यह समय घटा कर एक घंटा कर दिया गया है, क्योंकि अन्य कार्यक्रमों में प्रधानमंत्री को देर हो रही थी. मैंने दोनों कलाकारों से आग्रह किया कि उनका गायन 15-15 मिनट तक सीमित रहे, जो उन्होंने थोड़ी अनिच्छा से मान लिया. वैसे अगली दो शामों को अलग से उनकी पूरी संगीत सभाएं थीं, पर सम्मान-समारोह में प्रधानमंत्री की उपस्थिति में वे कुछ गायें, इसका मोह उनसे कहीं अधिक मुझे था. आगमन के दस मिनट पहले फिर सूचना आयी कि हमारे कार्यक्रम को कुल आधे घंटे में ही समाप्त हो जाना चाहिए. इस पर मैं कुछ झुंझला-सा गया. जो अधिकारी यह संवाद लाये थे, मैंने उनसे कहा कि मैं प्रधानमंत्री से स्वयं बात कर लूंगा. दोनों कलाकारों से यह कहने की मेरी हिम्मत नहीं थी कि उनका गायन उस शाम होगा ही नहीं.

श्रीमती गांधी आयीं और मैंने उनसे बताया कि समयाभाव के कारण गायन का कार्यक्रम रद्द करने को कहा जा रहा है. मेरी बात बीच में ही काट कर वह बोलीं कि यह तो अच्छा नहीं लगेगा, लेकिन पक्के गाने के लिए जितना समय चाहिए, उतना उनके पास नहीं है. मैंने उन्हें बताया कि पंडित मंसूर एक छोटा खयाल गायेंगे. दोनों गायक कुल आधा घंटा समय लेंगे. वह बोलीं, ठीक है.

मंच पर पंडित मंसूर, इंदिरा जी की बगल में, बैठे थे. तब तक उनको इस अफवाह की भनक लग गयी थी कि शायद गायन का कार्यक्रम रद्द होने जा रहा है. उन्होंने इंदिरा जी से कहा कि 15 मिनट में उनका गाना क्या होगा ? इंदिरा जी ने फौरन मुझे बुला कर कहा कि कार्यक्रम रद्द तो नहीं कर रहे हैं, थोड़ा-सा सही, लेकिन गाना जरूर होना चाहिए. फिर वह पंडित मंसूर से पलट कर बोलीं कि 'पंडित जी, यहां इतने कार्यक्रम रख दिये गये हैं कि समय नहीं रह गया है, पर आप जब दिल्ली आयें, तो खबर करें, हम अपने घर पर आपका गाना सुनेंगे.'

भारत भवन में जे. स्वामीनाथन की प्रदर्शनी देखती हुई

मंच पर पंडित कुमार गंधर्व भी मध्यप्रदेश संस्कृति सलाहकार मंडल के उपाध्यक्ष के रूप में बैठे थे. अपने भाषण में इंदिरा जी उन्हें भीमसेन जोशी समझ कर जोशी जी संबोधित कर गयीं. बाद में उन्हें अपनी भूल का पता चला. छोटी-सी संगीत सभा जब समाप्त हुई और वह जाने लगीं, तो पीछे जा कर कुमार जी को विशेष रूप से नमस्कार कर उन्होंने अपनी भूल का समाहार करने का यत्न किया.

13 फरवरी 82 को भोपाल में उन्हें भारत भवन का उद्घाटन करना था. हमने देश-विदेश के लगभग दो सौ शीर्ष कलाकारों को आमंत्रित किया था— पीटर ब्रुक, शंभु मित्र, मकबूल फिदा हुसैन, शिवराम कारंत, कृष्णराव शंकर पंडित, कमला देवी चट्टोपाध्याय, पुपुल जयकर, नारायण मेनन, मुल्कराज आनंद, यामिनी कृष्णमूर्ति, सुभाष मुखोपाध्याय, रामकुमार, कृष्ण खन्ना, अकबर पदमसी, रघुवीर सहाय, मणि कौल आदि . एक राष्ट्रीय दैनिक ने इस जमावड़े के बारे में लिखा कि 'हिंदुस्तान का कल चरल हूज हू ही मानो भोपाल में उस दिन उपस्थित थी.' स्वयं इंदिरा जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि आजादी के बाद के हिंदुस्तान में शायद ही कभी कलाकारों का इतना बड़ा जमावड़ा हुआ हो. हम चाहते थे कि इंदिरा जी इन कलाकारों के साथ कुछ समय अनौपचारिक रूप से बितायें. यह आग्रह प्रधानमंत्री सचिवालय तक पहुंचा भी दिया गया था. पुपुल जयकर और उषा भगत से भी मदद करने का निवेदन किया गया था. पर जब तीन-चार दिनों पहले अधिकृत कार्यक्रम आया, तो उसके अनुसार प्रधानमंत्री को पहले पार्टी कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक को संबोधित करना था, फिर भारत भवन का उद्घाटन और उसके बाद दिल्ली जाने के लिए वहीं से हवाई अड्डे रवाना होना था. तब जे. स्वामीनाथन, कारंत जी और मैंने तय किया कि हम खुद ही प्रधानमंत्री तक यह बात पहुंचायें कि इतने सारे कलाकारों से मिलने का वक्त अगर नहीं निकला, तो यह अच्छा नहीं लगेगा. यह बात उन तक पहुंची, तो कार्यक्रम में तुरंत परिवर्तन किया गया और पार्टी कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक रद्द कर दी गयी तथा यह निर्देश आ गया कि प्रधानमंत्री राजभवन में कलाकारों के साथ एक घंटा बितायेंगी.

इंदिरा जी दिन भर के दौरे के बाद भी बेहद उत्फुल्ल और सहज थीं. वह सबसे मिलीं. स्वयं कुरसी उठा कर कमला देवी जी को आग्रहपूर्वक उन्होंने बैठाया. पीटर ब्रुक, चार्ल्स कोरिया (भारत भवन के वास्तुकार), शंभु मित्र आदि से देर तक बातें करती रहीं.

उद्घाटन मंच पर आने के पहले उन्होंने लगभग 45 मिनट भारत भवन की कलादीर्घाओं में आदिवासी लोक कलाकृतियों , आधुनिक शहरी कलाकृतियों और के. जी. सुब्रह्मण्यम की प्रदर्शनियों आदि को देखते हुए बिताये . मध्यप्रदेश के कुछ प्रमुख लोक और आदिवासी रूपंकर कलाकारों से वह मिलीं. सुरक्षा अधिकारी बार-बार कलाकृतियों को ढांक-सा लेते थे और अंदर खासी भीड़-सी कर रहे थे, उन्हें झिड़क कर बाहर जाने के निर्देश उन्होंने दिये. जहां-तहां रुक कर कलाकृतियों के बारे में वह पूछती रहीं, श्री स्वामीनाथन उनकी जिज्ञासा शांत करते रहे.

वह सभा मंच पर पहुंची. कार्यक्रम का आरंभ भरत के नाट्यशास्त्र के कुछ श्लोकों के गायन से होना था. मेज पर रखे कार्यक्रम-पत्र में ऐसा छपा

CC-0. Bhagavad P

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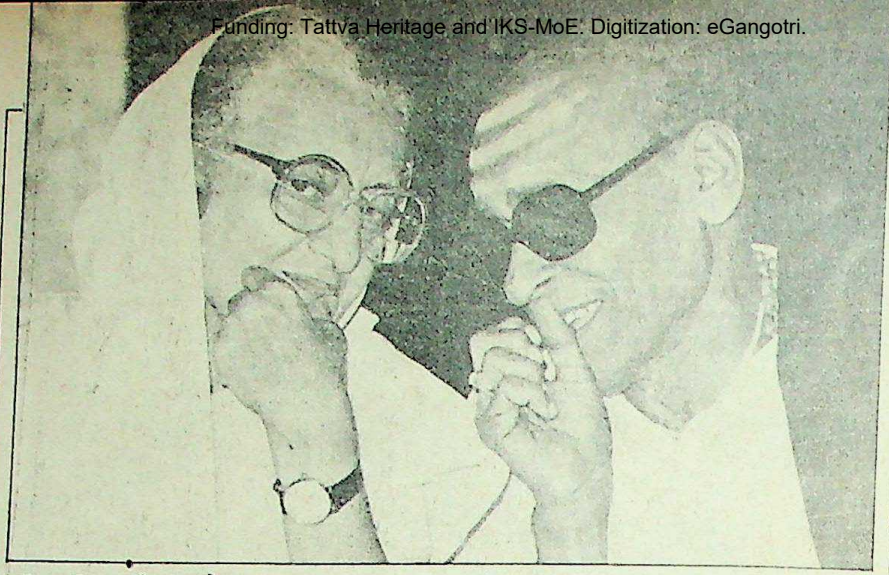


• पंडित मल्लिकार्जुन मंसूर के साथ

भी था. मंच पर पहुंचने पर मैंने पाया कि ध्रुपद केंद्र के गायक अपने निर्धारित स्थल पर नहीं थे, उन्हें श्लोक-गायन करना था. इसलिए आयोजकीय चतुराई से मैं गायन के कार्यक्रम को छोड़ कर आगे बढ़ गया . राज्यपाल महोदय स्वागत भाषण करने लगे. इस बीच इंदिरा जी ने मुझे बुलाया और कहा कि श्लोक-गायन क्यों नहीं हुआ ? मैंने बताया कि गायकवृंद नहीं पहुंचा है. वह तपाक से बोलीं, 'कहीं पुलिस ने तो नहीं रोक लिया ?' मैं निरुत्तर रहा. मुख्यमंत्री अर्जुन सिंह ने यह कह कर बात संभाली कि उन्हे बाहर से आना था. लेकिन तभी ध्रुपद गायक (जिन्हें सचमुच पुलिस ने ही रोक दिया था) पहुंचे और ससंकोच अपने निर्धारित स्थान पर बैठ गये. इंदिरा जी ने उन्हें और मुझे फौरन बुलाया और कहा कि अब उनका गायन रखा जाये. मैंने हलका-सा प्रतिरोध करने की कोशिश की कि 'स्वस्तिवाचन आरंभ में रहता, तो अच्छा लगता. अब बीच में...' इंदिरा जी ने बात काटते हुए कहा कि 'रखिए, अब भी अच्छा लगेगा.'

उद्घाटन के लिए अपने लिखित भाषण को उन्होंने दरकिनार कर दिया. भारत भवन की उन्होंने मुक्त कंठ से प्रशंसा की और कहा कि ऐसा कुछ तो दिल्ली में भी नहीं है. अपनी एकछत्र निरंकुशता'और 'एकाधिपत्य'के लिए बदनाम इंदिरा गांधी ने यह भी कहा कि भोपाल अब देश की सांस्कृतिक राजधानी बनता जा रहा है. शायद यह पहला अवसर था, जब किसी प्रधानमंत्री ने अपनी राजनीतिक राजधानी से अलग किसी स्थान को देश की संस्कृति की राजधानी करार देने का उदार साहस दिखाया हो. कहा जाता है कि आसानी से इंदिरा जी किसी की प्रशंसा नहीं करती थीं. हमारा अनुभव इसके ठीक विपरीत रहा. दो या तीन दिन बाद ही दिल्ली में कांग्रेस संसदीय दल की बैठक में उन्होंने भारत भवन का जिक्र किया.

उद्घाटन के दो-तीन दिन बाद ही अर्जुन सिंह भारत भवन के स्थायित्व के बारे में चिंतित हुए. उनकी चिंता थी कि इस संस्थान को, जो दरअसल उन्हीं के सबल और संस्कृतिप्रेमी नेतृत्व के भरपूर समर्थन से संभव हो पाया, राजनीति और नौकरशाही के हस्तक्षेप से मुक्त रखने का तुरंत बंदोबस्त होना चाहिए. उनका दिमाग इस बारे में बिलकुल साफ था कि भारत भवन को सरकारी विभाग के रूप में नहीं चलाया जा सकता. 15 फरवरी को ही उन्होंने इस बारे में मुझे तुरंत कुछ करने को कहा. समारोह में एकत्र कलाकार-समुदाय इस सिलसिले में उत्सुक था और मैंने श्री सिंह को बताया कि ट्रस्ट बना कर ऐसा किया जा सकता है. उनकी अनुमति से मैंने इस सुझाव को पुपुल जयकर तक पहुंचा कर प्रधानमंत्री जी का समर्थन प्राप्त करने का प्रस्ताव किया. श्रीमती जयकर ने इंदिरा जी से बात की और उन्होंने तुरंत इस सुझाव को अपनी स्वीकृति दे दी. कुल छह-सात महीने के अंदर ही भारत भवन एक ट्रस्ट के रूप में गठित हो गया, जिसके कुल ग्यारह ट्रस्टियों में से नौ का राष्ट्रीय ख्याति-प्राप्त कलाकार होना अनिवार्य है. लगभग चार करोड़ रुपये की संपत्ति और एक प्रतिष्ठित संस्थान का इस तरह बिना किसी बंधन या शर्त के सरकार द्वारा कलाकार समुदाय को सौंपे जाने का यह उदाहरण भारत में शायद अकेला ही है.

जब ट्रस्ट बनाये जाने की कार्रवाई चल ही रही थी, तब प्रधानमंत्री सचिवालय ने दो-तीन व्यक्तियों की एक समिति गठित की, जिसे लोकनृत्य के विकास के लिए राष्ट्रीय लोक नृत्य निधि को कोई योजना सुझाना था. मैं भी इस समिति का सदस्य था. शांता गांधी और अन्य ने मिल कर एक प्रारूप बनाया , जो इंदिरा जी के समक्ष रखा गया. उन्होंने कहा कि वह इस पर समिति के सदस्यों से चर्चा करना चाहेंगी. हम लोग दिल्ली बुलाये गये. उन्होंने अपनी यथार्थबुद्धि से कहा कि योजना तो ठीक है, पर दूरदराज इलाकों में जब प्रस्तावित केंद्र बनेंगे, तो उनकी वही गति नहीं होगी,जो अन्य ग्रामीण संस्थाओं की हैं, इसकी क्या गारंटी है ? हम लगभग निरुत्तर थे. तय हुआ कि संबंधित क्षेत्र के विशेषज्ञों से विस्तृत बातचीत करके ही इसे अंतिम रूप दिया जाये. इस बीच चाय आ गयी और बात इधर-उधर की होने लगी. उन्होंने भवन के बारे में पूछा. मैंने उन्हें ट्रस्ट के बारे में बताया, तो वह बोलीं, 'जब आपके मुख्यमंत्री यह चाहते हैं, तो आधी लड़ाई तो आपने जीत ली है.' मैंने कहा कि फिर भी और धनराशि की जरूरत पड़ेगी. वह तपाक से बोलीं, 'जरूर सरकार भी देगी. आप एक नोट दे जाइए.'

सम्मान समारोह को ले कर विधानसभा में विरुद्ध एक विशेषाधिकार प्रस्ताव आया था. अनेक कलाकार-बंधु उससे बहुत उद्विग्न हुए. शांता जी को जाने कहां से अचानक यह खबर आ गयी और उन्होंने कहा कि 'इंदिरा जी, जो अच्छा काम करे, उसके पीछे आपकी ही पुलिस लोग पड़ जाते हैं.' इंदिरा जी हैरान हो कर बोलीं 'तुम किसकी बात कर रही हो, शांता ?' शुरू जी ने मेरा नाम लिया. तब इंदिरा जी खोद-खोद कर मुझसे पूछती रहीं और सब जान कर बोलीं कि मुझे एक नोट दे जाइए. बैठक समाप्त हुई जब हम चलने लगे, तो फिर बोलीं, 'वाजपेयी जी, नोट देना भूल मत जाइएगा.'

मध्यप्रदेश में हो रहे सांस्कृतिक कार्य को ले कर कई लोग जब-तब दुखी, नाराज रहते थे जो अब भी होते रहते हैं. उनमें से कुछ राजनेताओं के माध्यम से इंदिरा जी तक यह शिकायत अक्सर पहुंचाते रहे कि मध्यप्रदेश में संस्कृति की आड़ में कम्युनिस्टों को बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है और चुन-चुन कर लेखकों और बुद्धिजीवियों को सम्मान और समर्थन दिया जा रहा है, जो इंदिरा-विरोधी हैं. शमशेर बहादुर सिंह, निर्मल वर्मा को सृजनपीठ पर लाने,नागार्जुन के कविता संग्रह खरीदने, भवानी प्रसाद मिश्र को शिखर सम्मान देने आदि की शिकायतें की गयीं. रस्मी तौर पर ऐसी शिकायतें कभी-कभार प्रधानमंत्री सचिवालय से टिप्पणी के लिए आती रहीं, लेकिन कभी ऐसा कोई संकेत नहीं मिला कि इंदिरा जी पर इन बातों का कोई प्रभाव पड़ा हो. राजनीति के क्षेत्र में भले ही वह जब-तब अपने विरोधियों के प्रति असहिष्णु रही हों, संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में वह बराबर उदार और सहिष्णु थीं.

निजी अनुभवों के इस सिलसिले के बाद मैं सोचता हूं कि इंदिरा गांधी का संस्कृति प्रेम जनसंपर्क का परिष्कृत संस्करण नहीं था. अगर वह स्वामीनाथन, रामकुमार की चित्र प्रदर्शनियों में या कारंत और हबीब तनवीर के नाटकों में जाती थीं या अमरीका में सूसान सानटेग से मिली थीं या गाब्रियल मारवेज को निजी अतिथि बनाती थीं, तो यह किसी गहरी आसक्ति का ही प्रतिफलन था.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digi...

उन्हें भारतीय भाषाओं से प्यार था

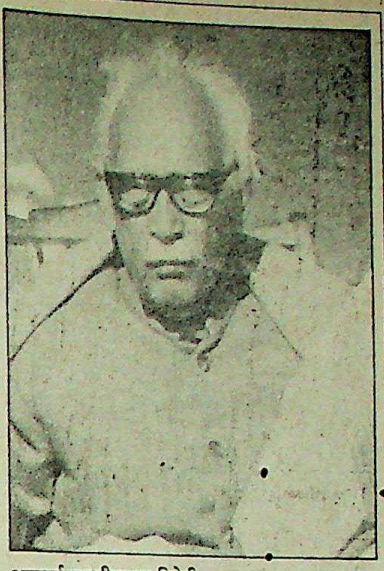
जितेंद्र प्रसाद

राजनीति की धक्कमपेल में कुछ बातें अकसर पीछे छूट जाती हैं. भारतीय भाषाओं खासकर हिंदी के प्रति इंदिरा जी के रुख के बारे में बहुत कम लोगों को मालूम है. हम लोग जब भी स्वर्गीया प्रधानमंत्री का जिक्र करते हैं, तो बातचीत सिर्फ राजनीति और उनकी राजनीतिक सफलताओं के इर्द-गिर्द अटकी रहती है. जबकि यह भी सच है कि अपनी समस्त व्यस्तताओं के बावजूद वे देशी भाषाओं के प्रचार-प्रसार पर काफी जोर देती थीं. अपने इस प्यार का परिचय उन्होंने 1964 में ही दिया था, जब वे शास्त्री मंत्रिमंडल में सूचना एवं प्रसारण मंत्री बनी थीं. उन्होंने पद संभालते ही आकाशवाणी के हिंदी कार्यक्रमों में व्यक्तिगत दिलचस्पी लेना शुरू किया था. आकाशवाणी से लोकभाषाओं के प्रसार के लिए श्रीमती गांधी ने पहले से चली आ रही रूढ़िवादी परंपरा को तोड़ा.

अगर हम लोग याद करें, तो पायेंगे कि मलयाली, बंगाली, पंजाबी, गुजराती, उड़िया, मराठी या हिंदी के कवियों-लेखकों के प्रति सरकारी जागरूकता की शुरुआत इंदिरा जी की ही देन थी. उन्होंने हर भारतीय भाषा के विकास के लिए भिन्न-भिन्न अकादमियों को प्रोत्साहित किया. भोपाल का भारत भवन उनके इसी प्यार की देन है. मुझे याद है कि जब कभी भी कोई वरिष्ठ कवि या लेखक बीमार होता था और जब उनको पता चलता था , तो वे खुद या अपने सहयोगियों को भेज कर संबंधित व्यक्ति के संबंध में पता करती थीं. जब फिराक गोरखपुरी बीमार हो कर दिल्ली आये, तो उन्होंने अपने एक स्टाफ की ड्यूटी उनके पास लगायी थी. वे रोज फिराक साहब को देखने जाते थे और उनकी तबीयत के हालचाल प्रधानमंत्री को बताते थे. हिंदी के विख्यात विद्वान डॉ. हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी को जब बेहोशी की अवस्था मे आयुर्विज्ञान संस्थान,दिल्ली लाया गया, तो श्रीमती गांधी अकसर उनके बारे में पता करने अस्पताल आती थीं. उनकी मृत्यु के बाद उनके शव के दाह-संस्कार के समय भी वे पूरे समय उपस्थित रहीं. कम लोगों को ही मालूम होगा कि इंदिरा जी कभी-कभार नाराज हो जाने पर भी हिंदी प्रेस का बेहद खयाल करती थीं. उनके जितने अच्छे रिश्ते हिंदी अखबारों के संपादकों से थे, किसी से नहीं थे.

विश्व हिंदी सम्मेलन की कल्पना स्वयं इंदिरा जी की थी. वे मंत्रालयों को अकसर आदेश देती थीं कि अधिकारी अधिक-से-अधिक काम हिंदी मे करें. इंदिरा जी ने ही मंत्रालयों मे और बैंकों में हिंदी अधिकारियों की नियुक्तियां करायी थीं. इस फैसले से हिंदी को तो लाभ पहुंचा ही, हिंदी भाषी

श्रीकांत वर्मा को 'शिखर सम्मान' से अलंकृत करते हुए श्रीमती गांधी



आचार्य हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी

और हिंदी के जानकार लड़के-लड़कियों को बड़ी संख्या में रोजगार भी मिला. 1983-84 मे श्रीमती गांधी ने सभी बैंकों के अध्यक्षों को एक पत्र लिख कर पूछा था कि राजभाषा की प्रगति की दिशा में आपके यहां क्या-क्या कार्य किये गये हैं. इस पत्र का तात्कालिक प्रभाव पड़ा, विभिन्न बैंकों के अध्यक्षों ने अपने मातहतों से पूछताछ की व राजभाषा संबंधी कार्यों को प्राथमिकता देने का निर्देश दिया. इंदिरा जी के ही शासनकाल में रेल मंत्रालय में पूरा एक हिंदी विभाग खुला, जिसमें निदेशक का पद भी था. इस एक विभाग से रेल मंत्रालय मे हिंदी के कार्य मे काफी प्रगति हुई.

लेकिन उनके हिंदी प्रेम के कारण अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं को कभी नुकसान नहीं हुआ, बल्कि उन्होंने क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को प्रोत्साहित करने के लिए अनेक कदम उठाये. 1977-80 तक केंद्र में रही जनता पार्टी की सरकार की नीति हिंदी सहित सभी भारतीय भाषाओं के प्रति अस्पष्ट रही. इंदिरा जी का अगाध हिंदी प्रेम कभी भी दक्षिण भारतीयों के मन में संदेह के बीज न उगा सका. इसके विपरीत जनता पार्टी की भूमिका रही. इंदिरा जी ने हिंदी और अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं के विकास के लिए जो कार्यक्रम चलाये थे, जनता शासन में उनकी उपेक्षा हुई. रेल मंत्रालय का हिंदी निदेशालय पंगु बन गया. इस सरकार में नेता गुहार हिंदी की लगाते थे और उनके सभी मंत्रालयों मे हिंदी की हत्या हो रही थी. इस गाल बजानेवाली नीति से दक्षिण भारतीयों का हिंदीप्रेमियों के प्रति शक बढ़ा. जबकि उन दिनों दक्षिण से जीत कर आयी इंदिरा जी को इन लोगों ने कभी शक की निगाह से नहीं देखा, क्योंकि वे जानते थे कि वे सभी भारतीय भाषाओं से प्यार करती थीं. अपने इस प्यार और हिंदी प्रेम को वे कभी व्यर्थ इजहार नहीं करती थीं. □

CC-0. Bhagavad P...

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

उनकी ममता आज मेरी सबसे बड़ी धरोहर है

अमिताभ बच्चन

जब भी किसी व्यक्ति से आपकी घनिष्ठता हो जाती है, तो आप घटनाओं को याद रखना भूल जाते हैं, क्योंकि आप उस व्यक्ति से हमेशा मिलते रहते हैं और आपके जेहन में घटनाओं का अंबार होता है. अगर कल को वह कोई विख्यात व्यक्ति हो जाये, तो आपकी समझ में नहीं आयेगा कि कौन-सी घटना याद रखें. अगर घनिष्ठता नहीं है, तो ऐसे व्यक्ति से हर मुलाकात एक ऐतिहासिक मुलाकात हो जाती है.

इंदिरा जी से मेरी पहली मुलाकात की याद बहुत धुंधली -सी है. बाबूजी का ट्रांसफर विदेश मंत्रालय में हुआ था और हम दिल्ली आ गये थे. उसी दौरान हम तीन मूर्ति भवन में गये थे और तभी हमारी पहली मुलाकात हुई थी. उस वक्त की ज्यादा बातें तो याद नहीं हैं. मैं छोटा ही था, लिहाजा संजय और राजीव के साथ खेलने बाहर चला गया था. बाबूजी और माताजी वहां रहे. मेरी जो भी यादें हैं, वह ज्यादातर राजीव और संजय के साथ. हां, इंदिरा जी के साथ बाबूजी और माताजी का बहुत पुराना संबंध था.

मेरी तो संजय और राजीव से खूब दोस्ती थी. उस वक्त इंदिरा जी का व्यवहार हम बच्चों के साथ बिल्कुल मां का ही रहता था. हां, कुछ चीजों के बारे में वह बहुत सख्त थीं— जैसे अनुशासन के बारे में. ऐसे भी अनुशासन उन्हें पसंद था. इसी वजह से उन्होंने बच्चों के खेलने, पढ़ने, सोने का समय तय कर दिया था. वह इस बात पर बहुत जोर देती थीं कि दोपहर में बच्चों को एक-आध घंटे सोना चाहिए. मुझे याद है कि एक बार हम दोपहर के वक्त खेलने चले गये थे, तो हमें फौरन वापस भेज दिया गया और बताया गया कि यह सोने का वक्त है और जब सोने का वक्त खत्म हो जाये, तो हम खेलने के लिए आयें. शाम को पढ़ाई का वक्त तय था. दोपहर में बच्चे जो भी करते थे, उसमें इंदिरा जी बहुत रुचि लेती थीं, चाहें जितनी भी व्यस्त हों. उस समय तो खैर वह पंडित जी के साथ थीं और अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमिटी की वह अध्यक्ष भी नहीं बनी थीं. उस वक्त वह केवल पंडित जी (जवाहरलाल नेहरू) की देखरेख के लिए घर संभालती थीं. पंडित जी के मामले में काफी सतर्क रहती थीं वह.

पंडित जी दोपहर डेढ़ बजे दफ्तर से खाना खाने आते थे. इंदिरा जी का यह आदेश था कि हम बच्चे जहां कहीं भी हों, हमें डेढ़ बजे खाना खिला दिया जाये. कभी दोपहर के खाने पर डेढ़ बजे तक बच्चे नहीं पहुंचे और पंडित जी पहुंच गये, तो डांट भी पड़ती थी. रात का खाना आठ-साढ़े आठ बजे होता था. ये दो समय बंधे हुए थे. इन दो समयों पर राजीव-संजय के साथ खाने के लिए यदि मुझे बुलाया जाता था, तो यह बता दिया जाता था कि दिन या रात का खाना कितने बजे होगा और हम लोग देर न करें. हमें याद है कि कभी-कभी हम लोग तीन मूर्ति भवन के बाहर खेलने गये हुए होते थे, तो इस बात का ध्यान जरूर रखते थे कि समय पर वापस आ जाना है, अन्यथा खैर नहीं.

इंदिरा जी जब प्रधानमंत्री थीं, तब जाहिर है कि वह काफी व्यस्त रहती थीं, तब भी मैंने ऐसा कोई मौका नहीं देखा, जब बच्चों के लिए उन्होंने समय नहीं निकाला हो. न केवल देश के बच्चों के लिए, बल्कि अपने बच्चों के लिए भी. पोते-पोतियां होने के बाद भी वह अपने बच्चों की छोटी-छोटी बातों का भी ध्यान रखती थीं कि वे कौन-सा कपड़ा पहन रहे हैं, क्या खा रहे हैं, कैसे अपना जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं. अपनी व्यस्तता के बीच से उन्होंने हमेशा वक्त निकाला. हमें आश्चर्य होता था कि प्रधानमंत्री का पद संभालते हुए वह न केवल अपने बच्चों की, बल्कि अपने अन्य घनिष्ठ व्यक्तियों की छोटी-छोटी बातें भी याद रखती थीं. कभी किसी व्यक्ति से मुलाकात हुई, तो उसकी छोटी-से-छोटी और निहायत निजी बातों का जिक्र कर उसे आश्चर्यचकित कर देती थीं. प्रियजनों की छोटी-छोटी समस्याएं भी उन्हें मालूम रहती थीं और चाहे वह व्यक्ति तीन चार साल बाद ही क्यों न मिले, वह उसकी समस्या भूलती नहीं थीं. इंदिरा जी के चर्चा करने पर वह व्यक्ति भी आश्चर्यचकित रह जाता था कि इंदिरा जी को ये बातें याद कैसे रहती थीं.

इस सिलसिले में एक और बात याद आती है. मेरी दुर्घटना के बाद जब वह मुझसे मिलने बंबई आयीं, तो पूरे देश को बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ. [illegible] इसलिए कि मैं फिल्मी दुनिया में आ गया था और 1983 में एक फिल्म अभिनेता के रूप में बहुत ख्याति थी. यही वजह थी कि जब देश की प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी मुझसे मिलने आये, तो यह बहुत बड़ी खबर हो गयी. लोगों को लगा कि ऐसा पहली बार हुआ है. लेकिन यह पहला मौका नहीं था. बचपन में जब मैं बीमार हो जाता था, या चोट लग जाती थी, तो वह इसी तरह आती थीं. मुझे अब भी है, मैं 13 विलिंग्डन क्रिसेंट में रहता था और पांव एक बार जल गया था, तो वह ऐसे ही अचानक चली आयीं. पैदल चल कर आयीं तीन मूर्ति भवन से और चार-पांच घंटे बैठी रहीं ऐसे ही मेरा मन बहलाने के लिए इधर-उधर की बातें करती रही थीं. तो यह उनकी बहुत पुरानी आदत थी. न केवल अपने मित्रों के साथ, बल्कि ऐसे लोगों के साथ भी, जिनसे उनका थोड़ा परिचय भी होता था, वह ऐसे ही पेश आती थीं. उन्हें भी दुख में देख कर वह सीधे पहुंच जाती थीं. श्रीमती गांधी को मैं जितना जानता हूं, उसके पूरे विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूं कि अगर मुझे कोई ख्याति नहीं भी होती और मैं बीमार होता, तो भी वह अवश्य मिलने आतीं. इसकी एक वजह शायद यह है कि उनमें एक मां का दिल था.

लेकिन मुश्किल की घड़ी में इस मां ने अपने जबरदस्त हिम्मत का भी परिचय दिया. संजय गांधी की मृत्यु के समय इंदिरा जी की इस हिम्मतपरस्ती को पूरे देश ने देखा. इसकी वजह शायद यह भी थी कि श्रीमती गांधी न केवल संजय की मां थीं, बल्कि वह इस देश की भी माता थीं. यह भी एक विडंबना ही है कि इस तरह के जो सार्वजनिक महत्व के लोग होते हैं, उनके लिए अपनी व्यक्तिगत भावनाओं को कई बार व्यक्त कर पाना बहुत मुश्किल होता है. यह सोच कर कि जो व्यक्ति देश का नेतृत्व कर रहा है, वह यदि टूट जाये, तो आम देशवासी क्या समझेंगे. ऐसे लोगों के लिए यह परीक्षा की घड़ी होती है. मैंने देखा है कि ऐसे समय में न केवल श्रीमती गांधी ने, बल्कि राजीव गांधी ने भी अत्यंत ही धैर्य का परिचय दिया है. मुझे यह कहने में बिल्कुल संकोच नहीं है कि अगर हम राजीव गांधी को इंदिरा जी के शव के पास खड़े हो कर फूट-फूट कर रोते देखते, तो उनके बारे में हमारा और देश का जो विचार है, वह कुछ और होता. उस वक्त राजीव गांधी के धैर्य और दृढ़ता को देख कर हम सबको एक शक्ति मिली. मुझे लगता है कि जो दृढ़ता इंदिरा गांधी ने संजय की मौत के समय दिखलायी, वही राजीव ने अपनी मां की चिता के पास दिखलायी. हां, यह सोचना गलत होगा कि

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टिंकू को दुलार

रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

इंदिरा जी के पास एक मां का दिल नहीं था और एकांत में भी उन्होंने इसी तरह का व्यवहार किया होगा.

मुझे याद है कि जब हवाई दुर्घटना के बाद संजय का ऑपरेशन हो रहा था, उस वक्त भी वह अस्पताल के गलियारे में चंद्रशेखर से मिलीं और कहा कि 'भाई, असम में बहुत गड़बड़ हो रही है, हमें कुछ करना चाहिए'. यह सुन कर चंद्रशेखर ने कहा कि 'इंदिरा जी, ये बातें आप बाद में कीजिएगा, अभी तो हमें बताइए कि संजय जी कैसे हैं.' मैंने एक इंटरव्यू में इस बात का उल्लेख किया था, तो उस पर लोगों ने मुझ पर टिप्पणी की थी कि इंदिरा जी से घनिष्ठता दिखलाने के लिए मैं डींग मार रहा हूं. पर यह सब कहने के पीछे मेरा उद्देश्य इंदिरा जी से अपनी घनिष्ठता का बोध कराना नहीं है, बल्कि यह सब मैं इसलिए कह रहा था कि इसके जरिये एक व्यक्ति के चरित्र को बता सकूं कि किस तरह वैसे कठिन समय में इंदिरा जी देश के बारे में सोच रही थीं. सच तो यह है कि उनकी ममता आज मेरी सबसे बड़ी धरोहर है.

जब इंदिरा जी की मृत्यु हुई तो मैं राजीव जी को लेने एअरपोर्ट गया था. मैं उनकी गाड़ी में बैठ कर आया था. रास्ते में उन्होंने दो बार काफिला रोका. बेटे की तो यही इच्छा होती है कि जल्दी से जल्दी अपनी मां के पास पहुंचे, लेकिन उन्होंने देश की स्थिति के बारे में सलाह-मशविरा करने के लिए दो बार काफिला रोका. पीछे बलराम जाखड़ और अरुण नेहरू आ रहे थे. उनके साथ उन्होंने बातचीत की कि किस तरह क्या करना चाहिए. उस वक्त भी वह देश की स्थिति के बारे में चिंतित दिखाई दे रहे थे. जब गाड़ी ऑल इंडिया मेडिकल इंस्टीट्यूट के सामने आयी, तो वहां जनता की अपार भीड़ इकट्ठा थी. वहां से जब हमारी गाड़ी जा रही थी, तो उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि अभी-अभी कलकत्ता से आ रहा हूं, वहां पर मुझे एक औरत ने कहा कि तुम्हारी बीमारी के लिए वह दवाई भेजेगी. आप अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं कि यह बात ऑल इंडिया मेडिकल इंस्टीट्यूट के ठीक बाहर हुई. यह सब मैं राजीव गांधी से अपनी निकटता जाहिर करने के लिए नहीं बता रहा, बल्कि यह बताने के लिए कि इस व्यक्ति में कितना आत्मविश्वास है और ऐसे समय में भी वह अपने मित्रों का खयाल रख सकता है.

मई में मैं बीमार हुआ था और विदेश गया. छह महीने के बाद वापस आया था और जिस दिन मैं लौटा उसके अगले दिन इंदिरा जी की हत्या हुई. यानी इतने दिन हमारी मुलाकात नहीं हुई थी. दो बार सिर्फ फोन पर बात हुई थी. मैं लॉस एंजिल्स अस्पताल में था. उन्होंने फोन किया था मेरे बारे में पूछने के लिए और उस समय इंदिरा जी से मेरी आखिरी बात हुई थी. कुछ लोग यह भी कहते हैं कि मैं इंदिरा जी की सिफारिशी चिट्ठी ले कर बंबई गया था, तब मुझे बंबई में नौकरी मिली. पर वे लोग शायद इस बात को नहीं जानते कि बंबई की फिल्म इंडस्ट्री में भगवान की सिफारिशी चिट्ठी पर भी काम नहीं मिल सकता. इंदिरा जी को मालूम था कि मेरी फिल्मों में रुचि थी. बंबई जाने के पहले उन्होंने पूछा था कि क्या करने जा रहे हो, कैसे कर रहे हो. बस.

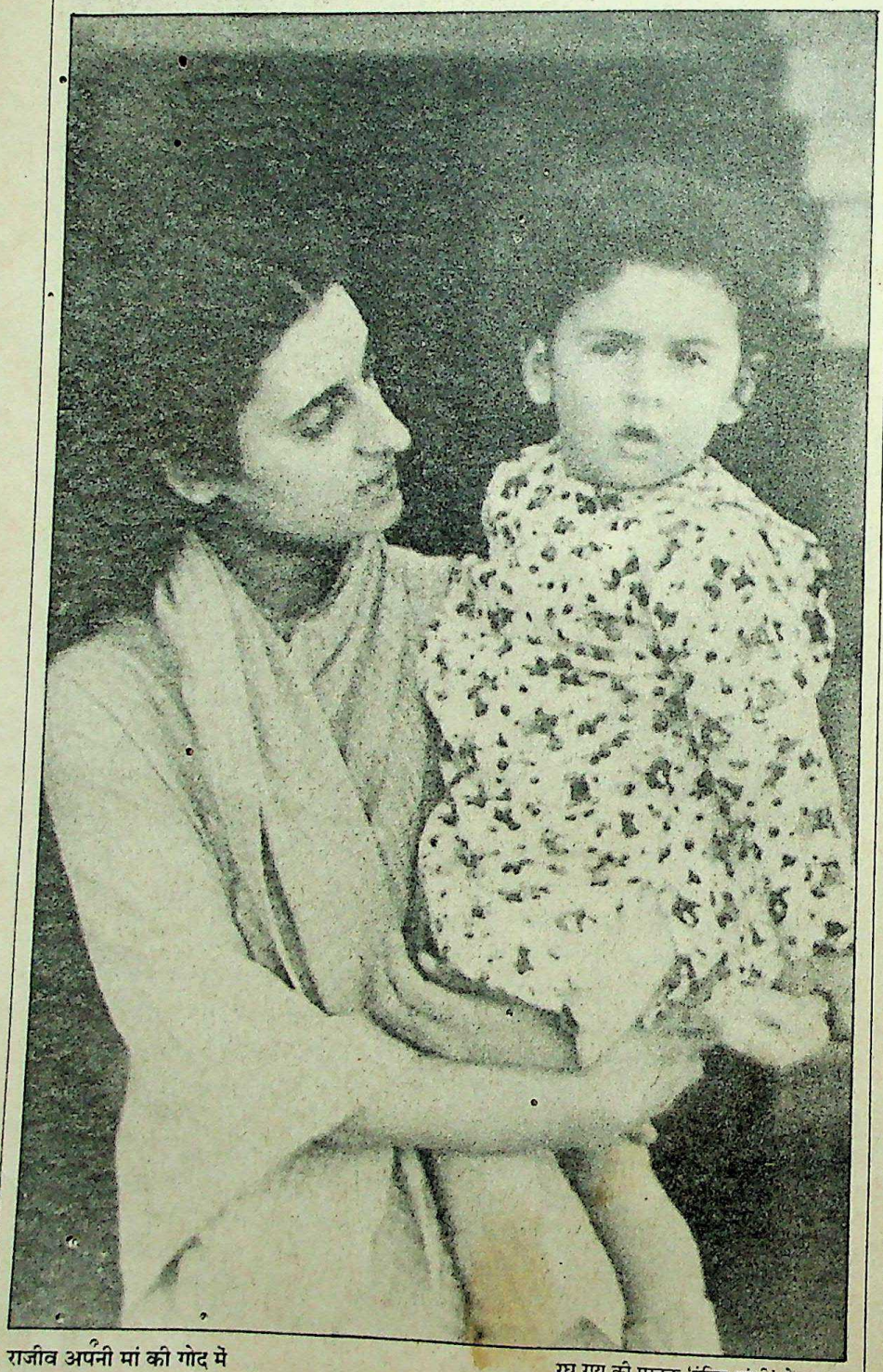
मैं एक बात तो बिल्कुल भूल नहीं पाता. हम लोग पिछले साल 30 अक्तूबर को विदेश से भारत लौटे थे. उसी रात हम लोग प्रधानमंत्री के यहां मिलने गये थे. तब राजीव जी भी कलकत्ते में थे और इंदिरा जी भी बाहर थीं. घर में सोनिया जी थीं. मैं जब भी विदेश जाताथा, तो इंदिरा जी के लिए एक छोटा-सा उपहार लाता था. वह अगले दिन सुबह आ रही थीं. मैंने सोनिया जी से कहा कि उनके बिस्तर पर उपहार रख दे रहा हूं, वह सुबह देख लेंगी. और हम लोग घर आ गये. रात में नींद नहीं आ रही थी. हम लोग ऐसे ही तीन-चार बजे तक बातचीत करते रहे. सुबह साढ़े 9 बजे माताजी ने आ कर मुझे जगाया और कहा कि ऐसा हो गया, मैं तो सीधे उठ कर वहीं भागा.

CC-0. Bhagavad Pa

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

मैंने जो उपहार उनके बिस्तर पर रखा था, उसके बारे में उन्हें बता दिया गया था. पर उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं एक टी. वी. इंटरव्यू के लिए जा रही हूं, लौट के आती हूं तो खोलूंगी. वह उपहार कभी नहीं खुला.

जहां तक सवाल श्रीमती गांधी की राजनीतिक शैली का है, उसके बारे में मुझे ज्यादा ज्ञान नहीं है, क्योंकि उस समय मुझे राजनीति में रुचि नहीं थी और न ही मुझे इसका तनिक भी भान था कि मैं राजनीति में आऊंगा. क्योंकि मुझे राजनीति आती नहीं थी. इंदिरा जी राजनीति में किस तरह काम करती थीं, उसका अनुमान मुझे तब लगा, जब मैं खुद राजनीति में आया. तब मुझे इसका एहसास हुआ कि इंदिरा जी किस हद तक और कितनी दूरी तक इस देश के लोगों के दिलोदिमाग में छायी हुई थीं. सिर्फ इलाहाबाद जैसे छोटे-से चुनाव क्षेत्र में ही घूमते हुए मुझे गांव-गांव , कस्बे-कस्बे में उनका नाम जपते हुए लोग मिले.



राजीव अपनी मां की गोद में

रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

इस दौरान मैं देश की समस्याओं से रूबरू हुआ तब मुझे आश्चर्य भी हुआ और गर्व भी कि मेरी की यह नेता इस देश को कैसे चला रही है. सिर्फ एक छोटे-से गांव की समस्याओं को ले हैरान हो गया. मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि किसकी बात सुनूं, कैसे इनकी समस्याओं का समाधान करूं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू और इंदिरा गांधी ने कैसे इस पूरे देश को संभाला, इसे एक रखा ! मेरे अंदर इन लोगों के प्रति जो श्रद्धा थी वह इस दौरान और बढ़ी.

अब यही आश्चर्य मुझे राजीव जी को देख कर होता है, क्योंकि मैंने तो बचपन से ले कर जवानी तक अपना ढेर सारा वक्त उनके साथ बिताया है. साथ खेले-कूदे हैं. राजनीति में प्रवेश मुझसे तीन साल पहले ही हुआ. राजनीति में वह जिस तरह आये, उनकी मानसिक स्थिति उनकी रुचियां, सोच—वह मैं जानता हूं. इसलिए मुझे उनसे प्रेरणा मिलती है. मैं अगर किसी दुविधा में पड़ता हूं, तो सबसे पहले मैं सोचता कि प्रधानमंत्री भाई राजीव जी किस तरह इस समस्या से निबटते हैं, क्योंकि उनकी स्थिति मुझसे थोड़ी-सी ही बेहतर है. वह मुझसे ज्यादा दूर हैं, क्योंकि वह मुझसे तीन साल ही सीनियर हैं और तीन साल पहले उनकी जो स्थिति थी, वह वैसी ही थी, जैसी मेरी अब है. इसलिए मैं तो प्रेरणा उनसे ही लेता हूं. जब मैं देखता हूं कि वह इतनी सफलता से आगे चले जा रहे हैं, तो मुझे भी प्रयत्न करना चाहिए. मुझे भी निराश नहीं होना चाहिए. मुझे अकसर निराशा होती है, क्योंकि मुझे तो यह काम आता नहीं है. मैं नया हूं, केवल प्रयत्न कर सकता हूं और प्रयत्न के लिए कहीं-न-कहीं से प्रेरणा मिलनी चाहिए. कोई चाहे तो इसे चमचागीरी कह सकता है, लेकिन यह सच है. जब मैं बहुत ज्यादा फंस जाता हूं, तो मैं खुद उनके पास सलाह लेने जाता हूं. ऐसी स्थिति में या तो वह खुद बताते हैं, या किसी के पास भेज देते हैं या मैं खुद कुछ और लोगों से मिलता हूं. मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो सबसे बड़ी चीज देश के हित में है, वह है राजीव गांधी की उम्र.

मेरे खयाल से हिंदुस्तान में यह पहला प्रधानमंत्री है, जो आज से 20 साल आगे सोच सकता है. कोई अन्य प्रधानमंत्री 20 साल आगे की बात नहीं सोच सकता था, क्योंकि इसके पहले उसके मन में यह खयाल आता होगा कि वह 20 साल बाद जिंदा रहेगा या नहीं. इसमें राजीव जी को कितनी कामयाबी मिलेगी, इसका पता किसी को नहीं है. हां, हम यही प्रार्थना कर सकते हैं कि भगवान उनको चिरायु बनाये और जिस तरफ वह देश को ले जाना चाहते हैं, उन्हें सफलता मिले. □

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digi

मध्यप्रदेश से उन्हें गहरा लगाव था

मोतीलाल वोरा

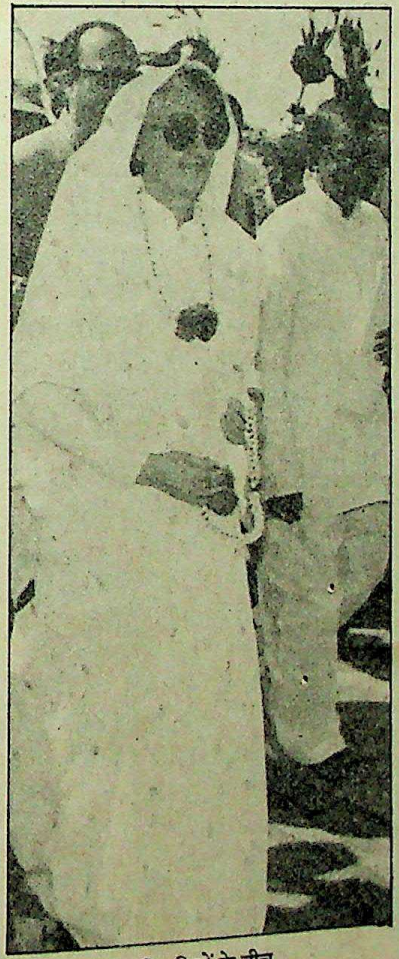
इंदिरा गांधी को मध्यप्रदेश से बड़ा अनुराग था. उन्होंने इस प्रदेश की 21 बार यात्रा की और प्रदेश के सभी अंचलों में गयीं. वह हमेशा प्रदेश की छोटी-छोटी समस्याओं के बारे में सोचती थीं, बात करती थीं और जहां भी हमें कोई दिक्कत आती थी वह कोई-न-कोई उपाय जरूर सुझाती थीं. चाहे इस प्रदेश के आदिवासियों का प्रश्न हो, हरिजनों का प्रश्न हो, समाज के कमजोर तबकों का मसला हो, इन सबके प्रति उनमें अनंत संवेदनशीलता थी, समय था, दृष्टि थी और वह असीम धैर्य था, जिससे समस्याओं को सही परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखा और सुलझाया जा सकता है.

विकास के सवालों को लें, तो इस पूरे प्रदेश की अनंत संभावनाओं को वह जानती थीं और हमेशा इस बात से परेशान रहती थीं कि हम उतनी तेजी से वह सब कुछ क्यों नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, जो करने में हम समर्थ हैं. उन्होंने प्रधानमंत्री सचिवालय में मध्यप्रदेश के लिए एक विशेष प्रकोष्ठ बनाया, जो लगातार हमारी समस्याओं का समाधान ढूंढ़ने में जुटा रहता था. उनकी व्यापक करुणा और संवेदना का सबसे अधिक विस्तार मध्यप्रदेश में ही हमें मिला.

उन्हें मध्यप्रदेश से गहरा लगाव था—यहां के लोगों से, आदिवासियों से, यहां के स्मारकों से. प्रदेश के बीहड़ चंबल से ले कर अबूझमाड़ तक हर जगह स्मृतिचिह्न हमारी धरोहर हैं. प्रदेश में कई विकास योजनाओं की नींव उन्होंने अपने हाथों रखी. वह कालिदास और शिखर सम्मान देने भोपाल आयीं. भारत-भवन का उद्घाटन किया.

श्रीमती गांधी 24 जनवरी 1966 को प्रधानमंत्री बनीं थीं. 1958-59 में वह कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष रह चुकी थीं, और कई मौकों पर उन्होंने नेहरू जी के निर्णयों को प्रभावित किया था, लेकिन तब तक किसी को अंदाजा भी नहीं था कि वह कितने तूफानों का सामना कर सकती हैं, वह जिस साल प्रधानमंत्री बनीं, वह बीसवीं सदी में भारत के सबसे बड़े अकाल का वर्ष था. 1899 के बाद ऐसा सूखा कभी नहीं पड़ा था, जैसा कि 1966-68 में पड़ा, लेकिन भारत में अकाल से लोग नहीं मरे. उनकी सहायता से मध्यप्रदेश भी इस संकट से सफलतापूर्वक उबरा. 1943 के बंगाल के अकाल जैसा हादसा कहीं नहीं हुआ.

यों जिन चुनौतियों के साथ उन्होंने बागडोर संभाली थी, वे कमोबेश आज भी भारत के सामने हैं. लेकिन हमें विश्वास है कि आगामी वर्षों में हम उनके दिखाये रास्ते पर चल कर इन पर अवश्य काबू पा सकेंगे. अपने प्रधानमंत्रित्व के सोलह वर्षों में वह अपने सिद्धांतों से कभी नहीं डिगीं. लोग कहते रहे कि वह तानाशाह हैं, लेकिन उनके जमाने में भारत में लोकतंत्र और भी सुपुष्ट हुआ. उन्होंने न सिर्फ लोकतंत्र को कायम रखा, बल्कि भारत की समृद्धि को लोकव्यापी बनाने के लगातार प्रयास किये, ताकि यह सिर्फ एक करोड़ या पचास लाख हिंदुस्तानियों के भोग की वस्तु न बन जाये. दलितों और दरिद्रों ने उन्हें मसीहा के रूप में देखा.



मध्यप्रदेश के आदिवासियों के बीच

जब वह अमरकंटक आयीं थीं, तो उन्होंने इस प्रदेश के आदिवासियों के बारे में कहा था कि मुझको आदिवासी भाइयों और बहनों से बहुत प्यार है और मुझे हमेशा उनकी चिंता रही है कि उनका जीवन कुछ सुखमय हो, उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान हो और जिस धरती पर वे रहते हैं, उसका लाभ उनको हो. साथ ही उनकी जो अपनी सभ्यता है, पुरानी परंपरा है, वह खो न जाये.'

भीकनगांव की सभा में उन्होंने कहा था, 'समाज में अभी भी बहुत अन्याय हो रहा है. बहुत-सी गलतफहमियां फैली हुई हैं, अंधविश्वास हैं और कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि ऊंच-नीच की पुरानी सामाजिक परंपरा चलती रहेगी, तो शायद उनको और दूसरों को लाभ हो. असलियत यह है कि इससे किसी को भी लाभ नहीं होता है. सबसे गरीब लोगों को भी नहीं. जब देश का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा होगा, तभी मध्य वर्ग और निर्धन तबके के लोगों को आगे बढ़ने के ज्यादा मौके मिलेंगे.'

'श्रीमती गांधी को मध्य प्रदेश के आर्थिक और औद्योगिक विकास में गहरी दिलचस्पी थी. सीधी जिले में 1260 मेगावाट क्षमता के सुपर ताप बिजली घर का शिलान्यास 1982 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने किया. इसी वर्ष उन्होंने 121 करोड़ रुपये लागत की मलाजखंड तांबा परियोजना राष्ट्र को समर्पित की और विरसिंगपुर में संजय ताप बिजली घर का शिलान्यास किया.

1984 में उन्होंने बंबई हाई गैस पर आधारित उर्वरक कारखाने का गुना जिले के विजयपुर नामक स्थान पर शिलान्यास किया. उन्होंने इसी वर्ष संयुक्त क्षेत्र में झाबुआ जिले के मेघनगर में लगनेवाले पालीएस्टर फाइबर कारखाने का भी शिलान्यास किया. मध्यप्रदेश की विशाल बहु देशीय परियोजना नर्मदा सागर का शिलान्यास भी उन्होंने इसी वर्ष किया. उद्योगों की स्थापना के साथ-साथ वह यह भी चाहती थीं कि मजदूरों की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाये और उन्हें न्याय मिले. वह कारखानों के प्रबंध में श्रमिकों की भागीदारी की पक्षधर थीं.

प्रदेश में कला और संस्कृति की समृद्ध विरासत को सहेजने के लिए किये गये प्रयासों की श्रीमती गांधी ने मुक्त कंठ से प्रशंसा की. उन्होंने कहा था कि संस्कृति को लोक और शास्त्रीय इन दो धाराओं में नहीं बांटा जा सकता. वह जब भी मध्यप्रदेश आतीं, किसान, मजदूर, शहर और गांवों के लोग उन्हें देखने और सुनने उमड़ पड़ते थे और इन सभी वर्गों को उनसे एक-सी आत्मीयता मिलती थी. □

CC-0. Bhagavad Ram

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

वह हरेक की बात सुनती थीं — मुहम्मद यूनुस

व्यापार मेला प्राधिकरण के अध्यक्ष का कमरा. बड़ी कुरसी के पीछे एक तसवीर टंगी है, नेहरू की. लिखा है— विद लव, नेहरू. एक और तसवीर है, इंदिरा गांधी की. लिखा है— विद फॉण्ड विशेज, इंदिरा गांधी. हां, इंदिरा गांधी को दिवंगत हुए एक साल हो रहा है और मेरे सामने बैठा पठान प्रधानमंत्री रह चुकी उसी महिला के बारे में बोल रहा है, जिसके पिता के साथ यह पठान काम कर चुका है, जिसके बेटे के साथ काम कर चुका है और उसका दोस्त भी रहा, दूसरे बेटे के साथ भी उसी ईमानदारी से जुड़ा हुआ है और नेहरू खानदान की सबसे छोटी पीढ़ी के दिल और दिमाग से भी उसी 'हम खयाल, हमनजर' की भावना से बंध चुका है. वह कोई लागलपेट नहीं दिखाता, वह कोई जबरदस्त वफादारी दिखाने की कोशिश भी करता नजर नहीं आता. चालीस-पैंतालीस साल के रिश्तों पर वह निगाह फेंकता है, जो टुकड़ों-टुकड़ों में खुलती है. यह सोचनेवाले की कल्पना पर निर्भर करता है कि वह इन टुकड़ों को अपनी समझ से रंग दे. यह पठान और कोई नहीं, मुहम्मद यूनुस ही हैं.

श्रीमती गांधी से मेरी मुलाकात पहली बार त्रिपुरी कांग्रेस में हुई थी 1937-38 की बात है. वहां पंडित नेहरू जी के कार्यसमिति के सदस्यों के लिए झोंपड़ी बनी थी और ठीक बादशाह खां कैंप के सामने पंडित जी का कैंप था. मैं बादशाह खान के साथ था और जवाहरलाल जी अपनी बहनों और इंदिरा जी के साथ. फिर वह मुलाकात आगे बढ़ी. बारदोली में कार्यसमिति की बैठक हुई, जो बहुत दिन चली. फिर उन्हीं दिनों श्रीमती गांधी इंग्लैंड गयीं, वापस आयीं. उन्हीं दिनों मैंने एक किताब लिखी—द फ्रंटियर स्पीक्स. मैंने चाहा कि पंडित जी उसकी प्रस्तावना लिखें. वे जेल में थे, उन्होंने थोड़ा-बहुत देखने के बाद वह पांडुलिपि इंदिरा जी को भेज दी और कहा कि भाई तुम पढ़ो और इसमें देख कर बताओ कि क्या कुछ है, क्योंकि यूनुस ने कहा है मुझे इसकी प्रस्तावना लिखने को. इंदिरा जी ने काफी मदद की उसमें, जहां-जहां उन्हें समझने में दिक्कत हुई, उन्होंने प्रश्न-चिह्न लगा दिया. एक जगह पर तो मैंने लिखा था कि पठान जब मरता है, तो अपने बेटे को बुला कर उसे प्यार करता है और अपनी बंदूक दे कर उसे कहता है कि बेटे, मैंने तो बड़ी कोशिश की, लेकिन अंगरेजों ने हमारे साथ जो कुछ किया, उसका बदला नहीं ले सका. खुदा तुमको हिम्मत दे, यह बंदूक तुमको देता हूं कि तुम अंगरेज को देखो और मारो—देखो और मारो, पूछो नहीं. अगर यह काम तुमने ईमानदारी से किया, तब भी तुम अपने लड़ कर मरे बाप-दादा का बदला नहीं चुका पाओगे.

यह एक तरह से हिंसा के लिए खुला आह्वान था और इन चीजों पर उन्होंने निशान लगा दिया था कि वे बड़ी खतरनाक चीजें लिखी हैं. बाद में उस किताब पर प्रतिबंध लग गया. इंदिरा जी की टिप्पणी के बाद ही पंडित जी ने प्रस्तावना लिखी और इस तरह से सालों साथ रहे. सालों इकट्ठा नहीं रहते, तो उन्हें मालूम नहीं चलता कि यूनुस का सोच क्या है, धारणा क्या है, काम करने की पृष्ठभूमि क्या है. इन सब चीजों में उनकी दिलचस्पी बहुत थी. फिर उनकी शादी हो गयी. मैं फीरोज को शादी के पहले से जानता था, दोस्त थे हम दोनों, बिल्कुल भाइयों की तरह. फिर तो उनकी शादी के बाद हमारा काम करने का, मिल-जुल कर काम करने का, सिलसिला बढ़ता ही गया ...

देश विभाजन के बाद मैंने तय किया कि मैं हिंदुस्तान में ही रहूंगा. यहां मेरे पास कोई जगह नहीं थी. जवाहरलाल जी के साथ आजादी से पहले घूमता रहा. वह जहां जाते, उनके साथ रहता. इलाहाबाद में उनके घर आनंद भवन में ही रह जाता. दिल्ली में पंडित जी का आवास था तीन मूर्ति भवन, वहीं साथ में चार-पांच घर होते थे, जिनका बंटवारा आवास मंत्रालय नहीं करता था और यह पंडित जी पर था कि किसे दें. उनमें से एक चीफ ऑफ प्रोटोकोल को दिया, एक कृष्ण मेनन को दिया और एक मुझे. दिल्ली में इस तरह मेरा स्वतंत्र जीवन शुरू हुआ. यहां मेरा घर तो जवाहरलाल जी का ही घर था, वरना मैं रिफ्यूजी (बनजारा) था. फिर मैं चला गया इंडोनेशिया. वापस आया तो साल भर पंडित जी के साथ रहा और फिर गया बगदाद-तुर्की. (यूनुस ने इंडोनेशिया, तुर्की, इराक, स्पेन और अल्जीरिया में भारतीय मिशनों में मुख्य पद संभाला हुआ है). मैं 13 विलिंग्डन क्रिसेंट में कई साल रहा, जिसमें मेरे जाने के बाद बच्चन (हरिवंश राय बच्चन) वगैरह रहे थे. एक बार वापस आया, तो ग्यारह नंबर मिला. फिर बाद में सचिव हो गया था तो मुझे 12 विलिंग्डन क्रिसेंट मिला, जिसमें आखिर तक रहा और 77 में सरकार बदलने के बाद खाली किया, तो वहां इंदिरा जी रही थीं. लोग मुझसे कहते थे कि अभी तो भाई के साथ हो (जवाहरलाल जी के साथ) तो ठीक है, लेकिन आने दो इंदिरा को, वह तुम्हें दो मिनट नहीं टिकने देगी यहां पर. यह उनके रिश्तेदारों ने भी कहा था. लेकिन मेरा उनसे मिलना और बढ़ गया, उनसे प्यार-मुहब्बत और बढ़ गयी. उन्होंने तो मुझसे खुद कहा कि तुम इस घर को अपना घर समझो, हालांकि वह घर उनका अपना नहीं था, फिर भी वह कहती रहीं कि इसको अपना घर ही समझो. उन्होंने मुझे कभी यह महसूस नहीं होने दिया कि मैं उनका साथी नहीं हूं. वह हमेशा यही कहा करती थीं कि जब तुम कुछ नहीं करते हो, तो यहीं आ जाया करो. हां, जब कोई काम हो तो बात दूसरी है. तुम्हें समय का तो पता है ही कि हमारा नाश्ता किस वक्त होता है, दिन और रात के खाने का वक्त क्या है. जब वह सत्ता से बाहर थीं, तीन साल के लिए, तो मैं काम करता था, नेहरू म्यूजियम में किताब-विताब पर काम कर रहा था. दोपहर को वहीं आ कर खाना खाता, बातें करता. कभी रात को आठ बजे आता, खाता-पीता और गपशप के बाद चला जाता. कभी-कभी होता है न कि आपकी किसी से दोस्ती हो और आप यह महसूस करने लगें कि यह हमारा स्वागत नहीं करता, पर यह उन्होंने कभी महसूस नहीं होने दिया मुझे. एक तरह से रिश्ते कायम हो गये थे, संघर्षों में साथ रहे. खुशी में साथ रहे. एक तरह की 'कामरेड-शिप' कह सकते हैं उसको. उन्होंने या फिर जवाहरलाल जी ने और अब राजीव या उनके बीवी-बच्चों ने कभी मुझे ऐसा महसूस नहीं होने दिया है कि मैं वहां बिन बुलाया मेहमान हूं. एक दफा श्रीमती गांधी ने मुझे खत में भी लिखा था कि तुम्हें देख कर हमारे परिवार में सभी खुश होते हैं.

कहते हैं न कई वर्षों की दोस्ती बिना किसी झगड़े की.

झगड़े भी होते थे, तो उनका तरीका कुछ और था-हमारी मान्यताएं अलग थीं, दृष्टिकोण अलग थे, जैसा उनके और जवाहरलाल जी के बीच में होता था. वह पंडित जी की किसी बात की आलोचना करती थीं कि यह ठीक नहीं, वहीं मेरे साथ होता था कि फलां बात ठीक नहीं. एक मिसाल

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization

...—अल्जीयर सम्मेलन हुआ था, तो मैंने उनको कहा कि देखिए, सऊदी ...शाह ने आपकी मुखालफत की है, यह मुझे मालूम है, लेकिन मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि उसके दिल में पंडित जी के लिए बहुत इज्जत है. इसलिए आप चलो और उनसे मिल लो और सिर्फ इतना कह दो कि मेरे बाप के मरने के बाद मैं तो यह समझती हूं कि आप मेरे परिवार के बड़े हैं और मैं तो इसी हैसियत से आपसे मिलने आयी हूं कि शुभकामना लूं. बस, इसके अलावा कुछ न कहो. मुझे कबीलाई मानसिकता का अंदाजा है कि ये लोग कैसे इन मामलों में बरताव करते हैं. फिर देखिए, वह तो बिल्कुल बिक जायेगा आपके हाथ. कहेगा कि देखो, हिंदुस्तान की प्रधानमंत्री मुझे अपना बड़ा

श्रीमती गांधी के साथ एक प्रदर्शनी में मुहम्मद यूनुस

समझती है. श्रीमती गांधी ने मुझसे इत्तफाक किया, लेकिन उनके साथ जो सलाहकार थे, उन्होंने कहा कि नहीं, इसने बांगलादेश के मामले में हमारी आलोचना की थी, अब उसे भुगतने दो. तो मैंने कहा कि वह तो दो हजार साल से भुगत रहा है, जल-भुन गया है, उसका मुल्क तो रेतीला है, लेकिन अब उसको ताकत आ गयी है और अब वह औरों को जलायेगा. वही हुआ. दो-तीन महीने में ही तेल की कीमत बढ़ी और हमें जरूरत पड़ी तेल की. ओपेक का महासचिव यहां आया था, उसने कहा कि आपको हम हर किस्म की मदद देंगे, घबराइए मत, लेकिन अच्छा होगा अगर आप सऊदी अरब से बात कर लें. प्रधानमंत्री को चिट्ठी लिखनी पड़ी. मेरे पास भी बात आयीं कि एक पैराग्राफ लिख दो इसके लिए, तो मैंने कहा कि मेरा पैराग्राफ तो यह है कि जिन्होंने उस वक्त आपको मना किया था, उनका मुंह लाइए मेरे सामने, जिससे मैं उन पर थूकूं. अगर उस वक्त हम पहल करते, तो इस वक्त हमें खुशामद करने की जरूरत ही नहीं होती-आखिर तेल की जरूरत ही कितनी है. छोटा हॉलैंड भी हमसे छह गुना ज्यादा तेल इस्तेमाल करता है.

मैंने कभी उनको ताना नहीं दिया कि आपने यह नहीं किया. उन तीन सालों में एक भी बार ऐसा मौका नहीं आया. बल्कि कुछ बातों में वह खुद महसूस करती थीं और बोल देती थीं. जैसे अलीगढ़ मुसलिम विश्वविद्यालय की बात. उन्होंने मुझे विश्वविद्यालय कार्यकारिणी का सदस्य बना दिया और बोलीं कि देखो, एक तरफ तो छात्र हैं, जो एक ओर जा रहे हैं, सांप्रदायिक हैं और दूसरी तरफ नुरुल हसन हैं, जो धर्मनिरपेक्षता के रास्ते पर हैं. कोई बीच का रास्ता निकालो. मैं वहां बैठक में भाग लेने के लिए गया, तो पाया कि छात्र तो बिल्कुल सही थे, उलटे नुरुल हसन के नुमाइंदे ही बदमाशी कर रहे थे. लोगों को उकसाते थे, शरारतें करते थे, बेइज्जत करते थे. मैंने यहां आ कर बताया कि वहां तो बात ही दूसरी है. खैर, तीन साल हो गये इस बात को और जब 1980 का चुनाव आया, तो कानपुर में अपनी पहली चुनाव बैठक में ही,जहां एक बड़ी मुसलिम आबादी थी, श्रीमती गांधी ने कहा कि अलीगढ़ के मामले में हमसे बड़ी भूल हो गयी. बैठक के बाद मैं उनसे मिला, तो बोलीं कि आज तो तुम खुश होगे कि मैंने वही बात कही, जो तुम कहते थे. तो मैंने पूछ लिया—यह आपने मुझे खुश करने के लिए कहा या आप ऐसा समझती हैं, कि यह ठीक बात है. आपने यह सारा तमाशा एक आदमी के लिए बनाया हुआ था, और सारे लड़कों को बदनाम किया हुआ था. प्रदर्शन तो हर विश्वविद्यालय में होते हैं, छात्र बसें जलाते हैं, इमारतें जलाते हैं, अध्यापकों को पीटा जाता है, अलीगढ़ में यह सब नहीं हुआ, वहां भी तो छात्र हैं. जगजीवन राम वहां गये, तो सात हजार छात्रों से भरा हुआ कैनेडी हॉल दो मिनट में खाली हो गया. छात्रों में इस तरह के शांतिपूर्ण विरोध की मिसाल बिरले ही मिलती है. उन्हें तो शाबाशी मिलनी चाहिए. वह कहते हैं कि आपने उनके साथ जुल्म किया है. श्रीमती गांधी बोलीं—क्या जुल्म किया है ? मैंने कहा कि अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी ऐक्ट क्यों पास किया ? वह बोलीं— वह तो अलीगढ़ के लिए अच्छा था. मैंने कहा—तो बनारस के लिए क्यों नहीं करतीं. अगर अलीगढ़ मुसलिम यूनिवर्सिटी से मुसलिम हटाना यूनिवर्सिटी के लिए अच्छा है, तो बनारस हिंदू यूनिवर्सिटी के लिए भी हिंदू हटाना अच्छा रहेगा. वह क्यों नहीं करतीं आप. आपने एक जलील किस्म का वजीर रखा हुआ है, जो यह सब कराना चाहता है, पर अलीगढ़ के लड़के यह नहीं चाहते हैं. मेरे बाप ने मेरा नाम मुहम्मद यूनुस रखा है, कल को आप यह कहें कि तुम्हारा यूनुस नाम मुझे पसंद नहीं है, तुम्हारा नाम आज से यूनुस की जगह टूनुस है, तो यह मुझे कतई अच्छा नहीं लगेगा. आप कौन होते हैं मेरा नाम बदलनेवाले ? उन्होंने सौ साल से नाम रखा हुआ है, सौ साल से वह चीज चल रही है. मैंने कहा कि आपके बाप और दादा बड़े धर्मनिरपेक्ष थे, पर एक रसीद तो दिखाइए मुझे कि एक भी पैसा दिया हो कभी अलीगढ़ को, मगर मेरे बाप ने दिया है, मेरा हक बनता है अलीगढ़ के ऊपर. आपका क्या हक है, मुझे बाहैसियत मुसलमान और बाहैसियत इनसान अलीगढ़ से दिलचस्पी है. आपके बाप ने दिया होगा पैसा किसी और यूनिवर्सिटी को, अलीगढ़ को नहीं दिया ... वह हंस पड़ीं मेरी बात सुन कर.

एक दफा और मैंने उनसे कहा कि देखिए, आपका जो मंत्री है, वह अलीगढ़ में रमजान के महीने में जा कर सिगरेट पीता है, कॉकटेल पार्टी देता है और दूसरी तरफ आप मुसलमानों को पिछड़ा और अनुदार कहती हैं

CC-0. Bhagavad P...

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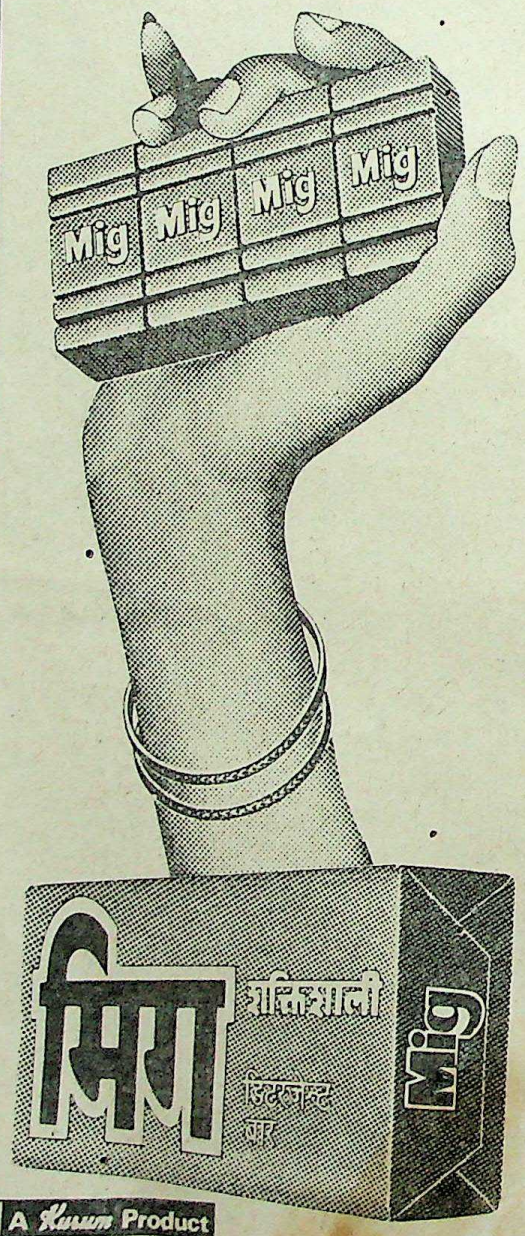
सफ़ाई का बेजोड़ हथियार

नया और शक्तिशाली मिग ब्लू
कपड़ों में छिपा मैल ज़ल्दी धोता है।
ज्यादा कपड़ों को साफ़ करता है।
अधिक दिन तक चलता है। आज ही खरीदिए।

मिग

ब्लू डिटरजैन्ट बार



मिग शक्तिशाली डिटरजेन्ट बार

Mig

A Hindustan Product

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और ऊपर से चाहती हैं कि ऐसी बातों को बरदाश्त करें ? मैंने कहा—
मंदिर क्यों जाती हैं ! वह बोलीं कि मैं तो मसजिद भी जाती हूं. मैंने कहा—
आप मसजिद भी जाती हैं, गुरुद्वारे भी, गिरजे में भी-इसलिए कि आपको
पता है कि इससे लोगों की भावनाओं को संतुष्ट करेंगी और आपने कई
कद्दू रखे हुए हैं, जो लोगों को उत्तेजित करते हैं. बात दरअसल यह थी
वह हरेक की बात सुनती थीं. ऐसा नहीं था जैसा लोगों ने प्रचारित किया
हुआ था कि वह किसी की सुनती ही नहीं. हां, अगर कोई वहां जा कर
कि मुझे मंत्री बना दो या राज्यपाल बना दो या राजदूत बना दो-तो वह
देखती थीं कि यह तो मांगता ही है करता कुछ नहीं. ऐसे में वह मना नहीं
करतीं, तो क्या करतीं. अब अभी के प्रधानमंत्री भी यही कहते हैं कि हर
वक्त लोग यहां मांगने ही आते हैं, बस मिलने का बहाना मिल जाये.

कई बार तो मैं बातों को सख्ती से लिखता था. एक बार मैंने अपनी
किताब परसंस, पैशंस ऐंड पोलिटिक्स में लिखा कि 'वह आदमियों का
बहुत गलत मूल्यांकन करती हैं.' जब 1980 में सत्ता परिवर्तन हुआ, और
आयी, तो सात-आठ संपादकों के गुट श्रीमती गांधी से मिलने गये थे. जब
पहला गुट गया, तो उन्होंने श्रीमती गांधी से पूछा कि आपने यह किताब
है ? वह बोलीं हां, पढ़ी है, तो लोगों ने कहा कि उसने तो आपकी
आलोचना की है. वह बोलीं, हां, आलोचना तो की है. उसने लिखा है कि
आदमियों का ठीक मूल्यांकन नहीं करती. लेकिन मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हूं
क्योंकि मैंने उसका चुनाव किया और वह बहुत अच्छे हैं.

फिर उन्होंने अखबाररवालों से कहा कि 'आप लोग सभी की
आलोचना करते हैं, लेकिन जब कोई आपकी आलोचना करता है, तो आप
सब इतने नाराज हो जाते हैं, क्यों ? आप उसे बिल्कुल बरदाश्त नहीं कर
यूनुस से आप लोग नाराज हो गये ?' दरअसल मैंने बारह संपादकों की
बाबत अपनी राय लिखी थी. वह सब मेरे दुश्मन हो गये थे, लेकिन अगर
वह बातें गलत थीं, तो वह मुझ पर दावा कर सकते थे.

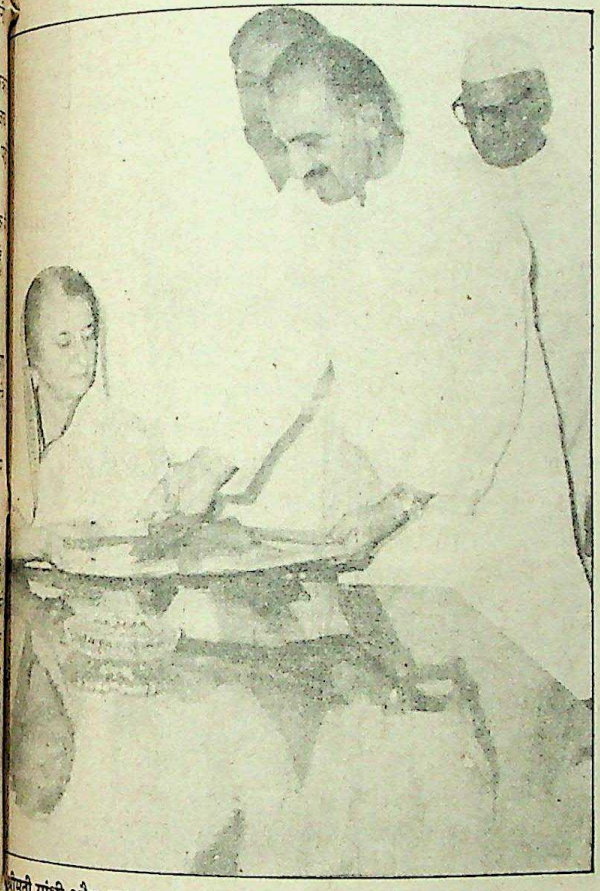
उनकी सबसे बड़ी सुविधा यही थी कि वह जवाहरलाल की बेटी थीं
छुटपन से उन्होंने सारी बातें देखी और सुनीं. एक खूबी जवाहरलाल जी में
थी, इसे आप खामी कह लीजिए कि वह किसी को कड़ी सजा नहीं दे सकते
थे. मैं उनको काफी कहा करता था कि साहब देखिए, हर जगह बादशाहत
में सजा मिला करती है. पैगंबर आते हैं, तो वह भी कुरान और बाइबिल
के जाते हैं कि अगर यह नहीं चलाया तो जहन्नुम में जाओगे. यहां आपकी
बादशाहत में सजा तो है ही नहीं. जो भी आता है, बख्तरबंद गाड़ी में है
उसका शरीर जाता है, उसे आप फेंकते नहीं. पंडित जी हंस पड़े थे. उनका
सिलसिला चलता रहा था. सिवा कृष्ण मेनन के, जिसने इस्तीफा दिया था
पर श्रीमती गांधी तो दूसरी किस्म की चीजथीं, उनका तरीका बिल्कुल
अलग था. वह आदमी को जल्दी में लगा लेती थीं, तो उसे जल्दी में
निकाल भी फेंकती थीं. उनको झिझक नहीं होती थी कि यह तो सिर पर
बैठा है, कैसे निकालें.

जो उनके राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता थे उनकी हैसियत क्या थी और श्रीमती
गांधी की हैसियत क्या थी ? मुसीबत आयी तो डट कर खड़ी हो गयीं
किसी समझौते के. सारा विपक्ष बिना गाली के बात नहीं करता था तब
दिन फ्रांसीसी राजदूत आया था मिलने के लिए, जब उनके फार्मवाले घर
तलाशी हो रही थी. वह हंसती हुई आयीं. बोलीं कि तुम्हें कुछ पता चला
उन्हें कुछ मिला कि नहीं, जाओ, उन्हें डिबिया-वीबिया दिखाओ. फ्रांसीसी
एक कहावत है, 'खारगुपतऔर खारकस बाबर कार्ट' यानी गधे ने कहा
और गधी ने मान लिया. किसी ने चरण सिंह को कह दिया कि फार्म पर
सोना है और ये पहुंच गये मेटल डिटेक्टर ले कर. इमर्जेंसी का पहला
कॉकस तो सिद्धार्थशंकर राय, बरुआ और रजनी पटेल का था.
शुक्ला-वुक्ला का कॉकस तो बाद में बना. यानी जो पहले कहते थे कि

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitiz

...वार के सदस्य हैं, सरकार बदलने पर बदल गये. कर्ण सिंह बोलने लगे कि यह सब संजय करवाता था, जबरदस्ती-जैसे ये मंत्री नहीं थे. तो चपरासी ...क्या ? जब 69 में श्रीमती गांधी ने सिंडीकेटवालों से कहा कि आपने ...प्रधानमंत्री बनाया है, तो मुझे प्रधानमंत्री मानिए, नहीं मानते तो कहिए मैं ...तीफा दे कर निकल जाऊंगी, लेकिन आप प्रधानमंत्री बना कर मुझे कम ...के नहीं आंक सकते. अगर आपने ऐसा किया, तो लोगों के पास मैं ...ऊंगी. इन कद्दुओं ने समझा ही नहीं, इनकी झिक-झिक सुन कर उन्होंने ...रजी को निकाला, बैंक का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया, तो उनके छक्के छूट गये. ...हे तो लीडरी मिली थी जवाहरलाल की वजह से. ज्यादातर तो वे लोग थे, ...गांधीवादियों के नाम पर गैर-गांधीवादी थे.

उनके बारे में लोग गलत-सलत लिखते थे. लोग कहते थे कि वह



श्रीमती गांधी और यूनुस

...रोज से अलग थीं. श्रीमती गांधी का खत पढ़िए, जो उन्होंने फीरोज की ...त के एकदम बाद लिखा—'दूसरों की अपेक्षा आप ज्यादा जानते हैं कि हम कितना झगड़े थे.' क्यों लिखा था उन्होंने ! आखिर उन्हें मालूम था कि यूनुस को सब कुछ मालूम है. और लिखा था, 'अब समय आ गया है, जब बच्चे उनकी जरूरत महसूस करते हैं. मैं पूरी तरह टूट गयी हूं ...' उन्होंने लिखा था कि हम लोग कश्मीर गये थे और हमने एक अच्छा महीना साथ-साथ गुजारा. यह थी बात, यह उनकी मृत्यु के कुछ महीने पहले की बात थी, फिर भी लोग कहते थे कि वे अलग थे. दरअसल फीरोज बहुत ही समझदार आदमी था. उसने एक एम. पी. फ्लैट ले लिया था, 18 नंबर राजेंद्र प्रसाद रोड पर, जहां वह लोगों से मिलता था, क्योंकि प्रधानमंत्री हाउस (तीन मूर्ति भवन) में तो पाबंदी होती थी. फीरोज खुशदिल था. एक दफा राजेंद्र प्रसाद रोड पर ही कोई फीरोज से मिलने आया. नौकर ने आ कर कहा कि आपसे कोई मिलने आया है, खुद को पंडित जी का रिश्तेदार बताता है. फीरोज हंस कर बोला कि अरे, पंडित जी के रिश्तेदार तो हम भी हैं. उससे पूछ कर आओ कि वह और क्या है. उस वक्त श्रीमती गांधी भी वहां बैठी हुई थीं. तब कभी ऑफिसियल डिनर वगैरह होता, तो फीरोज कहता कि यार यूनुस अलहदा खाते हैं. श्रीमती गांधी आतीं तो देख कर जातीं कि सारा कुछ आ गया है. फिर चुपचाप जा कर खाना खा लेतीं और फिर आ कर बैठ जातीं-गपशप होती थी फिर. इंदिरा जी ने कभी अपने बच्चों के लिए नहीं कहा कि फलां काम करो और फलां नहीं करो. ये तो निहित गुण होता है. जब पंडित जी की मौत हुई, नंदा जी (गुलजारी लाल नंदा) 10 दिन के लिए प्रधानमंत्री बने. पटियाला नरेश अंत्येष्टि में आये हुए थे. नंदा जी ने सबको सुबह साढ़े नौ बजे बुला लिया. सभी वहां पहुंचे-साउथ ब्लॉक के कमरे में. सबको एक लाइन में खड़ा कर के हाथ जोड़ दिया—महानुभावो, आप आये इसके लिए बहुत धन्यवाद. और फिर सचिव से बोले -कोई और है मिलने के लिए. राजीव को तो श्रीमती गांधी ने यह नहीं कहा था कि मेरे मरने के बाद तुम ऐसा करना मगर यह युवा प्रधानमंत्री बना. और उस दुखद स्थिति में भी वह सबसे मिला पांच मिनट, दस मिनट. स्पेनिश प्रधानमंत्री से तो वह रात के साढ़े 12 बजे मिला था. सबसे मिला.'

जब श्रीमती गांधी प्रधानमंत्री बनीं थीं, सबसे पहले 'टाइम' पत्रिका ने उनसे तसवीरें मांगी, उन्होंने कहा कि यूनुस से ले लो. यूनुस उस वक्त सॉन फ्रांसिस्को में थे. 'टाइम' का आदमी वहां पंद्रह मिनट में ही पहुंच गया-दिल्ली से संदेश जो आया था. एक तसवीर देख कर उसने कहा-गिव भी दिस. (मुझे यह दे दीजिए.) यूनुस ने मना किया. टाइम के आदमी ने कहा कि वह पांच हजार डॉलर देगा उसका. यूनुस ने कहा कि अगर उसके पांच लाख डॉलर भी मिले तो नहीं देगा.

मुहम्मद यूनुस के अनुसार, 'इस पूरे परिवार में ही कुछ राजनीतिक समझ है. 77 में जब सरकार बदली तो राजीव के बेटे राहुल ने, जो सिर्फ छह-आठ साल का था, मुझसे पूछा-यूनुस चाचा, आप कहां रहते हो ? वसंत विहार. सरकारी मकान है ? नहीं. बड़ा अच्छा किया तुमने. उसको भी राजनीति का जरा पता चल रहा था. 1980 में जब फिर सरकार बनी, तो एक दिन भोजन पर राहुल ने पूछ लिया, 'यूनुस चाचा पहला कू (तख्तापलट) कहां हुआ था ? बर्मा में हुआ ? पाकिस्तान में जिया ने भुट्टो को फांसी दे दी. अब बेनजीर आयेगी, तो उसको फांसी दे देगा. पर पहला कू कहां हुआ था ?' मैंने पहले तो टाल दिया, इधर-उधर की बातें बना कर. फिर घर जा कर इनसाइक्लोपीडिया देख कर मालूम किया-नेपोलियन के वक्त में हुआ था. अगले रोज मैंने उससे कहा कि बेटा, वह कल तुम क्या पूछ रहे थे कू के बारे में ? राहुल बोला-हां, मुझे कोई नहीं बता रहा. मैंने कहा-नेपोलियन के वक्त में हुआ था. इस पर श्रीमती गांधी बोलीं- भगवान का शुक्र है, यूनुस. यह सवाल वह मुझसे लगातार पूछ रहा था, तो मैंने कहा कि जाओ, ऐसे सवाल यूनुस चाचा से पूछो.

श्रीमती गांधी ने रेगन से मेरे बेटे शहरयार की चर्चा कभी नहीं की. उन्होंने उसे छुड़ाने के लिए बिल्कुल नहीं कहा. लोग वैसे ही बदनाम करते रहे. मेरे बेटे को छोड़ने के लिए रेगन ने 11 तारीख को दस्तखत किये और राजीव वहां 12 को पहुंचे. पर लोग इस शरारत के झांसे में आ गये. दरअसल, कुछ लोगों से मेरी नेहरू परिवार से यह नजदीकी नहीं देखी जाती. वक्त की बात है, पिछले साल मैंने लिखा था कि वह (राजीव) बहुत ऊंचा जायेगा. देखिए, वह ऐसा बहुमत लाया, जो उसका नाना भी नहीं ला पाया था. उन्हीं दिनों मैंने लिखा था कि कभी-कभी श्रीमती गांधी सोचती जरूर होंगी, ऐसा मेरा यकीन है, कि जिन चिरागों को जलाया था रोशनी के लिए, उन चिरागों की रोशनी ने जलाया है मुझे.

'किसको मालूम था कि यह भविष्यवाणी हो जायेगी.'

प्रस्तुति : कमल सहाय

CC-0. Bhagavad Ram...

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इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस का बंटवारा

दिनेश सिंह

स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की सफलता के पश्चात भारतवासियों का विश्वास बना कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व मे महात्मा गांधी के आदर्शों पर चल कर भारत सरकार उनके सपनों को साकार करेगी, गरीबी दूर होगी और जनसाधारण का भविष्य उज्ज्वल होगा. पंडित जी के जीवन काल मे यह कार्य पूरा न हो सका, पर जनता का विश्वास बना रहा. इसलिए जवाहरलाल नेहरू के निधन पर उनके अनुयायी लालबहादुर शास्त्री को शासन की बागडोर दी गयी. शास्त्री जी की अचानक मृत्यु के बाद फिर यही प्रश्न उठा. एक ओर मोरारजी देसाई थे, दूसरी ओर इंदिरा गांधी. दोनों ही कांग्रेस के कर्मठ कार्यकर्ता, स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी और योग्य थे. मोरारजी भाई कुशल प्रशासक थे. बंबई प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री व केंद्र मे वित्त मंत्री का पद संभाल चुके थे. उन्हे शासन का पूरा अनुभव था. इंदिरा जी अभी-अभी शासन मे सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री के रूप मे आयी थीं, पर कांग्रेस की अध्यक्ष रह चुकी थीं. उनकी कार्य-कुशलता भी जानी-मानी थी. पर अनुभव और उम्र के लिहाज से मोरारजी भाई का पलड़ा भारी था. फिर इंदिरा जी कैसे प्रधानमंत्री बनीं ?

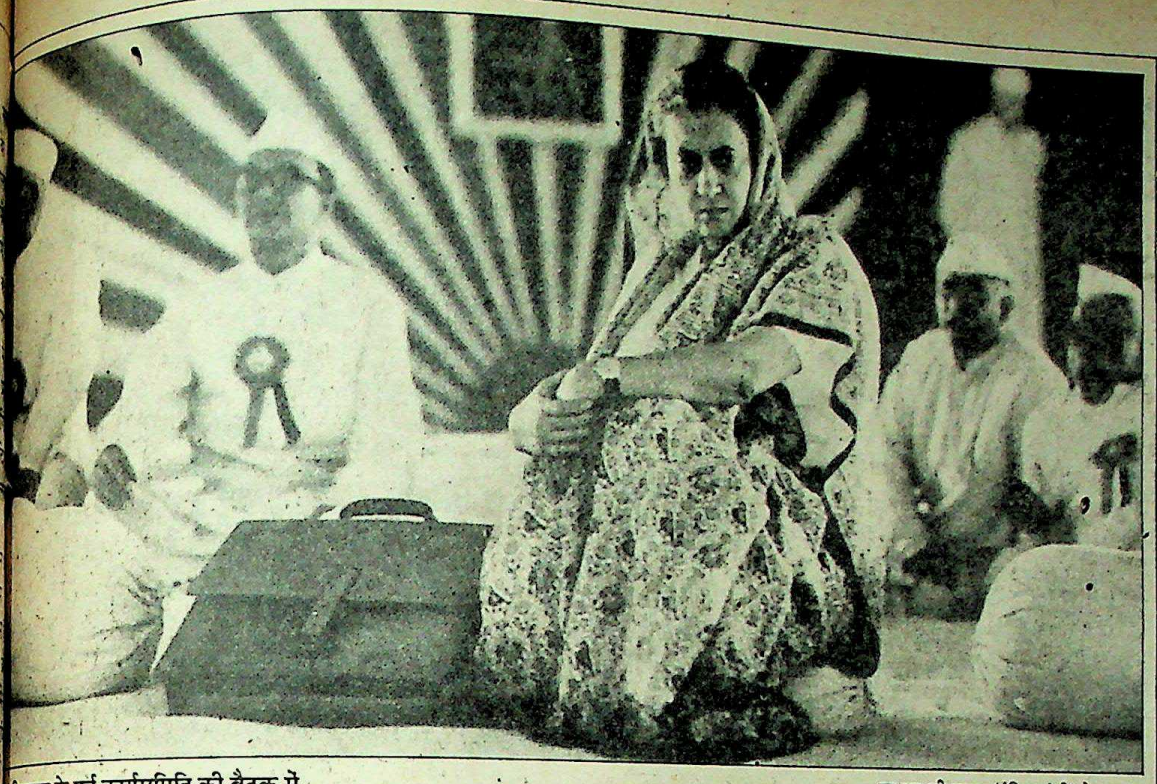
मोरारजी भाई सख्त मिजाज के हैं, साथियों ने सोचा, वे किसी की नहीं सुनेंगे. इंदिरा जी पंडित जी के तरीकों पर चलेंगी, जनराज्य की मान्यताओं को निभायेंगी, सबसे राय-बात करेंगी, सब अपने को सत्ता में हिस्सेदार मससूस करेंगे. पर बात इतनी ही नहीं थी. यह तो केवल निजी विचारों का और स्वार्थ का मुद्दा था. असल में जनभावना इंदिरा जी के साथ थी कैसे ? दो बाते थीं. एक तो देश का युवा वर्ग इंदिरा जी के साथ था. स्वतंत्रता के दो दशक पश्चात वह पीढ़ी के परिवर्तन मे अपना लाभ और अपनी आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति देखता था. उनका खयाल था कि एक युवा प्रधानमंत्री उनकी भावनाओं को समझ सकेगा, उनके लिए कुछ करेगा. देश में भी नये तरीकों की, नये लोगों की मांग थी. आम आदमी परिवर्तन चाहता था. इंदिरा जी परिवर्तन की प्रतीक थीं. पर एक इससे भी अधिक महत्वपूर्ण कारण था. मोरारजी जवाहरलाल नेहरू के प्रगतिशील विचारों के विरोधी माने जाते थे. लोग समझते थे कि उनका झुकाव पूंजीपतियों की ओर होगा और वे उनके ही हितों की रक्षा करेंगे. समाजवाद को गहरा धक्का लगेगा.विदेश नीति मे भी उनका झुकाव अमरीका की ओर रहेगा. भारत गरीबों का देश है. गांधी जी गरीबों को दरिद्रनारायण के रूप में देखते थे, इसलिए लोगों ने उन्हे महात्मा माना. इसी प्रकार पंडित जी को भी लोग समाजवादी और अपना हितैषी मानते थे. यही कारण है कि इंदिरा जी के प्रति उनका विश्वास और स्नेह अधिक था. उन्हें समाजवादी और अपना हितैषी समझते थे, उनसे आशा करते थे कि गरीबों का भला करेगी. 1966 मे प्रधानमंत्री के चुनाव में यह मुद्दा सबसे ऊपर उभर कर आया. वैसे क्षेत्र के, जाति के अथवा व्यक्तिगत, जो भी विचार लोगों के दिमाग में रहे हों, पर पंडित नेहरू की नीतियों की निरंतरता और गरीबों के हितों की रक्षा ने प्रधानमंत्री के चुनाव में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की.

प्रश्न उठ सकता है कि ये मुद्दे तो आम जनता से संबंधित हैं, पर प्रधानमंत्री का चुनाव तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के सांसदों ने किया था. क्या उनके ऊपर और प्रभाव नहीं पड़ सकते थे ? उस समय लोकतंत्र की मान्यताएं कड़ी थीं. राजनीतिक संस्थाएं स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के आदर्शों से जुड़ी थीं. सदस्यगण त्याग, सादगी, सेवा और राष्ट्रहित के वातावरण में पले थे. जन भावनाओं का उन पर भारी प्रभाव था. इसलिए नीतियों की प्राथमिकता थी. फिर दोनों प्रत्याशी कोई अनुचित प्रभाव नहीं डालना चाहते थे. गरीबों के प्रति इंदिरा जी की सद्भावनाओं का विश्वास निरंतर बना रहा. 1967 के आम चुनाव में भी यही मुद्दा प्रमुख रहा. जवाहरलाल नेहरू की नीतियों की निरंतरता, गरीबों का हित और समाजवाद इंदिरा जी के मुख्य मुद्दे थे. चुनाव के उन दिनों का स्मरण कीजिए, इंदिरा जी की विशाल जनसभाओं की ओर ध्यान कीजिए. गरीबों के, हरिजनों के, आदिवासियों के उन चेहरों को याद कीजिए. किस आशा से, किस विश्वास से वे इंदिरा जी को देखते थे. किस भावना से वे इंदिरा जी के कांग्रेसी प्रत्याशियों की मदद करते थे. कितने जोश से नवयुवक, एक नये युग की कल्पना में पागल-से हो कर चुनाव अभियान में इंदिरा गांधी को सफल बनाने में लगे थे. एक नयी पीढ़ी के, गरीबी से मुक्त नये युग के निर्माण मे लग गये थे. इंदिरा गांधी जवाहर नेहरू की बेटी थीं. उनका आना एक नये युग के आने का सूचक था, एक नये युग का आरंभ.

1969 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने पहला राजनीतिक संघर्ष देखा. बंगलूर कांग्रेस के ही सबको मालूम था कि राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी का चयन होना है और यह बंगलूर में उठेगा. चंद्रभानु गुप्त ने वी. वी. (जो उस समय उपराष्ट्रपति थे) नाम का से जिक्र किया था, पर इंदिरा जी ने कोई नहीं दिखायी, मामला खटाई मे पड़ गया. सिंडीकेटवाले भी इस अनिश्चितता से और घबराते थे कि मालूम नहीं किसका नाम इंदिरा जी आखिर मे लाये. फिर यह तय बंगलूर में इस मुद्दे पर फैसला न किया वहां से वापस लौट कर यह मामला दिल्ली किया जाये. पर न मालूम क्या सोच का पाटील ने यह मामला बंगलूर मे सिंडीकेट ओर से उठा दिया. उन्होंने किन कारणों से हो कर दिल्ली मे इस प्रश्न को उठाने संबंधी फैसले को, जिसमें वे खुद शामिल थे, बदल दिया, इसका पता नहीं चला. इसकी सूचना यशवंतराय चव्हाण ने इंदिरा जी को दी और कि अगर बाबू जगजीवन राम का नाम इंदिरा की ओर से दिया जाये, तो फैसला हो सकता इंदिरा जी मान गयीं, जगजीवन राम भी तैयार गये, पर पार्लियामेटरी बोर्ड में पाटील ने संजीव रेड्डी का नाम रख दिया और चह्वाण ने उसका समर्थन कर दिया.

इंदिरा जी को बड़ा धक्का लगा, पर उनके सामने कोई चारा नहीं था. उन्होंने इस नाम का विरोध नहीं किया, पर इसे माना नहीं. इंदिरा जी को यह भय था कि संजीव रेड्डी राष्ट्रपति हो कर सिंडीकेट के आदमी रहेंगे, इंदिरा जी की नीतियों में व सरकार बनाने मे अड़चनें पैदा करेंगे, इंदिरा जी के लिए कठिनाइयां पैदा करके उन्हे प्रधानमंत्री पद से त्यागपत्र देने के लिए मजबूर देंगे या फिर हटा देंगे. बंगलूर से लौटते ही में संजीव रेड्डी के चुनाव के विरुद्ध रणनीति लगी. इंदिरा जी ने संजीव रेड्डी के नामांकन पर तो हस्ताक्षर कर दिया, पर उसके बाद पर जनसंघ से मिलने का आरोप लगाया. गिरि भी राष्ट्रपति बनने के लिए उत्सुक थे, तैयारी भी कर रहे थे. इंदिरा जी ने अपना उन्हीं को दे दिया. आत्मा की पुकार का नारा गया और सिंडीकेट और इंदिरा जी के बीच घमासान लड़ाई छिड़ गयी. इस मुद्दे वही बने. नेहरू की नीति, समाजवाद,

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digiti



विभाजन के पूर्व कार्यसमिति की बैठक में

रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा गांधी' से साभार

वनाम पूंजीवाद. हां अल्पसंख्यकों का भी आया. वैसे तो नेहरू जी की नीति से हुआ ही था, पर सिंडीकेट-जनसंघ (राष्ट्रीय क संघ) गंठबंधन के प्रचार ने इसे और दिया. कांग्रेस पार्टी लगभग आधे-आधे मे ी. अधिक संसद सदस्य इंदिरा जी के साथ मंत्री होने का प्रभाव भी था. उनके वोटों व भी ज्यादा था. राज्यों मे सिंडीकेट के ों अधिक थे. उनके प्रभाव से विधायक तर श्री रेड्डी का संमर्थन कर रहे थे. टवालों ने उस समय एक बड़ी भूल की कि प्रत्याशी के विरुद्ध कार्य करने के लिए जी को और उनके साथियों को पार्टी से ा नहीं. इससे बहुतों के मन मे यह बात कि इंदिरा जी के पास पार्टी का बहुमत -ही-साथ इस चुनाव मे इंदिरा गांधी की ना मे चौधरी चरण सिंह और राजा साहब का बड़ा योगदान था. उनके सदस्यों के क्रेस के रूप मे सब मत श्री गिरि को इस संघर्ष मे भी उन्हीं नीतियों की प्रमुखता ो शुरू से इंदिरा जी को सफलता दिलाती र जो देश की जनभावनाओं से जुड़ी थीं. अतिरिक्त इस मुठभेड़ मे इंदिरा जी को साथियों के सहयोग ने सफलता दिलाने मे गदान दिया. चूंकि श्री गिरि का अपना न के बराबर था, राष्ट्रपति का यह चुनाव जी और सिंडीकेट, जिसे विरोधी पार्टियों का योग था, के बीच लड़ा गया. सरूप इंदिरा जी की सफलता ने उन्हें देश वोच्च नेता बना दिया. अब वह केवल काबीना की अध्यक्ष और प्रधानमंत्री ही नहीं, वरन प्रधानमंत्री के साथ-साथ पार्टी और देश की भाग्यविधाता बन गयीं. बजाए इसके कि कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष उन्हे पार्टी से निकालते, उन्होंने ही अपनी नीतियों से असहमत नेताओं को निकालना शुरू कर दिया और मोरारजी भाई पहले शिकार हुए. इसके बाद कांग्रेस का विभाजन हो गया और सिंडीकेट के सभी समर्थक इंदिरा जी की सरकार और पार्टी से बाहर कर दिये गये.

कांग्रेस विभाजन के बाद इंदिरा जी की सरकार अल्पसंख्यक सरकार हो गयी. इसे इंदिरा जी ने सफलतापूर्वक चला कर अपने नेतृत्व को और पुख्ता कर लिया. पार्टी के विभाजन के पश्चात इंदिरा जी ने अपने काबीना मे बड़ा परिवर्तन किया और सभी मंत्रियों के विभागों को बदल दिया. वह दिखाना चाहती थीं कि कोई मंत्री अपरिहार्य नहीं है और सबको उनकी शर्तों पर ही सरकार मे रहना है.

अपने नेतृत्व को सुदृढ़ करके 1971 मे इंदिरा जी ने लोकसभा का चुनाव करा दिया. चुनाव मे एक ओर इंदिरा जी की कांग्रेस थी और दूसरी ओर लगभग सभी विरोधी पार्टियां एक जुट हो कर लड़ रही थीं. पर परिणाम सुनिश्चित था. समाजवादी नीतियों का पालन करनेवाली, अल्पसंख्यकों की हिमायती, गरीब परवर, निडर, नयी रोशनी लानेवाली इंदिरा गांधी के विरुद्ध पुराने ढर्रे पर चलनेवाले, सांप्रदायिक और पूंजीपतियों के साथियों का कोई मुकाबला नहीं था. फिर इंदिरा जी ने 'गरीबी हटाओ' का एक जोरदार नारा दिया. इस नारे का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा और जनता के बीच एक नया विश्वास बना. इंदिरा जी किसी एक वर्ग मे सीमित नहीं थीं. उनके साथ पुराने ओर नौजवान दोनों साथी थे. स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों के साथ कंधे-से-कंधा मिला कर युवा कांग्रेस भी खड़ी थी. नये साथी युवकों मे नयी आशा पैदा कर रहे थे. उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूरब, पश्चिम सभी स्थानों पर एक पार्टी-कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवार थे. हर धर्म, हर जाति के प्रत्याशी थे. महिलाएं आमतौर पर सभी उनके साथ थीं. बुजुर्ग पुराने साथियों को समेटे थे. दूसरी तरफ खिचड़ी थी. जीतने पर भी एक पार्टी की सरकारें नहीं बनती, लोग अलग-अलग दिशा मे खींचते, कोई अच्छी तसवीर नहीं बनती थी. जनता उन्हे कैसे अपना विश्वास देती ?

जैसी आशा थी, चुनाव मे इंदिरा जी की भारी विजय हुई. जनता ने उन्हीं को कांग्रेस का और देश का नेता माना. इंदिरा जी सबको साथ ले कर चली थीं. गरीबों के देश मे गरीबी हटाने का वायदा किया था. समाजवाद की मजबूत नींव पर नये समाज की कल्पना की थी, जहां सब धर्म, सब जाति के लोगों को बराबरी मिलेगी और जहां सबको बराबर अवसर दिये जायेंगे. जैसे जवाहरलाल नेहरू अपने जीवनकाल मे इस कल्पना को साकार न बना सके, उसी प्रकार इंदिरा गांधी भी इसकी पूर्ति नहीं कर पायीं ! हां, दोनों ने इसकी नींव डाल दी है. इतना विश्वास बना दिया है कि ऐसे समाज का निर्माण हो सकता है. इसी आशा मे आज भी जनता उन्हीं की पार्टी के साथ है.□

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuj

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उन्होंने राजनीति में औरतों को सम्मान दिलाया

मारग्रेट अल्वा

औरतों के लिए और खास तौर से कम उम्र की औरतों के लिए चाहे वे पार्टी में थीं या बाहर, इंदिरा जी आशा की एक किरण थीं. शायद इसलिए भी कि हमें विश्वास था कि हम औरतें उनके पास कभी भी जा कर अपनी बात कह सकती हैं — चूंकि वे एक औरत हैं, वे हमारी बात समझ सकती हैं. यह बात किसी भी वर्ग की महिला पर लागू थी, चाहे सांसद हों, विधायक हों या समाज सेविकाएं हों. उनमें एक खास बात थी. वे अपनी पार्टी ही नहीं, सभी पार्टियों की औरतों के चेहरे पहचानती थीं. औरों के लिए उनके पास समय रहा या न रहा हो, पर हमारे लिए उनके पास हमेशा समय था. इंदिरा जी में एक गुण और था. वे विभिन्न कांफ्रेंसों, दौरों और मुलाकातों के बीच से नयी औरतों को चुनती थीं और उनको काम का मौका देती थीं. जिस चेहरे से वे एक बार प्रभावित होती थीं, उसे भूलती नहीं थीं. खास तौर से पिछले दस सालों में देश में औरतों की हालत सुधारने के लिए वे बहुत चिंतित रहती थीं. इसके लिए उन्होंने अनेक कदम उठाये थे. मसलन, औरतों की स्थिति पर कमीशन, जिसकी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर अनेक फैसले हुए. औरतों को अधिक हक दिलाने के लिए कई कानून बदले गये. मसलन, बराबर के काम के लिए बराबर तनख्वाह, दहेज निरोधक कानून आदि. इसके अलावा समाज कल्याण मंत्रालय में एक सेल भी उन्होंने बनवाया था, जिसका मकसद विभिन्न सरकारी दफ़्तरों में काम कर रही औरतों की शिकायतों को सुनना है.

श्रीमती गांधी इस देश की औरतों की आकांक्षाओं और सम्मान का प्रतीक थीं. इसीलिए जब भी वे दौरे पर जाती थीं, चाहे प्रधानमंत्री रही हों या नहीं, उनको देखने-सुनने आनेवालों में सबसे बड़ी संख्या औरतों की होती थी. जो दूर-दूर से पैदल, धूप में सिर्फ उन्हें सुनने आती थीं, इंदिरा जी उनको बहुत चाहती थीं और उनके दिलों में इंदिरा जी के लिए खास जगह थी. ये औरतें न तो उनकी भाषा जानती थीं, न ही उनसे मिल सकती थीं, वे अपनी अम्मा को सिर्फ देखने के लिए आती थीं. इंदिरा जी को औरतों से यह प्यार हमेशा मिला, चाहे वह सत्ता में थीं या नहीं. उनकी हत्या के बाद देश की औरतों ने उनके बेटे को वोट के जरिये जो प्यार दिया, वह इसका सबूत है कि वे उनको कितना चाहती थीं. आज भी उन्हें भुला नहीं सकी हैं. पिछले लोकसभा में इंदिरा जी के पोस्टरों में से उनकी तस्वीर कर्णाटक में आदिवासी-हरिजन औरतें काट-काट कर घरों में रखा और रोज़ चढ़ाती थीं. इस देश की औरतों के लिए थीं, इसका अंदाजा कोई नहीं लगा सकता विदेशों में आज जब हम जाते हैं, तो देख कर लोग कहते हैं— तुम इंदिरा हो. विदेशों में इंदिरा जी, साड़ी और औरतों की छवि एक है. पिछले दिनों मेरे साथ पूर्व जर्मनी में हुआ. विदेशों में एक ऐसी औरत के रूप में याद किया साहसी थी, जीदार थी और लड़नेवाली

श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या के बाद दक्षिण में श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करती हुई महिलाएं

रघु राय की पुस्तक 'इंदिरा

National R

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उन्हें चटपटा खाना बहुत पसंद था

दिरा जी ने 1977 से 80 तक के संघर्ष के दिन बहुत हिम्मत से काटे. कभी-कभी जब लोग हताश हो जाते थे, तो वह बहुत हौसला देती थीं. उन्हीं के हौसला बढ़ाने के लिए मैंने आजमगढ़ संसदीय क्षेत्र से जनसभा का उपचुनाव लड़ा था और विजय हासिल की थी.

इंदिरा जी को वे चीजें बहुत पसंद थीं, जिन्हें हर का आम आदमी खाता है. उदाहरण के लिए वह गुड़ से बने सेव और लहिया गुड़ के लड्डू बहुत मजे से खाती थीं. उन्हें ये चीजें कहीं भी मिल जाये, तुरंत अपने पास रख लेती थीं. अक्सर यह होता था कि वह अपने बैग में यह चीज रखती थीं और धीरे-धीरे खाती थीं. यही नहीं, उन्हें कुल्हड़ की चाय भी बहुत पसंद थी. अगर उन्हें कुल्हड़ में चाय मिल जाये, तो वह यात्रा के दौरान कप-प्लेट में चाय नहीं पीती थीं.

एक बार का वाकया है, हम लोग उत्तरप्रदेश के दौरे पर जा रहे थे. रास्ते में जगह-जगह स्वागत के लिए भारी भीड़ जमा थी. इतनी भीड़ कि अगर एक मिनट के लिए भी कार रुक जाये, तो लोग घेर कर ज़िंदाबाद-जिंदाबाद के नारे लगाने लगते थे. रास्ते में उन्होंने कहा, 'मोहसिना ! अगर हो सके तो कहीं से मेरे लिए कुल्हड़ की चाय का बंदोबस्त करो.' मैंने कहा कि भीड़ के कारण कप-प्लेट की चाय पीना तो मुश्किल हो रहा है, कुल्हड में चाय यहां तक कैसे आ सकती है. लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने कुछ इंतजाम करने के लिए कहा. बाद में जब कार आगे रुकी, तो मैंने कुछ कोशिश की, लेकिन भीड़ बहुत ज्यादा होने के कारण चाय न आ सकी.

इंदिरा जी को चटपटी चीजें भी बहुत पसंद थीं. चटपटी सब्जियां वह बहुत स्वाद से खाती थीं, लेकिन इस बात का बहुत खयाल रखती थीं कि कोई भी चीज ज्यादा न खायी जाये. ऐसे भी बहुत थोड़ा खाती थीं. सबको इसी तरह स्वास्थ्य अच्छा रखने की सलाह भी देती थीं. इंदिरा जी का यह एक विशेष गुण था कि वह चुस्त रहना ही पसंद करती थीं और लोगों से यही अपेक्षा भी करती थीं.

आज भी मैं जब कोई बड़ा काम हाथ में लेती हूं, तो इंदिरा जी की याद और प्रेरणा बहुत सहारा देती है.

मोहसिना किदवई

मैं उनसे अपनी अंतिम मुलाकात भुला नहीं सकती. 23 अक्तूबर (1984) को महिला कांग्रेस के दफ़्तर में एक समारोह था. वहीं मुझे पता मिला कि इंदिरा जी मुझसे मिलना चाहती हैं. उसी शाम को सात बजे उनसे मिलने गयी. वह छोटे-से दौरे से वापस आयी थीं. अपने सूखा रही थीं. वे बोलीं कि मैंने तुम्हें खास तौर से बुलाया है. तुम्हारे लिए एक काम है, 'मेरा कमरा उपहारों से भर गया है. ये उपहार मुझे यात्राओं और दौरों पर मिले हैं. मैं चाहती हूं कि तुम इनकी सेल कराओ और सोचो कि उस पैसे का कहां दान किया जाये.' मैंने पूछा कि आपके दिमाग में कौन-सा प्रोजेक्ट है. यह पैसा महिलाओं के या बच्चों के किस प्रोजेक्ट में लगाया जाये. उन्होंने कहा कि आजकल महिला कांग्रेस अच्छा बढ़िया काम कर रही है. कोई प्रोजेक्ट महिला कांग्रेस के लिए सोचो, चाहे औरतों के लिए हो या गरीब बच्चों के लिए. मुझे अगले ही दिन राष्ट्रपति के साथ तीन सदस्यीय प्रतिनिधि मंडल में मॉरिशस जाना था. मैंने उनसे कहा कि मैं कल जा रही हूं और 31 अक्तूबर को वापस आऊंगी. इसलिए 1 नवंबर से आपके कमरे में चीजों की छंटाई शुरू कर दूंगी. उन्होंने फौरन भगत को बुलवाया और कहा कि तुम दोनों मिल कर प्रोजेक्ट तैयार करना. हम दोनों ने बैठ कर बातें कीं और फिर मैंने इंदिरा जी से पूछा कि सेल 19 नवंबर को पसंद करेंगी या 14 नवंबर को. वे बोलीं कि पहले करो, पता नहीं 19 नवंबर तक क्या हो जाये. तय हुआ कि सेल 14 नवंबर को होगी. इंदिरा जी ने उसका उद्घाटन करना भी मान लिया.

मैं अगले दिन मॉरिशस चली गयी. 31 अक्तूबर को मैं लौटी और उसी कमरे में गयी. वे चिरनिद्रा में लीन लेटी हुई थीं. मेरे दिमाग में यही कौंधा कि यहां एक नेता लेटी हुई है, जो औरतों के लिए सोचती थी, जो महिला कांग्रेस के लिए नये-नये कार्यक्रम चाहती थी. जब वह ऐसे कार्यक्रम चाहती थीं, तो उसकी बारीक से बारीक बातों को भी वह खुद देखती थीं. मैंने जब उनसे कहा था कि सेल का पैसा प्रधानमंत्री राहत कोष में दें, तो उन्होंने कहा कि इसका प्रधानमंत्री से कोई वास्ता नहीं है. ये उपहार मेरी पार्टी के लोगों ने मुझे यानी इंदिरा गांधी को दिये हैं. प्रधानमंत्री को नहीं .

1978 में जनता पार्टी ने देवराज अर्स की सरकार को बरखास्त कर दिया था. इंदिरा जी कांग्रेस (इं) के लिए चुनाव प्रचार करने गयी थीं. मैं और निर्मला देशपांडे इस चुनाव अभियान में लगातार उनके साथ थे. मैं उनको देख कर दंग थी. हम लोग चुनाव प्रचार के बाद रात को, या, कहिए सुबह तीन-चार बजे डाक बंगले पर पहुंच पाते थे. हम थक कर चूर हो कर बिस्तर पर लस्त-पस्त गिरते थे. लेकिन ठीक, छह बजे सुबह खुद इंदिरा जी हमें जगाती थीं, 'अभी उठी नहीं. चलने का समय हो गया है.' हम लोग बिस्तर से कूद कर तैयार होने के लिए भागते थे. पर वे हमसे पहले ही ठीक सवा छह बजे एकदम फिटफाट हो कर जाने को तैयार रहती थीं. पांच-छह दिनों में ही हम लोग इतना थक गये कि उनके साथ निकल ही नहीं पाते थे. पर वे लगातार तीन हफ़्तों तक ऐसे ही दौड़-भाग करती रहीं. मैंने उनसे पूछा भी कि आखिर आप इतना कर कैसे लेती हैं— न आप खाती हैं, न आप सोती हैं. वे बोलीं, 'तुम नौजवान लड़के-लड़कियां ज्यादा खाते हो, ज्यादा सोते हो.' तब मैंने समझा कि वह एकदम अनुशासित महिला थीं. यही उनकी सफलता का रहस्य था. दिन भर में बीस मीटिंगों में बोलना, रास्ते में भीड़ में कार रुकवा कर उतरना. जब सिक्युरिटीवाले रोकथाम करते थे, तो वे डांटती थीं, 'तुम लोग बीच में से हटो. लोगों के बीच में मुझे कुछ नहीं होगा. तुम लोग फिजुल में 'कंफ्यूजन' पैदा करते हो.' यही बात मुझे बहुत चुभती है और रुलाती भी है. सालों तक वे देश के कोने-कोने में लोगों के पास जाती रहीं. अनजाने लोगों के बीच, जहां बिजली नहीं थी, हेलीकॉप्टर नहीं जा सकते थे. उनसे उन्हें प्यार मिला, दिल मिला. इसी भीड़ ने उनको नेता बनाया. लेकिन अपने ही घर में जहां सिक्युरिटी के लिए लोगों को घुसने की मनाही थी, जहां हजार तरह की रुकावटें थीं, वहीं जहां कोई भी नहीं था, उनकी हत्या हो गयी. अगर वे जनता के बीच में होतीं, तो कोई उनको मार नहीं सकता था. उन्हें बचाने हजारों लोग हत्यारों की गोलियों और उनके बीच में आ जाते. उनके जीवन की यही विडंबना रही कि सिक्युरिटी के नाम पर हमने उन्हें उस जनता से अलग रखा, जो उन्हें प्यार करती थी. अंततः वे मारी गयीं— बिना उस जनता के, जो उनकी रक्षा कर सकती थी, जो उन पर मर-मिटने को तैयार थी. □

CC-0. Bhagavad P

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धर्मनिरपेक्षता और इंदिरा गांधी

अली मुहम्मद खुसरो

जिस धर्मनिरपेक्षता की श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी समर्थक थीं और जिसका प्रचार वह करती थीं, उसकी जड़े गांधी जी और पंडित नेहरू की धर्मनिरपेक्षता मे थीं. और जिस धर्मनिरपेक्षता का प्रचार इन बुजुर्गों ने शुरू किया था, उसकी जड़े हिंदुस्तान के दो हजार साल के इतिहास में थीं. यों कहिए कि इंदिरा गांधी की धर्मनिरपेक्षता का बीज कई सौ साल पहले बोया गया था. और इस बीज का पौधा कई शताब्दियों से परवान चढ़ा था. जब गांधी जी और उनके साथियों ने कांग्रेस पार्टी की बुनियाद डाली और उसके साथ सोच-विचार का एक ढंग और एक कार्यक्रम बनाया, जिसमें मुल्क की आजादी सबसे ऊंचे मुकाम पर थी. ऐसा करते वक्त उन्होंने धर्मनिरपेक्षता के खयाल को साफ-सुथरी शक्ल दी और देश को इस रास्ते पर डाल दिया. जो चीज सदियों से इस देश की हवा मे थी, उसको एक पहचाना जानेवाला रूप दिया और उसकी हदें मुकर्रर कीं.

अखंड भारत की कोई बीस प्रतिशत आबादी हिंदू मत को माननेवाली थी. वेदों के जमाने से ले कर इस देश की बहुत बड़ी संस्कृति थी. वेदों से ले कर उपनिषद तक, आयुर्वेद से अर्थशास्त्र तक, रामायण से महाभारत तक, गणित से खगोल विज्ञान तक, दीन और दुनिया के बड़े-बड़े इल्म पैदा हो चुके थे और उनके अमल करनेवाले और आगे बढ़ानेवाले लाखों की गिनती मे मौजूद थे. संस्कृत भाषा के जरिये इल्म का प्रचार, चित्रकारी और मूर्ति शिल्प, लड़ाई लड़ने और हथियार बनाने की कला, जहाजरानी के जरिये से समंदर पर काबू, कृषि, उद्योग और व्यापार की तरक्की और समाज मे जिन-जिन कामों की जरूरत होती, उन सबका प्रबंध. यह सब हिंदुस्तानी समाज और तहजीब का हिस्सा बन चुके थे.

अगर गांधी जी और पंडित नेहरू चाहते, तो आजादी की लड़ाई को एक ऐसा मोड़ दे सकते थे, जिसमें आजाद हिंदुस्तान एक हिंदू राष्ट्र बन सकता था. दस-बीस साल के प्रचार मे, शायद इस हिंदू राष्ट्र की जड़े भी मजबूत हो सकती थीं.

मगर यह गांधी जी, पंडित नेहरू और उनके बुजुर्ग साथियों का बड़प्पन था कि उन्होंने हिंदुस्तानी इतिहास की बीसियों शताब्दियों का जायजा लेते हुए, और इस देश के धर्म को समझते हुए, बजाय हिंदू राष्ट्र का प्रचार करने के, धर्मनिरपेक्षता का प्रचार करना ठीक समझा. और देश को इस ढर्रे पर डाल दिया . तहजीब और समाज को समझनेवाले और इतिहास की जड़ों की खोज करनेवाले इन बुजुर्ग हिंदुस्तानियों ने यह देखा कि इस देश मे रंग-बिरंगी गंगा-जमनी तहजीबें और लोग मौजूद हैं. एक तरफ तो द्रविड़ी नस्लें बसीं, और हजारों साल पहले इनमें अफ्रीका से आयी हुई कुछ नीग्रो नस्लें मिलीं. दूसरी तरफ, ईसा से डेढ़ हजार साल पहले आर्य नस्लों का आना इस देश में शुरू हुआ. और यह उत्तरी भारत के अलग-अलग इलाकों में बसने लगे. ईसा से 326 साल पहले एक और आर्य नस्ल यूनान और मकदूनिया से चल कर सिकंदर के साथ हिंदुस्तान पहुंची और उनमें से बहुत से लोग यहीं बस गये. उधर पूर्व की तरफ से पीले रंग की चीनी नस्ल के लोगों ने बर्मा के पहाड़ों को पार कर के, पूर्वी हिंदुस्तान मे रहना-बसना शुरू कर दिया. फिर नौवीं से सत्रहवीं शताब्दी तक, शाम (सीरिया) के लोग, जो इसलाम धर्म को माननेवाले थे, हिंदुस्तान मे आये और बसने लगे. इस तरह दुनिया के चारों-पांचों बड़े नस्ली गुट यानी नीग्रो, द्रविड़ी, आर्य, चीनी और शामी (शाम देश के) इस देश में जमा हो गये.

हर कौम और नस्ल अपने साथ अपना इतिहास, अपनी भाषा, अपनी संस्कृति और अपने तौर-तरीके ले आयी और इन सारे समाजों की आपस में टक्कर होने लगी. पिछले जमाने के समझ-बूझ रखनेवाले बुजुर्गों ने जान लिया कि इतनी सारी नस्लों, कौमों, भाषाओं और संस्कृतियों की आपस मे टक्कर कोई मामूली चीज नहीं है. और डर इस बात का है कि हिंदुस्तान खून-खराबे, दंगे और फसाद की जड़ बन जायेगा और लोग आपस में लड़ते-कटते और मरते रहेंगे. दुनिया के किसी इलाके में इतनी नस्लों, कौमों और संस्कृतियों का झगड़ा नहीं हुआ था. इसलिए इन बुजुर्गों ने बहुत सोच-विचार के बाद, मेहनत से, ऐसे दर्शन, ऐसे मजहब, मिल-जुल कर रहने-सहने के ऐसे तरीके कर लिये और इन तरीकों को इस तरह किया कि एक हजार साल के अंदर इन एक-दूसरे को समझने, मिलनसारी से साथ काम करने, एक-दूसरे के प्रति बरतने यानी हमदर्दी के साथ बरताव के तरीके निकल आये और हिंदुस्तान एक या जिसे कि अंगरेजी में कहते हैं 'मल्टी सबकांटीनेंट' बन गया. भाईचारा और यहां की जिंदगी का तरीका ठहरा, तब 'जिओ और जीने दो' के दर्शन को मान उस पर अमल करने लगे. यों समझिए साल से दोस्ती और हमदर्दी इस देश की पड़ी हुई है.

इसी नुक्ते को गांधी जी और उनके समझा तथा राजनीति के चलन को इस की तरफ मोड़ दिया. आज भी भारत में अलग-अलग इलाके, जातियां, नस्लें संस्कृतियां और मजहब मौजूद हैं व उनमें दोस्ती-हमदर्दी बढ़ाने की जरूरत धर्मनिरपेक्षता का यह रास्ता आज भी अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए जरूरी है, क्योंकि में इनके लिए वह आजादी और वह नहीं मिल सकती थीं, जो धर्मनिरपेक्ष सकती हैं.

एक और बात समझने की यह है कि जम्हूरियत भी हमदर्दी और सहानुभूति दर्शन रखता है. चूंकि इस देश मे पहले सहिष्णुता का प्रचार हो रहा था, इसलिए गणतंत्र के लिए तैयार हो चुका था. यही कि तमाम विकासशील देशों में हिंदुस्तान पहले गणतंत्र का तरीका ईजाद किया लगभग चालीस साल से इसको कामयाबी साथ चलाया. खुद गांधी जी की कामयाबी इसलिए थी, कि पहले तो वह असाधारण समझ-बूझ और कद्र रखनेवाले आदमी दूसरे यह कि देश का, दर्शन ही सहिष्णुता चुका था. इंदिरा गांधी ने भी इस नुक्ते को समझ लिया और देश को इसी रास्ते पर रहीं. वह इतिहास के इस बड़े नुक्ते को थीं कि हिंदुस्तान की जनता, बड़े-बड़े और जंग लड़नेवाले जनरलों व कत्ल सूरमाओं को न इतना जानती है, न जितना कि वह दिलों को मिलानेवालों भाईचारे का प्रचार करनेवालों को है. महात्मा बुद्ध, सम्राट अशोक, अकबर बादशाह और हमारे दौर में गांधी जी सहिष्णुता के रास्ते पर चलनेवाले थे.

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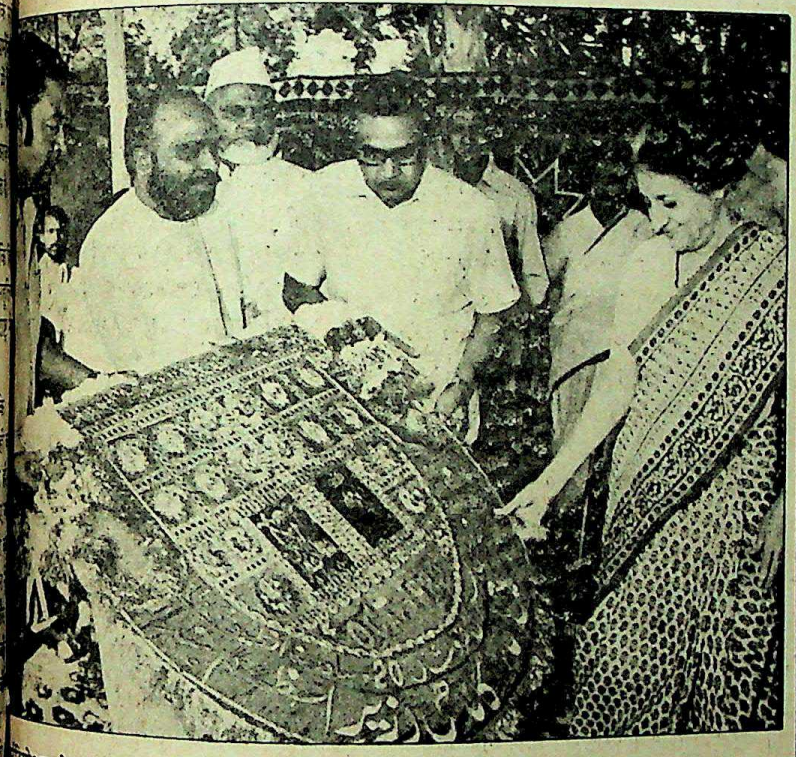
उपनिषद से ले कर भक्ति काल और उसके बाद तक, बल्कि आज तक सहिष्णुता ही का प्रचार होता रहा है और गुरु नानक, ख्वाजा मुईनुद्दीन चिश्ती और बाबा फरीदगंज शुक्र से ले कर निजामुद्दीन औलिया और गुलबर्ग के ख्वाजा बंदानवाज के वक्त तक सूफी मतावलंबी भी मजहबों के दायरे ही के रास्ते पर चलते रहे हैं. और दिलों को मिलाने का काम करते रहे हैं. गांधी जी, नेहरू जी और इंदिरा जी का यह खयाल सच साबित हुआ है. पिछले चालीस साल में हमने देख लिया है कि सहिष्णुता इस उपमहादेश में इतनी घुल गयी है कि पिछले 40 साल में, न हिंदुस्तान में, न पाकिस्तान में कभी कोई ऐसी राजनीतिक पार्टी सारे मुल्क में या केंद्रीय शासन में चुनाव के जरिये मुल्क की बागडोर न संभाल सकी, बल्कि 20 फीसदी से ज्यादा वोट भी न ले सकी, जिसने मजहब की बुनियाद पर या फूट डालने की बुनियाद पर वोटों के लिए लड़ाई लड़ी हो. इंदिरा जी ने भी समझ रखा था कि धर्मनिरपेक्षता मुल्क की घुट्टी में पड़ी है. इसलिए वह सहिष्णुता के ही तरीकों का प्रचार करती थीं.



धर्मनिरपेक्षता के प्रतीक फूलवालों की सैर मेले में इंदिरा गांधी

धर्मनिरपेक्षता के सिद्धांत और गांधी, नेहरू, इंदिरा गांधी के तरीकों को समझने के लिए, यह समझना जरूरी है कि हर समाज, एक ही वक्त में कई हिस्सों में बंटा हुआ होता है. लोगों की वफादारियां एक ही वक्त में कई तरफ खिंचती हैं. भारत जैसे हिंदुस्तान में कई इलाके या राज्य हैं और इनके बीच में इलाकाई दीवारें खड़ी हैं. हर इलाके में कई मजहबों के लोग बसते हैं. फिर कई मजहबों के अंदर जात-पांत का बंटवारा है. इस तरह लोगों के बीच मजहबी और जात-पांत की दीवारें भी खड़ी हैं. इसके साथ-साथ लोग अलग-अलग नस्लों में भी बंटे हुए हैं. और अलग-अलग भाषाएं भी बोलते हैं. इस तरह नस्ली और भाषाई दीवारें भी मौजूद हैं. हर आदमी की कई जिम्मेदारियां हैं. मैं हिंदुस्तानी भी हुआ और आंध्राई भी, मुसलमान भी हुआ और सैयद भी. उर्दू भाषा मेरी अपनी है और शायद मैं किसी ट्रेड यूनियन का सदस्य भी हूं. अब सवाल यह है कि इनमें कौन-सी वफादारियों को मिट जाना चाहिए, कौन-सी ऐसी हैं कि बाकी रखी जाये, बल्कि मजबूत की जाये और कौन-सी ऐसी हैं, जो दूसरी वफादारियों से ज्यादा वजन रखती हैं और वक्त पड़ने पर और वफादारियों में टक्कर होने पर यही वजनी वफादारियां बाकी रह जायेंगी और दूसरे पर गालिब हो (छा) जायेंगी.

आम तौर पर दुनिया में अब यह बात मान ली गयी है कि अपनी जाति और अपनी नस्ल से लगाव कोई ऊंचा दर्जा नहीं रखता. नस्ल और जाति का फ़र्क हर किस्म की तरक्की में रुकावट पैदा करता है. यह तो कोई बात ही न हुई कि हम जिस नस्ल या जाति में पैदा हो गये, वही सबसे अच्छी है और दूसरा जिस जाति में पैदा हो गया, वह बुरा ही ठहरे. इसीलिए इंदिरा गांधी का खयाल था और सच था कि नस्ल और जाति के खयाल को दबाने , बल्कि जड़ से उखाड़ फेंकने की ज़रूरत है. गांधी जी ने भी इसीलिए दक्षिणी अफ्रीका में रंग भेद के खिलाफ और इस देश में जाति के खिलाफ बगावत का झंडा बुलंद किया था. रहे इलाकाई और मजहबी फर्क, तो इसीलिए नहीं किया कि आंध्राई या मराठी होना या दिल्लीवाला या बिहारी होना, फख्र की बात नहीं है. या यह कि सिर्फ अपनी दिल्ली या महाराष्ट्र की संस्कृति को ही अच्छा न समझना चाहिए. यह भी किसी ने नहीं कहा कि ईसाई या हिंदू होना या मुसलिम या सिख होना बुरी बात है. ये सारे मजहब ऐसे हैं कि इनके पीछे नेकी और अखलाक (सद्व्यवहार) व किरदार (चरित्र और आचरण) की बड़ी गहरी समझ-बूझ है. और अगर इन मजहबों के बनाये हुए असली रास्तों पर चला जाये और उनकी सही भावना को समझ कर उन पर अमल किया जाये तो उनमें अच्छाई-ही-अच्छाई है. हां यह और बात है कि लोग नाम तो मजहब का लेते हैं और हर तरह की बुराई के शिकार हो जाते हैं. बल्कि कत्ल व खून भी कर बैठते हैं. यह तो मजहब का गलत इस्तेमाल है. जिस तरह हर अच्छे आंदोलन का गलत और गैरजिम्मेदाराना इस्तेमाल हो सकता है.

गांधी जी और इंदिरा गांधी की धर्मनिरपेक्षता में मजहब के खिलाफ कोई आवाज नहीं उठायी गयी, बल्कि हर मजहब के साथ सहिष्णुता का बरताव करने का तरीका समझाया गया है. हां, यह सवाल जरूर पैदा होता है कि मुल्क की वफादारी और मजहब या इलाकों वगैरह की वफादारी में अगर आपस में कोई टक्कर हो जाये तो कौन-सी वफादारी ऊंची समझी जायेगी. यहां इंदिरा गांधी ने इस बात का प्रचार किया है कि अपने मुल्क की वफादारी दूसरी वफादारियों से पहले है. यह भी कहा गया कि आम तौर पर मजहब और मुल्क से वफादारियों में टक्कर नहीं होती. इसलिए नहीं होती कि मजहबी या इलाकाई वफादारी व्यक्तिगत वफादारी है और इनको निभाने में कोई बुराई नहीं है, मगर इससे अहम वफादारी वह है, जो सारे समाज पर हावी है. और हर हिंदुस्तानी को इस वफादारी की कसम लेनी चाहिए. एक अमरीकी अमरीकी है, रूसी रूसी है और हिंदुस्तानी हिंदुस्तानी है और अच्छा हिंदुस्तानी बनने के लिए यह वफादारी सबसे जरूरी है. यों समझिए कि गांधी जी, पंडित नेहरू व इंदिरा गांधी की धर्मनिरपेक्षता की सबसे गहरी बात यह थी कि नस्ल और जाति के फर्क को मिटाया जाये, मजहबी और इलाकाई फर्क को अपने व्यक्तिगत मौकों पर बाकी रखा जाये और देश और राष्ट्र की वफादारी को सबसे ऊंची वफादारी माना जाये और इसको मजबूत बनाने की कोशिश की जाये. इसी तरीके का इंदिरा गांधी प्रचार करती रहीं.

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja

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'मैं उनका तीसरा बेटा था'

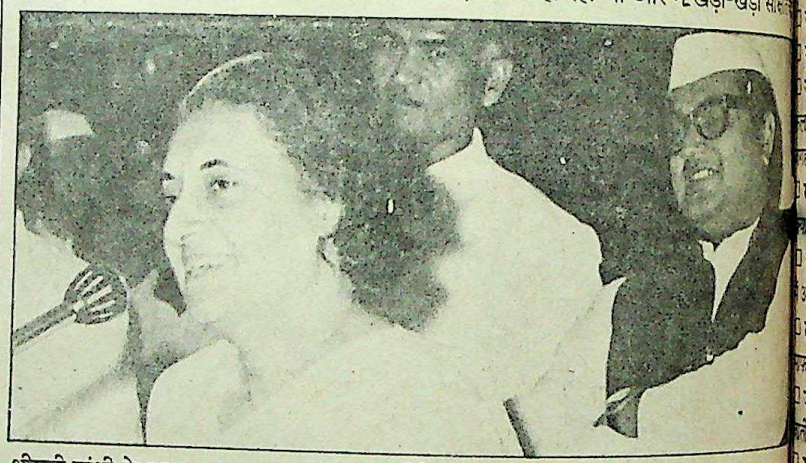
यशपाल कपूर

मैं कई सरकारी कार्यालयों मे क्लर्क की नौकरी करते हुए स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद विदेश मंत्रालय में पहुंचा. वहीं शार्ट हैंड और टाइप शुरू किया. सन 51 में प्रधानमंत्री सचिवालय मे स्टेनोग्राफर के रूप में पहंचा. वहीं पहली बार पंडित जी (नेहरू) से उनके हिंदी के पत्र लिखने के संदर्भ में मुलाकात हुई. तब मुझे ठीक से हिंदी नहीं आती थी, मैं पहले उर्दू मे चिट्ठी लिखता और बाद में किसी और से उसे हिंदी में लिखवा कर दे देता था.

सितंबर 1956 मे मुझे प्रधानमंत्री निवास 'तीन मूर्ति' भवन में भेज दिया गया. वहां और कामों के साथ-साथ इंदिरा जी का भी थोड़ा-बहुत काम करने लगा. इंदिरा जी ने ही केंद्रीय समाज कल्याण बोर्ड बनाने की सलाह दी थी. उस समय मौलाना आजाद शिक्षा मंत्री थे. सरकार ने जब बोर्ड बनाना तय कर लिया, तो मौलाना ने पंडित जी को नोट भेजा कि इंदिरा जी को ही इसका अध्यक्ष बनाया जाये. उस समय इंदिरा जी रूस का दौरा कर रही थीं. पंडित जी ने मौलाना आजाद के नोट पर लिखा कि 'मैं जानता हूं इंदू अध्यक्ष बनना नहीं चाहेगी, फिर भी उनसे पूछ लिया जाये.' मास्को दूतावास में खबर दे कर पूछा गया, तो उन्होंने मना कर दिया. लेकिन बोर्ड की सदस्य वह बनीं. सदस्य के रूप में उनको सारा पहाड़ी क्षेत्र मिला. कश्मीर से ले कर मणिपुर तक और साथ में पंजाब को भी जोड़ा गया था. उस सिलसिले में 57-58 में उन्होंने काफी दौरे किये. मैं भी हमेशा उनके साथ रहता था. सन 59 में वह कांग्रेस की अध्यक्ष बनीं. उससे पहले युवा कांग्रेस की अध्यक्ष थीं. कांग्रेस बनने के बाद वह बहुत व्यस्त रहीं. ग्यारह महीने के काल में 7 महीने देश का दौरा करती रहीं, जिसमें महाराष्ट्र और केरल के दौरे को मैं काफी महत्वपूर्ण मानता हूं.

सन 60 में इन्होंने कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष बनना मंजूर नहीं किया. उनके गुर्दे में पथरी की तकलीफ थी. रात को सोते वक्त उन्हें असह्य पीड़ा होती थी. दिन में जब भाषण करती थीं, तो पेट को एक तरफ हाथ से दबाये रहती थीं. डाक्टर ने मेरी ड्यूटी लगा रखी थी कि जहां कहीं भी हों हर आधे घंटे बाद पानी का गिलास उन्हें देता रहूं. कई बार तो रास्ते में चलते-चलते मुझे अपनी कार उनकी कार के आगे खड़ी करनी पड़ती थी-उन्हें रोक कर पानी पिलाने के लिए. सन 60 में ही उनका आपरेशन हुआ. बदकिस्मती से फीरोज साहब का निधन भी सन 60 के सितंबर महीने में ही हुआ. उस रात वह केरल का दौरा करके लौटे थे. 7 सितंबर की रात दस बजे इंदिराजी सीधे वहां गयीं, मैं कोठी पर गया. सुबह आठ बजे मैं पहुंचा लेकिन पौने आठ बजे ही वह चल बसे थे. उनका शव तीन मूर्ति भवन में रखा गया तथा रात को ही दाह संस्कार किया गया. जब मैं वापस घर आ रहा था, तो इंदिरा जी ने बुला कर पूछा 'कपूर तुमने कुछ खाया ?' मैंने कहा, बाहर कुछ खा लिया था. बोलीं, 'नहीं, तुम तो कहीं गये ही नहीं. दिन भर बर्फ ठीक करते रहे. घर पर आज दाल-भात बना है,खा कर जाना. उस वक्त वहां की इंचार्ज थीं, 'मिसेज अटल'. उन्हें बुला कर उन्होंने कहा कि कपूर को बिना खाये मत जाने देना. ये बाते भी मैंने अपने प्रति उनके व्यवहार में कोई [illegible] नहीं महसूस किया. तब भी पहले की ही [illegible] रोज सुबह आठ बजे उनके पास चला [illegible] संसद में आने के बाद राज्यसभा में जाता [illegible] बाकी समय उनके कार्यालय में बैठा रहता [illegible] 1980 के बाद उन्होंने मुझे 'नेशनल हेरल्ड' [illegible] काम में लगा दिया, जिसमें हम उलझे के [illegible]

उन्हें गुस्सा भी आता था, पर कारण [illegible] चलता था और वह गुस्सा किसी और पर [illegible] देती थीं. एक बार रेडियो पर उनका प्रसारण [illegible] था. मैं अंगरेजी से हिंदी मे अनुवाद करता [illegible] इंदिरा जी को किसी ने कह दिया कि किसी [illegible] हिंदीवाले से लिखवाओ, तो उस बार हिंदी [illegible] बड़े विद्वान को लिखने को दे दिया (नाम [illegible] बताऊंगा) अनुवाद जब वापस आया, तो [illegible] मिनट की जगह 22 मिनट का था. उसे पढ़ [illegible] बाद उन्होंने मुझे बुलाया. शयनकक्ष के [illegible] में खड़ी खुले बाल, लालरंग का गाउन पहने [illegible] नंगे पैर पटकती जा रही थीं. उनकी आंखें [illegible] लाल हो रही थीं और मैं खड़ा-खड़ा सा [illegible]



श्रीमती गांधी के साथ यशपाल कपूर : वह हर छोटे-बड़े का खयाल रखती थीं

देखने में तो छोटी नजर आती हैं, पर उन्हें हम जैसे छोटे लोगों का भी इतना खयाल रहता था, यह सोच कर मन भर जाता है.

जिस दिन पंडित जी की भस्म इलाहाबाद जानी थी, उस रात शास्त्री जी आये और घंटों बैठे उनसे बातें करते रहे. हम सब परेशान थे कि सुबह ही इलाहाबाद जाना है और इंदिरा जी को सोना भी है, शास्त्री जी ऐसी कौन सी बातें कर रहे हैं. इलाहाबाद से वापस आने पर शास्त्री जी ने अपने मंत्रिमंडल की घोषणा की तो इंदिरा जी का नाम सूचना प्रसारण मंत्री के रूप में था. उससे पहले यह मंत्रालय सत्यनारायण सिन्हा के पास था. तब पता चला कि शास्त्री जी ने जब तक इंदिरा जी से मंत्रिमंडल में शामिल होने के लिए मनवा नहीं लिया था, तब तक बैठे रहे थे.

मुझ जैसे एक मामूली क्लर्क को उन्होंने संसद-सदस्य तक बना दिया. सांसद बनने के बाद के दर्शन कर रहा था. उस अनुवाद को दोबारा ठीक किया और सुबह छह बजे उनके शयनकक्ष में सरका दिया.

एक घटना मैं कभी नहीं भूलता. करीब [illegible] हम लोग पहल गांव जा रहे थे. राजीव, संजय [illegible] मछली मारने के लिए रास्ते में रुके. सबने [illegible] पी. उसके बाद जो बरतन थे, उनको साफ [illegible] था. मैं अपनी प्लेट और प्याली ले कर पानी [illegible] तरफ बढ़ा. मुझे देख कर वह बोलीं, 'कपूर, [illegible] कहां जा रहे हो, लाओ मैं साफ कर देती हूं.' [illegible] राजीव, संजय के साथ उन्होंने मेरे बरतन भी [illegible] एक बार उन्हें एक प्रोजेक्ट देखने जाना था. [illegible] कहा कि दोनों बच्चों को भी शाम को प्रोजेक्ट [illegible] दिखाने ले जाना है. वह बोलीं, दो को नहीं [illegible] बच्चों को ले जायेंगे. उनका तीसरा बच्चा मैं [illegible] था.

प्रस्तुति : राकेश सहाय

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization.

खुशी जीवन में होती है, सपनों में नहीं— इंदिरा गांधी

श्रीमती गांधी ने जर्मन अखबार 'फ्रैंकफर्टर एलीजीमेन' को दिये अपने इस इंटरव्यू में अपनी पसंद-नापसंद और भूलों आदि के बारे में विस्तार से बताया था. राजनीति से इतर विषयों पर लिया गया यह साक्षात्कार उनके व्यक्तित्व को समझने में काफी सहायक है.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपके जीवन में सर्वाधिक दुखद क्षण कौन-से हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : स्वजनों की मृत्यु.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप कहां रहना चाहेंगी ?*

☐ **जवाब** : पहाड़ों पर, घने दरख्तों के बीच, कलकल करती नदी के किनारे. और हां, यह कहीं भारत में ही होगी.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी दृष्टि में सांसारिक आनंद क्या है ?*

☐ **जवाब** : इसका कोई अस्तित्व नहीं है, किंतु आनंद के गहन क्षणों-अनुभवों से गुजरी हूं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप किन गलतियों को एकदम माफ कर देती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : वे गलतियां, जो अनजाने में हो जाती हैं.

☐ **सवाल** : *इतिहास में आपका प्रिय नायक ?*

☐ **जवाब** : भारतीय दार्शनिक और संत आदि शंकराचार्य (788 से 820) तथा लियोनार्द द विंची.

☐ **सवाल** : *और वर्तमान महिला नायिकाएं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : वास्तव में कोई पुरुष और महिला मेरा नायक -नायिका नहीं है, लेकिन मैं उन सभी का सम्मान करती हूं, जो कठिन हालात पर विजय पाते हैं और अपनी जान दूसरों के लिए न्योछावर कर देते हैं. जैसे, हेलेन केलर, डगलस बाडर (पंखविहीन पायलट).

☐ **सवाल** : *कविता में आपकी प्रिय नायिका ?*

☐ **जवाब** : मैं नहीं सोचती कोई है.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपका प्रिय चित्रकार ?*

☐ **जवाब** : बहुत सारे हैं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपका प्रिय कंपोजर ?*

☐ **जवाब** : बाख और मोजार्ट.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप पुरुष के किस गुण का सर्वाधिक सम्मान करती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : बेबाकी, दूसरों की मदद और दूसरे को समझने की इच्छा.

☐ **सवाल** : *और महिलाओं में ?*

☐ **जवाब** : उनमें भी यही गुण मैं पसंद करती हूं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी दृष्टि में सर्वाधिक अच्छा सद्‌गुण ?*

☐ **जवाब** : पुरुष और महिला दोनों में नैतिक, बौद्धिक और शारीरिक साहस.

☐ **सवाल** : *फुर्सत के क्षणों में आप क्या करती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : पहाड़ों और जंगलों में घूम कर समय गुजारती हूं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी मुख्य विशेषता क्या है ?*

☐ **जवाब** : लोगों के बारे में सोचना.

☐ **सवाल** : *अपने दोस्तों में आप किस चीज को पसंद करती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : हास-परिहास का सामूहिक माद्दा.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी सबसे भयंकर गलती ?*

☐ **जवाब** : इसका निर्णय मैं दूसरों पर छोड़ती हूं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी खुशी का सपना ?*

☐ **जवाब** : खुशी जीवन में होती है, जिसे हम जीते हैं, सपनों में नहीं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपको कौन-सी घटना सबसे ज्यादा तकलीफ देगी ?*

☐ **जवाब** : भारत की आजादी को खत्म करने की कोई कोशिश.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप क्या बनना चाहेंगी ?*

☐ **जवाब** : जो मैं हूं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपके पसंदीदा रंग ?*

☐ **जवाब** : रंग की पसंद 'मूड', मौसम और जगह पर निर्भर करती है. मुझे हर रंग में कुछ-न-कुछ अच्छा लगता है, पर उसी समय कुछ नापसंदगी भी उभर आती है. कुछ रंग हैं, जिन्हें मैं पंसद नहीं करती, पर वे दूसरे रंगों के साथ मिल कर बेहद अच्छे लगते हैं. मूलतः मुझे शरदकालीन, हरे, गहरा लाल और सुनहरे पत्तोंवाले रंग पसंद हैं.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपका प्रिय फूल ?*

☐ **जवाब** : पहाड़ों में खिल बासंती फूल.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपकी प्रिय चिड़िया ?*

☐ **जवाब** : सफेद चोंचवाली रेड स्टार्ट.

☐ **सवाल** : *आपका प्रिय लेखक ?*

☐ **जवाब** : लेखक और कवि दोस्तों की तरह हैं. बहुतों से मुझे नयी-नयी जानकारियां प्राप्त होती हैं, जो मेरे ज्ञान को बढ़ाती हैं.

☐ **सवाल** : *इतिहास में आपका प्रिय नायक ?*

☐ **जवाब** : हब्बा खातून, कश्मीर की रानी (16वीं शताब्दी).

☐ **सवाल** : *आप सबसे ज्यादा नापसंद किन चीजों को करती हैं.*

☐ **जवाब** : छोटेपन, घृणास्पद दिखावा, पाखंड और कंजूसी.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप इतिहास में सबसे ज्यादा घृणा किससे करती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : हिटलर, वह आदमी जिसके पागलपन और क्रूर कारनामे हमारे सामने हुए.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप किन सैनिक कार्रवाइयों को सम्मान से देखती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : अशोक (तीसरी शताब्दी) और अकबर (16वीं शताब्दी) दोनों ही सैन्य कुशलता और विजय के लिए जाने जाते थे. पर साथ ही वे विवेकी, दूर दृष्टिवान और परिपक्व थे. खून-खराबे के बाद अशोक ने युद्ध के उन्माद और क्रूरता को समझा और युद्ध के बाद सहिष्णुता और समझ का संदेश दिया.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप किन सुधारों को प्राथमिकता देती हैं ?*

☐ **जवाब** : वे जो जरूरतमंदों की मदद करें.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप प्रकृति प्रदत्त कौन-सा गुण पाना चाहेंगी ?*

☐ **जवाब** : बेहतरीन आवाज.

☐ **सवाल** : *आप कैसी मृत्यु चाहेंगी ?*

☐ **जवाब** : गरिमायुक्त . सोच ही मैं चाहती हूं कि जो मुझे चाहते हैं, उन्हें मेरी मृत्यु से पीड़ा न हो. ☐

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramayana.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

वह सुरक्षा की ज्यादा परवाह नहीं करती थीं

(1977 से 80 तक इंदिरा गांधी के अंगरक्षक रहे कौशल किशोर से बातचीत

सवाल : *आप इतने दिनों तक इंदिरा जी के करीब रहे और उनकी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था भी देखते रहे. इंदिरा जी सुरक्षा के प्रति कितनी सजग रहती थीं, इसके बारे में आपका क्या अनुभव है ?*

☐ **जवाब :** सुरक्षा के प्रति वह सतर्क तो रहती थीं, लेकिन इसकी ज्यादा परवाह नहीं करती थीं, क्योंकि जनता से उनका बहुत लगाव था. सुरक्षा से ज्यादा महत्व वह जनता को देती थीं. एक बार चुनाव में इंदिरा जी गयी थीं. वहां देवराज अर्स आदि लोगों ने उनसे कहा कि वह बंद कार में जायें, लेकिन उन्होंने काले झंडों आदि की परवाह न की और भीड़ में घुस गयीं. वह चुनाव क्षेत्र बंगरप्पा का था. उस मीटिंग में शीशे का एक टुकड़ा उनके गाल पर आ कर लगा. खून निकला, लेकिन उन्होंने परवाह नहीं की. वह इस बारे में ज्यादा सतर्क रहती थीं कि सुरक्षा की वजह से जनता से उनका संपर्क न टूटे.

☐ **सवाल :** *कभी उन्होंने सुरक्षा व्यवस्था में ज्यादा उत्साह दिखाने के लिए आपको झिड़का या डांटा नहीं ?*

☐ **जवाब :** ऐसा कई बार हुआ है कि लोगों की भीड़ देख कर हम जब रोकने की कोशिश करते थे, तो वह हमें मना कर देती थीं कि क्यों रोक रहे हो, उन्हें आने दो, मिलने दो. उनसे हमें कभी कोई खतरा नहीं है. आज देखता हूं उनकी बात सही निकली. देश की जनता से उन्हें खतरा नहीं हुआ. खतरा हुआ तो घर के अंदर, जहां जनता नहीं थी. वरना वह तो उन्हें बचा ही लेती. चिकमगलूर के चुनाव में जनता पार्टी के लोगों ने उन्हें बहुत परेशान किया. जूते फेंके, मुंह पर थूकने की कोशिश की, लेकिन उन्होंने लोगों से मिलने में कभी कोई कमी नहीं की. भीड़ देखते ही उसके पास चली जाती थीं.

☐ **सवाल :** *कोई घटना याद है, जब आपको सुरक्षा करने के लिए डांटा हो ?*

☐ **जवाब :** आजमगढ़ में मोहसिना किदवईवाला उपचुनाव था. इंदिरा जी को मुगलसराय से ट्रेन पकड़नी थी. उसी ट्रेन से केंद्रीय स्वास्थ्य मंत्री राजनारायण भी जा रहे थे. राजनारायण जी को छोड़ने आये लोग बदतमीजी करने लगे. इंदिरा जी के साथ गाली-गलौज करने लगे. हम लोग उनका मुकाबला करते रहे. इंदिरा जी स्टेशन तक नहीं आ पायी थीं. राजनारायण के लोगों ने रेलवेवालों से कहा कि ट्रेन चला दो, इंदिरा गांधी को यहीं छोड़ दो. रेलवेवालों ने ऐसा नहीं किया. जब इंदिरा जी आयीं, तो कुछ युवक नारेबाजी व धक्का-मुक्की करने लगे. जिनसे हमारी झड़प हो रही थी. उनमें से दो युवक इंदिरा जी से मिलना चाहते थे. मैं उन्हें नहीं जाने दे रहा था. इंदिरा जी ने मुझे डांटा कि उन्हें आने दो, लेकिन उनके लाख कहने के बावजूद मैंने उन्हें नहीं आने दिया.

☐ **सवाल :** *आप इंदिरा जी के करीब कैसे पहुंचे ?*

☐ **जवाब :** हम कुछ लोग युवक कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता थे. इंदिरा जी का उत्तरप्रदेश दौरा 17 सितंबर 77 को हुआ. वहां लखनऊ रेलवे स्टेशन पर और बाद में रायबरेली में जनता पार्टी के कुछ लोगों ने मारपीट, पथराव व नारेबाजी की. उस पूरी यात्रा में हम लोगों ने आगे आ कर पत्थरों व हाथापाई का मुकाबला करके उनकी रक्षा की और कहीं भी एक खरोंच तक नहीं आने दी.
जब दौरा पूरा हो गया, तो इंदिरा जी ने मेरा पूरा परिचय लिया और मुझसे कहा कि यदि तुम मेरे साथ रहो तो कैसा रहेगा. मैंने उसे आदेश मान कर स्वीकार कर लिया.

☐ **सवाल :** *सुना है कि आपको कमलापति जी ने इंदिरा जी की सुरक्षा में लगवाया ?*

☐ **जवाब :** मैं कमलापति त्रिपाठी की संस्था किसान मजदूर वाहिनी में था. इसलिए कमलापति त्रिपाठी परिवार के प्रति हमारा लगाव था ही. कमलापति जी ने भी मुझसे कहा कि इंदिरा जी की इच्छा है कि तुम उनके साथ रहो, तो मैं तैयार हो गया और हमेशा चरण छू कर इंदिरा जी से निष्ठा से रहा.

कौशल किशोर के साथ श्रीमती गांधी

☐ **सवाल :** *1980 में आपको इंदिरा जी से हटा दिया ?*

☐ **जवाब :** यह कहना गलत है कि मैं उनसे अलग हो गया. मैं उनकी नौकरी में तो था ही, तो व्यक्तिगत सेवा में लगा था. जब लोग पूछते कि ये कौन हैं, तो वह खुद कहा करती थीं कि हमारे पर्सनल बॉडी गाड हैं. प्रधानमंत्री बनने के बाद उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए जब सरकारी इंतजाम हो गया, तो फिर हमारी कोई जरूरत ही न

☐ **सवाल :** *कोई खास संस्मरण याद है ?*

☐ **जवाब :** हां ! जब हमारी शादी होने वाली थी, तो उसी दिन उनके खिलाफ लोकसभा में मर्यादा हनन प्रस्ताव आया था. मैं उन्हें निमंत्रण देने गया, तो उन्होंने कहा कि अच्छा है, तुम शादी में लगो, लेकिन मैं तो नहीं आ पाऊंगी, क्योंकि मुझे तो जेल जाना पड़ेगा. मैंने कहा, मैं शादी नहीं करूंगा, तो उन्होंने मुझे डांट कर भेजा और कहा जाओ शादी करो. मैं जैसे ही घर आया, तो पता चला कि मध्यप्रदेश के एक सांसद की मृत्यु हो गयी है और सदन स्थगित हो गया. मैंने फोन कर उन्हें यह खबर दी. शाम को वह मेरी शादी में शरीक होने के लिए समारोह स्थल 9, अकबर (कमलापति त्रिपाठी का घर) पर आयीं और घंटे तक रह कर मेरे माता-पिता की भूमिका का निर्वाह किया. शादी के सारे इंतजाम उन्होंने खुद देखे. खाने-पीने का बंदोबस्त, मेहमान आदि का स्वागत वह खुद ही कर रही थीं. यह सब देख कर प्यार से मेरी आंखें भर आयीं. फिर गाड़ी भेज कर घर से सोनिया गांधी व दोनों बच्चों राहुल-प्रियंका को भी बुलवाया. संजय जी का एक एक्सीडेंट हुआ था, इसलिए वह नहीं आ सके थे. बाद में जब वह प्रधानमंत्री थीं, तो एक दिन मैं अपनी पत्नी व बच्ची के साथ गया, तो उन्होंने मेरी बच्ची को देख कर उसका नाम पूछा और कहा कि इसका अच्छा नाम रखो. फिर खुद ही उसका 'स्वर्ण' रखा, क्योंकि मेरी पत्नी का नाम कंचन

☐ **सवाल :** *अगर 31 अक्तूबर की सुबह उनके साथ होते, तो क्या करते ?*

☐ **जवाब :** मैं उनको कवर कर लेता. सारी गोलियां खुद खा लेता, लेकिन अपने जिंदा इंदिरा जी को नहीं मरने देता.

राजीव शुक्ल

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

अछूते प्रसंग

अगर चौधरी चरण सिंह के हनुमान राजनारायण थे, तो इंदिरा गांधी के पास भी एक हनुमान थे. यह हनुमान और कोई नहीं कांग्रेस (इं) के कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष कमलापति त्रिपाठी थे.

बात जनता राज के दिनों की है. इंदिरा गांधी सत्ता से बाहर थीं और काफी परेशान थीं. एक दिन उनसे बिहार के एक पूर्व सांसद मिलने गये, उन्हीं दिनों राजनारायण के चौधरी चरण सिंह का हनुमान बनने की चर्चा काफी जोरों से चल रही थी और चौधरी साहब के प्रधानमंत्री बनने की भी तैयारी हो रही थी.

उन पूर्व सांसद महोदय ने इंदिरा जी से कहा कि आपके पास कोई हनुमान तो है नहीं. आप भला अब दोबारा प्रधानमंत्री कैसे बन सकती हैं. इंदिरा जी उस समय तो चुप हो गयीं, लेकिन बाद में उन्होंने यह बात पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी से कही. पंडित जी ने कहा कि आपको कह देना चाहिए था कि मेरे पास एक हनुमान है. इंदिरा जी ने पूछा कि वह कौन है, तो कमलापति जी ने कहा कि मैं आपका हनुमान ही तो हूं. इस पर इंदिरा जी हंसने लगीं कि पंडित जी कैसी बातें कर रहे हैं. पंडित जी ने कहा कि हनुमान ने भगवान रामचंद्र का साथ हर मुसीबत में दिया और जब राज-पाट मिला, तो बिना उसकी परवाह किये हनुमानगढ़ी में चले गये, महल में नहीं रहे. उसी तरह मैं आपकी मुसीबत में आपके साथ हूं, जब कोई

कुरसी की बात आयेगी, तो मुझे वह नहीं चाहिए. कमलापति जी की यह बात सुन कर इंदिरा जी काफी भावुक हो गयीं.

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श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी यदि किसी का बचाव करती थीं, तो उसकी कमियों के लिए भी अकेले में उसे खूब फटकारती थीं.

1984 की बात है. उत्तरप्रदेश के तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री श्रीपति मिश्र के खिलाफ बहुत तेजी से अभियान चल रहा था. एक-न-एक जत्था रोज श्रीमती गांधी से श्रीपति मिश्र के खिलाफ शिकायत ले कर मिलता था, लेकिन श्रीमती गांधी उनके खिलाफ एक शब्द भी कहने के लिए तैयार नहीं थीं. वह केवल सुन लेती थीं. श्रीपति जी के खिलाफ मुख्य शिकायत यह थी कि उनका प्रशासन सुस्त है. वह चुस्त नहीं हो पा रहा है.

श्रीमती गांधी लखनऊ गयी हुई थीं. वहां हवाईअड्डे पर मुख्यमंत्री सहित तमाम लोग मौजूद थे. इंदिरा जी ने श्रीपति जी से इस तरह बात की मानो वह उन पर बहुत खुश हैं, लेकिन लौटते समय हवाईअड्डे के एक कोने में श्रीपति मिश्र को अकेले में ले गयीं और वहां उन्हें अच्छी तरह से फटकारा. श्रीमती गांधी अपनी दोनों मुट्ठियां भींच कर कह रही थीं, 'आप अपने शासन को चुस्त क्यों नहीं करते हैं ?' श्रीमती गांधी ने कम-से-कम पांच बार यह वाक्य दोहराया. इसके बाद लोगों के बीच आ कर फिर उसी तरह श्रीपति जी से हंस कर बातचीत करने लगीं.

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इंदिरा गांधी अगर दुनिया की कुछ अच्छे कपड़े पहननेवाली महिलाओं में से थीं, तो वह पौधों और फूलों से भी बहुत प्यार करती थीं. इंदिरा जी के साउथ ब्लॉक दफ़्तर में, उनके चैंबर में एक प्लांट लगा था, जिसके पत्ते बहुत साफ रखने पड़ते हैं.

एक दिन सुबह उनके सचिव पी. सी. अलेक्ज़ेंडर बातचीत के लिए सुबह 9.30 बजे उनके चैंबर में गये, तो देखा कि श्रीमती गांधी अपनी कुरसी पर नहीं थीं. इधर-उधर निगाह डाली, तो पता चला कि वह कोने में बैठी अपने रूमाल से प्लांट के पत्तों को साफ कर रही थीं. साफ करते-करते ही वह अलेक्ज़ेंडर से बोलीं कि देखो, साफ करनेवाले लोग ऊपर-ऊपर से पत्ते साफ कर देते हैं, पत्तों के निचले हिस्सों में गंदगी रहती है, जिसे मुझे साफ करना पड़ रहा है.

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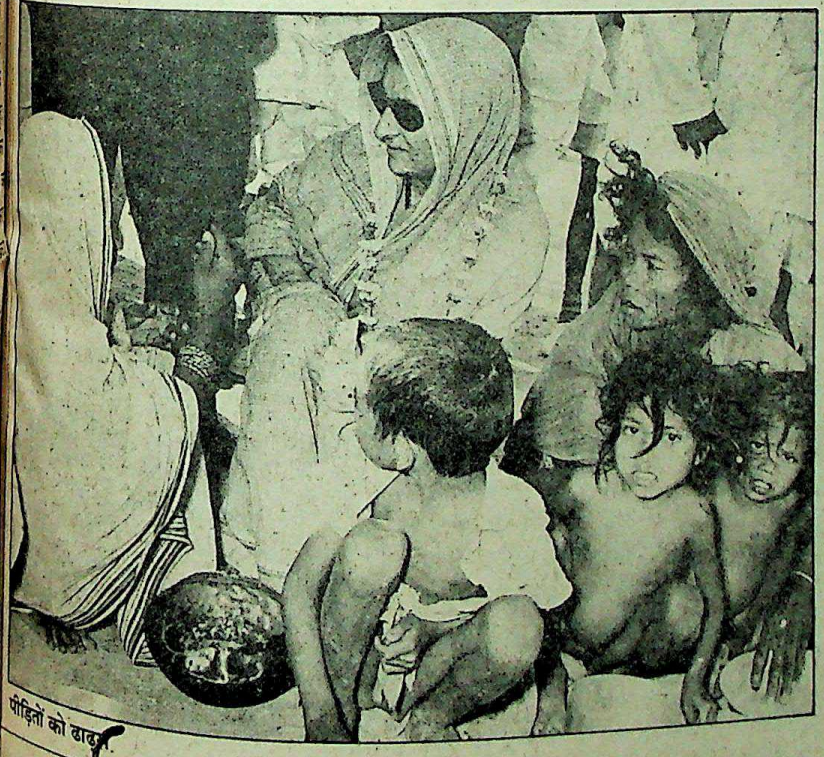
राजनीतिक तिकड़मों में भी इंदिरा गांधी का कोई जवाब नहीं था. वह पक्की राजनीतिज्ञ थीं. किस समय, किस स्थिति का क्या लाभ उठाना चाहिए, यह वह अच्छी तरह जानती थीं.

जनता शासन के दौरान वह विपक्ष की प्रमुख नेता थीं और उत्तरप्रदेश के बाढ़ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों के दौरे पर गयी हुई थीं. उन्हें कई जिलों का दौरा करना था. बताते हैं कि उत्तरप्रदेश पहुंचने पर सबसे पहले उन्होंने अपने लोगों से कुछ मुट्ठी खराब सड़ा अनाज लाने को कहा. इसके बाद वह जिस जिले में जाती थीं, पहले बाढ़ ग्रस्त क्षेत्र को देख वहां के पीड़ित लोगों से मिलती थीं, इसके बाद प्रेसवालों से जरूर मिलतीं थीं. प्रेस को वह बाढ़ का और सरकार की नाकामी का पूरा हाल बताने के बाद वही अनाज पत्रकारों को दिखाती थीं कि जिला प्रशासन की ओर से यह सड़ा अनाज लोगों को बांटा जा रहा है. इस तरह उन्होंने वही दो मुट्ठी अनाज सभी जगहों पर दिखा कर उसे हर जिला प्रशासन द्वारा वितरित किया जा रहा बताया. जबकि अनाज उन्होंने पहले से ही मंगा लिया था. अब हर जिले के अधिकारी परेशान थे और मुख्यमंत्री को सफाई देते-देते परेशान हो गये.

राजीव शुक्ल



पीड़ितों को दाद.

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja N...

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

अगर वह 'भारत की सम्राज्ञी' न होतीं !

जनार्दन ठाकुर

अब मैं जब भी इंदिरा गांधी के बारे में सोचता हूं, तो उनकी अलग-अलग तसवीर मेरे दिमाग में उभरती है—उनके व्यक्तित्व के अलग-अलग पहलू, मिजाज के अलग-अलग रंग. पर उनकी एक मुद्रा अकसर मुझे याद आती है—12 विलिंगटन क्रीसेंट के बरामदे के खभे से लग कर खड़ी इंदिरा गांधी—निगाहें दूर टिकी हुईं, अहाते में मौजूद लोगों से परे, पेड़ों से परे, कहीं दूर कुछ खोजती निगाहें. वह अप्रैल 1977 की कोई सुबह थी. 1, सफदरजंग रोड को छोड़े हुए उन्हें अधिक दिन नहीं बीते थे. उस वक्त ज्यादातर लोगों का सोचना था कि श्रीमती गांधी के दिन अब लद चुके हैं, वह इतिहास की कचरापेटी की चीज हो चुकी हैं और उनकी वापसी कभी नहीं होगी. उनकी करारी हार के शायद अगले ही दिन *स्टेट्समैन* में रघु राय की खींची वह फोटो छपी थी, जिसमें एक सफाईकर्मी को इंदिरा गांधी का पोस्टर झाड़ू से कचरापेटी के पास बटोरते दिखाया गया था.

उस सवेरे मैं उनके घर गया. मुझे दरअसल इंदिरा गांधी के 'शैडो' से मुलाकात करनी थी—मेरा मतलब आर. के. धवन से है. हम दोनों बगीचे के एक छोर पर बतियाने बैठे. यह इंटरव्यू हम दोनों के लिए ही टेढ़ी खीर साबित हो रहा था, क्योंकि धवन का खयाल था कि जो लोग भी इमर्जेंसी या 'इंदिरा गांधी के पतन' पर किताब लिख रहे हैं, वे 'गंदा काम' कर रहे हैं. धवन दृढ़प्रतिज्ञ थे कि 'खैर, बाद में हम सबको देख लेंगे.' बहरहाल, हमारी बातचीत जारी रही, तभी सफेद कुरता-पायजामा पहने राजीव गांधी बाहर निकले. तब वह एअरलाइंस में नौकरी करते थे. शायद उस दिन वह छुट्टी पर थे. राजीव को दरअसल एक संड़सी की तलाश थी. कोई पेटी-वेटी खोलनी थी उन्हें. उन दिनों हर काम के लिए परिवार के सारे लोग आर. के. धवन के पास ही आते थे, चाहे उन्हें संड़सी ही क्यों न चाहिए हो!

कुछ पल बाद इंदिरा गांधी बाहर आयीं—निपट अकेली. चिक हटा कर वह बाहर निकलीं और बरामदे में खंभे के सहारे लग कर खड़ी हो गयीं. निगाहें दूर कहीं, कुछ तलाशती हुईं. वह इतनी खोयी हुई दिख रही थीं कि यकीन नहीं हो रहा था कि क्या यह वही इंदिरा गांधी हैं, जिन्हें कल तक लोग 'भारत की सम्राज्ञी' कहा करते थे ? मैं उन्हें देखता ही रह गया, इसमें मेरी कोई दिलचस्पी ही नहीं रह गयी कि धवन क्या कह रहे हैं—हालांकि वह बड़ी मुश्किल से नरम पड़े थे और मेरी किताब के लिए 'जहां तक मुमकिन होगा, मदद करने' को तैयार हो गये थे. पर मेरी निगाहें तो बरामदे में खड़ी उस अकेली आकृति पर ही टिकी थीं. मैं सोच रहा था, इस समय क्या होगा उनके विचारों का रंग ? वह मुझसे मिलने को राजी नहीं हुईं, उन गाढ़े दिनों में भी उन्होंने 'न' कर दिया. क्या किसी ने उन्हें बता तो नहीं दिया कि मैंने उनकी हार की भविष्यवाणी की थी (उन दिनों मैं एक अखबार के लिए काम करता था) या फिर पत्रकारों और लेखकों से अपनी पुरानी एलर्जी की वजह से वह मुझसे नहीं मिलना चाह रही थीं ?

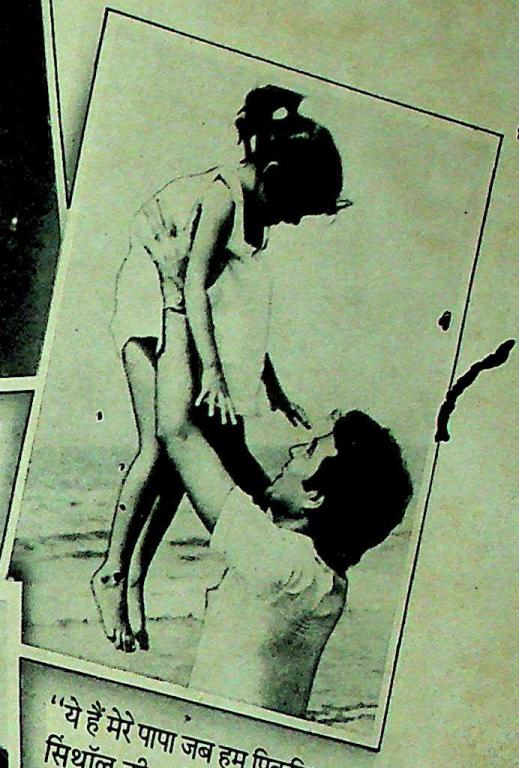
लेकिन कुछ दिनों बाद फिर मैंने उन्हें नजदीक से देखा. इस बार बदलाव साफ दिख रहा था. अपनी हार के बाद पहली बार वह दिल्ली से बाहर निकली थीं. वह पवनार गयी थीं—'सरकारी बाबा' का आशीर्वाद और मार्गदर्शन पाने. मैं इस यात्रा में उनके साथ था. अपने खोल से बाहर आने का यह उनका पहला आजमाइशी कदम था. माहौल को टटोलने की पहली कोशिश थी यह. उस समय उन्हें समर्थन की, सहारे की तलाश थी. उन्हें इसका भी गुमान नहीं था कि कौन क्या कहेगा, कौन क्या करेगा. कहीं डर-सा भी कुछ पैठा हुआ था उनके भीतर. हालांकि डर एक ऐसी चीज थी, जिसका नाता उनके साथ जुड़ते मैंने कभी नहीं देखा. एक यही चीज तो थी उनमें, निर्भयता. कम-से-कम अपने बेटे के मुकाबले कहीं ज्यादा निडर थीं वह. आज उनके बेटे राजीव क्या कर रहे हैं—बुलेटप्रूफ कारों से अब वह बुलेटप्रूफ मंच तक आ गये हैं. बहरहाल, पवनार में मैंने देखा कि एक दिन में उनके भीतर कितना चमत्कारिक बदलाव आ गया था. उन्हें देखने जुटी भीड़ ने जैसे उनके लिए टॉनिक का काम किया.

'चलते रहो'—बस यह दो शब्द ही लिखे थे विनोबा ने अपनी स्लेट पर. बाबा का उन दिनों मौन व्रत था. और बाबा का यह संदेश पाते ही उन्होंने अपनी वापसी के राजपथ पर कदम रख दिया. हालांकि वह तब तक भी नयी परिस्थिति की आदी नहीं हो पायी थीं. उनके इर्द-गिर्द भी थी और समर्थक भी, पहले के मुकाबले तादाद में ही सही, पर वे थे जरूर. लेकिन एक चीज नहीं थी, सत्ता के जो सारे तामझाम हुआ करते थे, उनका कहीं अता-पता नहीं था. एअरलाइंस के विमान में सवार यात्रियों की नजर उन पर टिकी थीं. स्वाभाविक ही था यह. पर वह खुद ही पीछे की एक सीट पर जा बैठीं. उनके साथ उनकी कोई महिला सहयोगी थी—मुझे नहीं कि वह निर्मला देशपांडे थीं या सरोज खाने जो इंदिराशाही की वापसी के सफर में उभर कर सामने आयीं. लेकिन उस दिन की इंदिरा गांधी मैं आज तक भूल नहीं सका हूं. वह अपनी सीट पर बिल्कुल शांत बैठी थीं, अपने आप में सिमटी हुईं, चुप और आंखें बंद. लेकिन जब हम लोग विमान में सवार हुए, तो मुसकराते हुए वह रघु राय से बोलीं—'तो तुम यहां भी आ धमके ?' और रघु राय ने उन्हें ऐसे ही मजाकिया लहजे में जवाब दिया, जैसे कि वह अपने कॉलेज के किसी दोस्त से बतिया रहा हो—'हम आपका पीछा कहीं नहीं छोड़ेंगे ?' वह खिलखिला पड़ीं, बिल्कुल कॉलेज में पढ़नेवाली किसी लड़की की तरह. वाकई, वह कितनी अलग किस्म की होतीं, अगर 'भारत की सम्राज्ञी' न बनी होतीं !

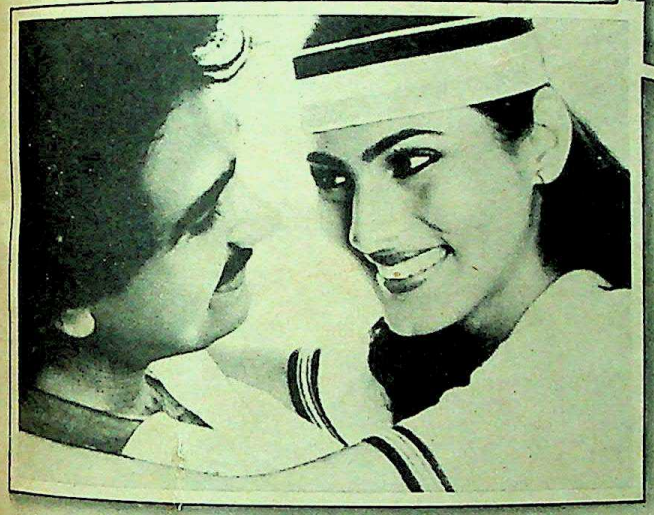
मैंने उन्हें उस एक घटना की याद नहीं दिलायी—शायद बरसों पहले की उस बात को वह याद भी न कर पातीं—इलाहाबाद में जाड़े की वह सुहानी दोपहर. वह अपने पिता जवाहरलाल नेहरू के साथ वहां आयीं थीं. शायद 1955 की बात है यह. तब लोग उन्हें सिर्फ नेहरू की बेटी के रूप में ही जानते थे और मैं भी विश्वविद्यालय में ग्रेजुएशन कर रहा था. हमारे मेयो हॉस्टल के समारोह में नेहरू जी के साथ वह भी आयी थीं और शायद इस समारोह में मंचित नाटक में मेरी भूमिका उन्हें अच्छी लगी थी. अगले दिन हममें से कुछ लड़कों को आनंद भवन आमंत्रित किया गया. हम लोग वहां से लौटने वाले थे कि वह मेरे पास आयीं और एक कमरे में मुझे ले गयीं. कमरे में किताबों से भरे ढेर सारे रैकों पर उन्होंने नजर दौड़ायी और फिर उसमें से एक किताब निकाल कर मुझे दी. उन्होंने कहा—'यादगार के तौर पर'. वह लाल किताब 'रेड कैवेलरी' आज मेरी सबसे कीमती किताबों से एक है. इस किताब पर उनकी बचकानी राइटिंग में उनका नाम लिखा है—'इंदिरा नेहरू ... 24.6.32.' □

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"मेरी मम्मी और मैं। कितनी सुंदर दिखती है मेरी मम्मी...
और सिंथॉल की वह खुशबू, आज भी याद है..."



"ये हैं मेरे पापा जब हम पिकनिक पर गये थे –
सिंथॉल की उसी खुशबू में तर..."



"और इसमें हैं हम दोनों। इस मधुर मिलन का श्रेय किसे दूं,
टेनिस को या उसी प्रिय खुशबू वाले सिंथॉल को ?"

Godrej उत्पादन

४०० और २०० ग्रा. में उपलब्ध

सिंथॉल की सुगंध...
दो आत्माओं को आत्मीय बनानेवाली सुगंध।
आज से ही अपने परिवार के चमन में
यह सलोनी सुगंध भरिये और अपनी मधुर
स्मृतियों को सदा ताज़ा रखिये।

CHAITRA-B G 201 HIN

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National P...

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

टाइम्स आफ इंडिया प्रकाशन

सारिका

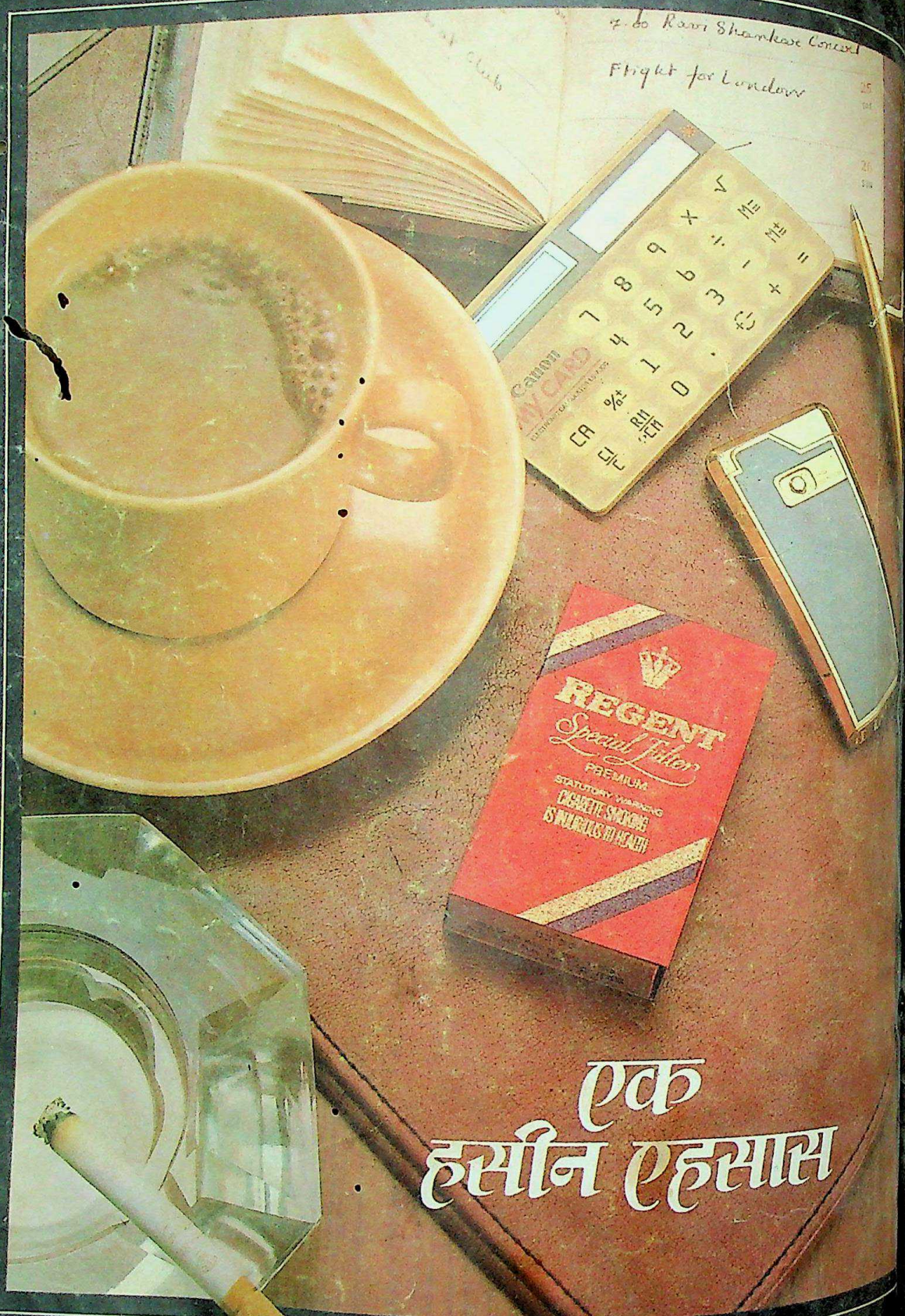
कहानियों और कथा जगत की जीवंत पाक्षिकी

वर्ष : २५; अंक : ३८७; अगस्त '८५ : द्वितीय पक्ष; मूल्य : ४ रुपये

अमृत लाल नागर विशेषांक

...and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri

३४ लाख सिगरेट प्रेमियों का हर दिन इसी स्वाद का दिन



एक हसीन एहसास

रीजेन्ट
स्पेशल फ़िल्टर

SAA SM/170H

वैधानिक चेतावनी: सिगरेट पीना स्वास्थ्य के लिए हानिकारक है STATUTORY WARNING CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS

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पत्रिकाएं मंगाइए... उपहार पाइए!

हर पत्रिका के चंदे पर भारी बचत का सुनहरा मौका!

टाइम्स ग्रुप की आकर्षक उपहार-योजना

EMI HMV

मुफ़्त कैसेट (या ५ किताबें)

हर पत्रिका के चंदे पर

हर पत्रिका के चंदे पर आपके लिए ३० रुपये मूल्य का एच. एम. वी. कैसेट या ५ किताबें **मुफ़्त** पाने का अनोखा अवसर.

मुफ़्त उपहार के साथ, आपकी मनपसंद पत्रिका घर बैठे नियमित रूप से आपके पास पहुंचेगी. इतना ही नहीं, हर पत्रिका के चंदे पर आपको भारी छूट भी मिलेगी.

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नेशनल कैसेट (४ टीसी सीरीज)

भक्ति गीत

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ग़ज़ल

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68. Salty Sayings
69. Shakespeare: Wisdom & Wit
70. Song of Songs
71. Tolstoy: What Men Live By
72. Wisdom of the Bible

Jaico (Sr. Nos. 73 to 80)

73. A Taste Of India
74. The Mad Woman
75. Words To Live By
76. Death,Thou Shalt Die
77. Meena Kumari
78. Dynamic Approach To A Sales Career
79. Heroes And Heroines Of The Mahabharata
80. Jaico Book Of Memorable Quotations

हिन्दी किताबें

81. तलाक — प्रेम बाजपेयी
82. चरित्रहीन — प्रेम बाजपेयी
83. इन्तजार — प्रेम बाजपेयी
84. कठपुतली — प्रेम बाजपेयी
85. फर्ज का रिश्ता — मनोज
86. बहन की डोली — मनोज
87. अधूरा लगन — मनोज
88. खामोशी — मनोज
89. कुआरी विधवा — गनू
90. बर्फ के अंगारे — गनू
91. पत्थर की देवी — गनू
92. शीशे का घर — गनू
93. अंतिम सच — समीर
94. कोहरा — समीर
95. कुआरी बहू — समीर
96. कलयुग की सीता — समीर
97. मैं अकेली — गुलशन नंदा
98. लक्ष्मण रेखा — गुलशन नंदा
99. सावली रात — गुलशन नंदा
100. लाजवंते आसू — गुलशन नंदा
101. केबिन में लाश — जेम्स हेडली चेइज
102. मुर्दे चलने लगे — जेम्स हेडली चेइज
103. खूनी कौन — जेम्स हेडली चेइज
104. दि ग्रेट किल्ला — जेम्स हेडली चेइज
105. बदनाम बस्ती — राजवंश
106. कच्चे रिश्ते — राजवंश
107. जूडो कराटे — सुधीर सेन
108. शिरडी के साईबाबा — प्रकाश नागायच
109. एक और अभिमन्यु — वेद प्रकाश शर्मा
110. अमिताभ बच्चन — अभिनेता से राष्ट्रनेता — गिरिजा पंडित

आपका मुफ़्त उपहार चुनने पर आपको पत्रिका के पहले अंक के साथ भेज दिया जायेगा.

मुफ़्त उपहार योजना की आखिरी तारीख है ३१ अगस्त, १९८५

THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA	एक वर्ष का चंदा (५२ अंक) रु. २२०.००	
FILMFARE	एक वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. ८५.००	
Femina	एक वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. ८५.००	
SCIENCE TODAY	दो वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. ८०.००	
धर्मयुग	एक वर्ष का चंदा (५२ अंक) रु. २२०.००	
माधुरी	एक वर्ष का चंदा (२६ अंक) रु. ९२.००	
Career & Competition times	दो वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. १००.००	
INDRAJAL COMICS	एक वर्ष का चंदा (५२ अंक) रु. ९४.००	
दिनमान	एक वर्ष का चंदा (५२ अंक) रु. १४०.००	
सारिका	एक वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. ९०.००	
खेलभारती	दो वर्ष का चंदा (४८ अंक) रु. १२४.००	
पराग	तीन वर्ष का चंदा (३६ अंक) रु. ७२.००	
वामा	दो वर्ष का चंदा (२४ अंक) रु. ८०.००	

देर मत कीजिए. नीचे छपा कूपन तुरंत भरिए और अपनी मनपसंद पत्रिका/पत्रिकाओं के नाम लिखते हुए मुफ़्त उपहार चुन लीजिए.

उपर्युक्त सूची में से अपना मनपसंद उपहार चुनिए और कूपन में दिये गये चौकोर खानों में सिर्फ़ कैसेट या किताबों के क्रमांक ही लिखिए.

दिनांक: _____

प्रति
प्रमार निदेशक,
टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया, दादाभाई नौरोजी रोड, बम्बई ४००००१.

महोदय, कृपया मुझे निम्नलिखित पत्रिका/पत्रिकाएं भेजें:

चंदा क्रमांक	पत्रिकाओं के नाम	चंदे की राशि * जो भेजी जा रही है
१.		रु.
२.		रु.
३.		रु.

इसके नीचे मैंने हर पत्रिका के लिए एक कैसेट या ५ किताबों की अपनी पसंद बता दी है. कृपया ये मुफ़्त उपहार मुझे भेज दें. मैं इन पत्रिकाओं के लिए — — — रु. का बैंक ड्राफ्ट/पोस्टल ऑर्डर/ मनीऑर्डर की रसीद संलग्न कर रहा/रही हूं.

मैंने यह बात नोट कर ली है कि मुझे मुफ़्त उपहार तभी मिलेगा, जब मेरा यह कूपन चंदे की रकम के साथ आपको ३१ अगस्त १९८५ के पहले मिल जाएगा.

मुफ़्त उपहार के लिए मेरी पसंद: कैसेट या किताबें

चंदा क्रमांक	उपहार कैसेट या किताबें	
१. मनपसंद कैसेट	क्रमांक ☐	या ☐ या ☐
या किताबें (इनमें से कोई ५) ...	क्रमांक ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
२. मनपसंद कैसेट	क्रमांक ☐	या ☐ या ☐
या किताबें (इनमें से कोई ५) ...	क्रमांक ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
३. मनपसंद कैसेट	क्रमांक ☐	या ☐ या ☐
या किताबें (इनमें से कोई ५) ...	क्रमांक ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	

नाम: (बड़े अक्षरों में): _____

पूरा पता: (स्पष्ट रूप से) _____

_____

_____ हस्ताक्षर: _____

* केवल बतायी गयी अवधि के चंदे पर ही उपहार दिये जायेंगे.

इन्द्रजाल कॉमिक्स- अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी, बंगला, तामिल, मलयालम और कन्नड में प्रकाशित होते हैं— कृपया लिखें कि आपको किस भाषा में चाहिए.

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

अमृतलाल नागर का नया उपन्यास

करवट

अनेक सफल सामाजिक, ऐतिहासिक और सांस्कृतिक उपन्यासों के बाद अब सिद्ध लेखक की कलम से, वर्षों की तैयारी और श्रम से लिखा, यह बृहद् राष्ट्रीय उपन्यास प्रस्तुत है— जिसमें पिछले दो सौ वर्षों की ऐतिहासिक भूमिका में भारतीय समाज-जीवन की प्रभावी परिवर्तन-कथा अंकित है।

जीवन और समाज की यह करवट अपने पीछे क्या-कुछ छिपाये है, यह सब आज हमारे लिए आश्चर्य की बातें हो सकती हैं, परन्तु यही है वह जिसकी पीठिका पर आज हम सब खड़े हैं। नागरजी का चिरपरिचित लखनऊ, और उनका बिल्कुल ही अपना चौक, इस कथा का केन्द्र है जो वाजिदअली शाह उर्फ जानेआलम पिया के ज़माने से शुरू होकर पिछली शताब्दी के अंत तक चलती है, और जिसका फलक अंग्रेज़ों की तत्कालीन राजधानी कलकत्ता से दिल्ली और लाहौर तक विस्तृत है। वास्तविक जीवन से उठाये चरित्र और घटनाएं नागरजी के अन्य उपन्यासों की भांति इसकी भी विशिष्टता है जो इसे विशेष बल तथा अधिकार प्रदान करती है।

डिमाई आकार, पृष्ठ संख्या 375 मूल्य : रु० 65.00

नागर जी अन्य विशिष्ट रचनाएं :

उपन्यास —

मानस का हंस (महाकवि तुलसीदास के जीवन पर आधारित)	40.00
खंजन नयन (महाकवि सूरदास के जीवन पर आधारित)	36.00
नाच्यो बहुत गोपाल (हरिजन समस्या पर आधारित)	45.00
अग्निगर्भा (दहेज समस्या पर आधारित)	35.00
बिखरे तिनके 25.00	सेठ बांकेमल 15.00
सात घूंघट वाला मुखड़ा 12.00	भूख 22.00

अन्य—

मेरी प्रिय कहानियां 12.00, कृपया दायें चलिए (हास्य)	24.00
हम फिदाए लखनऊ (हास्य)	20.00
भारत पुत्र नौरंगीलाल (हास्य)	15.00
सिकन्दर हार गया (हास्य)	16.00

राजपाल एण्ड सन्ज़ कश्मीरी गेट, दिल्ली

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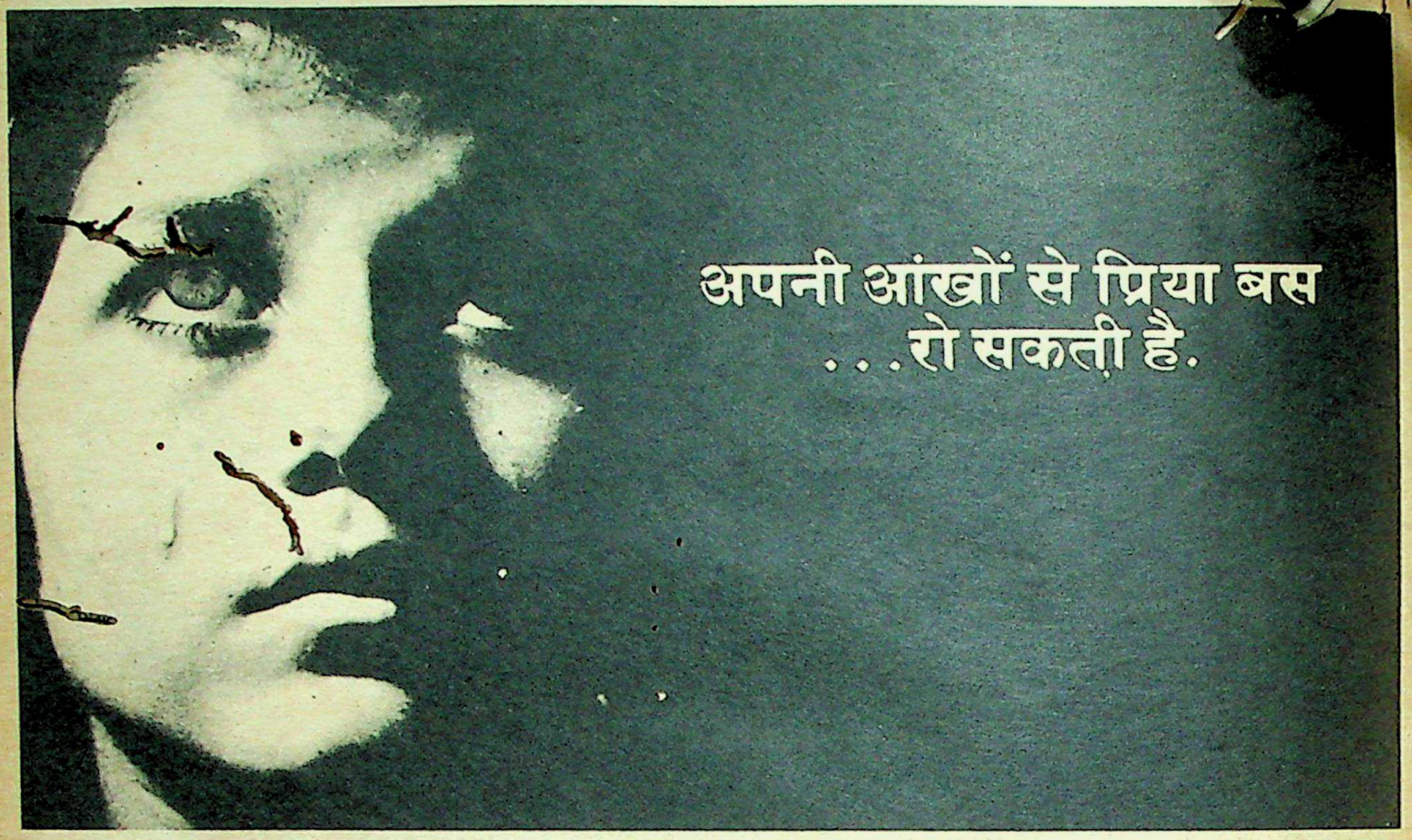

अपनी आंखों से प्रिया बस ...रो सकती है.

उसे न सूर्योदय की छटा याद है, न अपनी मां की मुस्कान और न ही अपना चेहरा. अब उस की जिंदगी में एक ही रंग छाया हुआ है. काला.

प्रिया की आंखों की रोशनी दस साल पहले चली गई. और जैसे-जैसे वह बड़ी हुई, आंखों से देख न पाने की बेबस पीड़ा महसूस करने लगी. अपने हम उम्र बच्चों की तरह वह स्कूल नहीं जा सकती. दूसरी बच्चियों की तरह खेल नहीं सकती. पढ़ नहीं सकती. फूलों का खिलना नहीं देख सकती. अपने कपड़ों के रंग. अपनी सहेली की आंखों में प्रसन्नता का उल्लास. कुछ भी नहीं.

वह बस रो सकती है. और आंसू की हर बूंद जो वह बहाती है, वह उस की अपनी पीड़ा... भय... और अकेलेपन की तस्वीर है.

लेकिन प्रिया के लिए आशा की किरण अभी बाकी है. अनेक अन्य लोगों की तरह उस का अंधापन भी दूर हो सकता है. उस का एक उपाय है जो आसान है. जिस पर कोई खर्च नहीं होता. और जो कारगर है. इसे सिर्फ आप की जरूरत है.

कार्निया प्रत्यारोपण से आंखों की रोशनी वापस आ सकती है. आंख की बेकार जगह पर एक स्वस्थ कार्निया लगाने से. और वह स्वस्थ कार्निया आप दे सकते हैं.

आंख निकाल लेने पर कोई निशान या विकृति नहीं रहती. और, एक बार जब आप ने नेत्रदान के बारे में तय कर लिया तो आप इस सुखद एहसास के साथ जिएंगे कि आप की आंखें आप के बाद भी जीवित रहेंगी. और कोई नेत्रहीन उस के द्वारा... देख सकेगा.

अगर आप का दिल आप के जीवनकाल में नेत्रहीनों के प्रति भर आता है, तो मरने के बाद अपनी आंखें उन्हें ही दे दें. यह एक अमूल्य भेंट है जो आप ही उन्हें दे सकते हैं.

नेत्रदान संबंधित विस्तृत पुस्तिका प्राप्त करने के लिए कूपन को भर कर हमारे पास भेज दें.

यह काम आज ही करें. ध्यान रखें, कोई भी चमत्कार नेत्रहीनों को दृष्टि नहीं लौटा सकता. हां, आप जरूर कर सकते हैं.

मुझे नेत्रदान तथा कार्निया प्रत्यारोपण के बारे में ज्यादा जानकारी चाहिए. मुझे विस्तृत पुस्तिका भेज दें

नाम : श्री/श्रीमती/कु. ----------

पता : ----------

राज्य : ----------

पिन कोड : ----------

आयु : ----------

दृष्टि

टाइम्स आई रिसर्च फाउण्डेशन
टाइम्स आफ इंडिया बि. बहादुर शाह जफर मार्ग, नई दिल्ली-११०००२

दृष्टि. वह अमूल्य उपहार है जो आप ही दे सकते हैं.

टाइम्स आई रिसर्च फाउण्डेशन को दी जाने वाली वित्तीय सहायता आयकर अधिनियम १९६१ की धारा ८० (जी) के अन्तर्गत कर रहित है.

तारिख : 16–31 अगस्त, 85

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

राजकमल पेपरबैक्स

इस मास प्रकाशित 5 और महत्त्वपूर्ण पुस्तकें

बाबा बटेसरनाथ
नागार्जुन/रु. 6.00

अपना मोर्चा
काशीनाथ सिंह/रु. 6.00

अनारो
मंजुल भगत/रु. 6.00

कबिरा खड़ा बाजार में
भीष्म साहनी/रु. 6.00

प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ
केदारनाथ सिंह/रु. 10.00

पूर्व प्रकाशित पुस्तकें

उपन्यास

बाणभट्ट की आत्मकथा/हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी/रु. 15.00
अनामदास का पोथा/हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी/रु. 12.00
भगवान परशुराम/क.मा. मुंशी/रु. 17.00
रेखा/भगवतीचरण वर्मा/रु. 15.00
मैला आँचल/फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु/रु. 17.00
तमस/भीष्म सहनी/रु. 15.00
बसन्ती/भीष्म साहनी/रु. 10.00
राग दरबारी/श्रीलाल शुक्ल/रु. 18.00
सूहाग के नूपुर/अमृतलाल नागर/रु. 12.00
अँधेरे बन्द कमरे/मोहन राकेश/रु. 18.00
वे दिन/निर्मल वर्मा/रु. 11.00
एक चिथड़ा सुख/निर्मल वर्मा/रु. 10.00
मित्रो मरजानी/कृष्णा सोबती/रु. 6.00
डार से बिछुड़ी/कृष्णा सोबती/रु. 6.00
सूखा पत्ता/अमरकान्त/रु. 12.00
आकाश कितना अनन्त है/शैलेश मटियानी/रु. 15.00
शह और मात/राजेन्द्र यादव/रु. 13.00
कुरु-कुरु स्वाहा/मनोहरश्याम जोशी/रु. 13.00
आधा गाँव/राही मासूम रजा/रु. 17.00
लोग/गिरिराज किशोर/रु. 11.00
नंगा शहर/भीमसेन त्यागी/रु. 6.00
रुकोगी नहीं राधिका/उषा प्रियम्वदा/रु. 6.00
शेष यात्रा/उषा प्रियम्वदा/रु. 8.00
अध-चाँदनी रात/गुरदयाल सिंह/रु. 10.00
अठारह सूरज के पौधे/रमेश बक्षी/रु. 6.00
आधा पुल/जगदीशचन्द्र/रु. 12.00
एक चूहे की मौत/बदीउज्जमां/रु. 11.00
अजनबी/आल्बेयर कामू/रु. 6.00
उस रात के बाद/ग्रेहम ग्रीन/रु. 12.00
हिरोशिमा के फूल/वियतनाम को प्यार/एंदिता मोरिस/रु. 11.00
रोमियो जूलियट और अँधेरा/यान ओत्चेनाशेक/रु. 11.00
बीसवीं सदी का जिन्न/लाजार लागिन/रु. 6.00
और मौत मर गयी/उषा शेठ/रु. 8.00

कहानी

प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/भगवतीचरण वर्मा/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/मोहन राकेश/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/अमरकान्त/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/ज्ञानरंजन/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/मन्नू भण्डारी/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कहानियाँ/काशीनाथसिंह/रु. 10.00

कविता

प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ/मुक्तिबोध/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ/फैज़ अहमद फैज़/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ/नागार्जुन/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ/अमृता प्रीतम/रु. 10.00
प्रतिनिधि कविताएँ/सर्वेश्वरदयाल सक्सेना/रु. 10.00

नाटक

पगला घोड़ा/एवम् इन्द्रजित/बादल सरकार/रु. 10.00
बहू/अक्स पहेली/त्रिपुरारी शर्मा/रु. 10.00

व्यंग्य

प्रतिनिधि व्यंग्य/हरिशंकर परसाई/रु. 10.00
सुना अनसुना/विनोद भट्ट/रु. 6.00

शोधालोचना

दूसरी परम्परा की खोज/नामवरसिंह/रु. 10.00

आत्मकथा संस्मरण

अपनी खबर/पाण्डेय बेचन शर्मा उग्र/रु. 6.00
मीना बाजार/सआदत हसन मण्टो/रु. 6.00

राजकमल प्रकाशन प्राइवेट लिमिटेड
8 नेताजी सुभाष मार्ग, नयी दिल्ली - 110 002
शाखा : साइंस कालिज के सामने, पटना-800006

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अगला अंक

वह अद्‌भुत संसार कैसा होगा जिसका आविष्कार साहित्य ने तो कर लिया है मगर विज्ञान अभी करेगा !...

जैसे चांद, उड़नतश्तरियां, राकेट, जहाज आदि पहले कहानियों का विषय थे लेकिन आज विज्ञान की प्रामाणिक जानकारी! ... **सारिका : रजत जयंती वर्ष की सतरहवीं भेंट** के तहत यह जानने के लिए कि सूई से लेकर सौरमंडल तक, कंप्यूटर से लेकर काम-वासना, नींद, अतीत, भविष्य, दफ्तर, विवाह, बच्चे, रसोई, मकान, परिवहन, शिक्षा, ज्योतिष, तंत्र आदि की वैज्ञानिक अवधारणाएं साहित्य में अब किस रूप में व्यक्त हो रही हैं, पढ़िए

विज्ञान कथा अंक

▣ **देश-विदेश के जाने-माने लेखकों की लगभग दो दर्जन कहानियां और लघुकथाएं जो बाकायदा हमारे भविष्य का एक प्रारूप प्रस्तुत कर देती हैं. इनके रचनाकार हैं**—आर्थर क्लार्क, अरुण साधू, इसाक एसिमोव, फ्रेड्रिक ब्राउन, बोरिस गोर्वातोव, अल्फर्ड बैस्टर, हरबर्ट जार्ज वेल्स, रे ब्रेडबरी, वाल्ट शैल्डन, कैलाश शाह, मोहन 'संजीवन', कैरेल चैपेक, सुरेश ओथरे आदि.

▣ **कंप्यूटर युग और साहित्य की परिणति?** : सुधांशु गुप्त द्वारा आयोजित परिचर्चा में भाग ले रहे हैं—**गंगाप्रसाद विमल, योगेश गुप्त, उदय प्रकाश, पंकज बिष्ट, हरदयाल, मृदुला गर्ग और ब्रजेश्वर मदान**

1–15 सितंबर, 1985

पढ़िए ऐसी कहानियां जो प्रायः हिंदी में उपलब्ध नहीं होतीं

● अपनी प्रति का प्रबंध आज ही कर लें

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सारिका

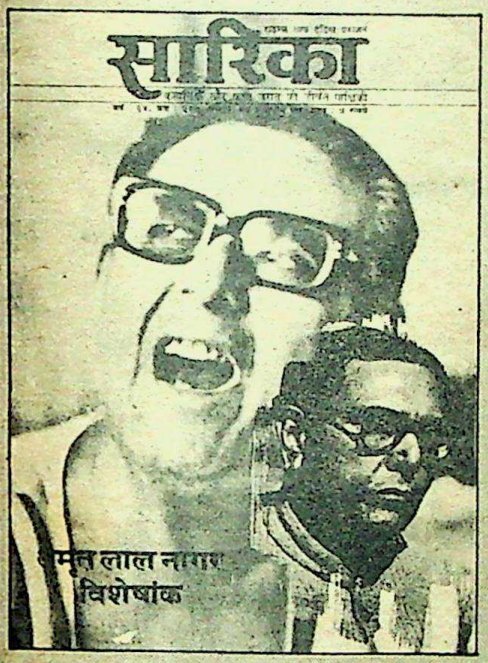
टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया प्रकाशन

कहानियों और कथाजगत की जीवंत पाक्षिकी

वर्ष . 25; अंक : 387; 16–31 अगस्त, 1985

संपादक
अवधनारायण मुद्गल
उप-संपादक
रमेश बत्तरा
सुरेश उनियाल
बलराम
महेश दर्पण
वीरेंद्र जैन
सज्जा
सुमीता

अमृतलाल नागर विशेषांक



आवरण छाया : खुर्रम अमरोही

अमृतलाल नागर की कहानियां

12 शकीला की मां
20 ओढ़री सरकार

अमृतलाल नागर के व्यंग्य

32 नवाब साहब
34 जुलाब की गोली
37 नजीर मियां
60 शहर का अंदेशा

अमृतलाल नागर के उपन्यास

16 भूख
28 सुहाग के नूपुर
46 अमृत और विष
64 नाच्यौ बहुत गोपाल

अमृतलाल नागर के संस्मरण

40 आज के बिछुड़े न जाने कब मिलेंगे
53 गढ़ाकोला में पहली निराला जयंती

अमृतलाल नागर से साक्षात्कार

68 'अब उतना लिख चुका हूं कि आप रबर लेकर लेखन की दुनिया से मेरा नाम मिटा नहीं सकते.' :
नागरजी से कन्हैयालाल नंदन की बातचीत

अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में

9 उजास की धरोहर :
धर्मवीर भारती
26 जीवन के स्वप्न की साधना :
ज्ञानचंद जैन
31 बराबर अकेले पड़ते जाने की स्थिति :
ठाकुरप्रसाद सिंह
36 मेरा कलाकार नागरजी का ही दिया हुआ है :
विजय बोस
51 सदाबहार नागरजी :
प्रभाकर माचवे, इंदुप्रकाश पांडे, बाला दुबे
57 पर्वत सब कुछ समझता है . . . :
घनश्याम अस्थाना, अभिमन्यु अनत
63 वह धरती और समय पर अपने को लिख रहे हैं :
नरेश मेहता
67 वे जितने दिन जियेंगे . . . .
केशवचंद्र वर्मा

अन्य आकर्षण

15 आप किस उम्मीद पर जिंदा हैं?
19 चौक युनिवर्सिटी के वी. सी. . .
24 ओढ़री सरकार निश्चय ही एक सफल कहानी है :
जैनेंद्र कुमार
39 साध अब पूरी हुई
45 प्रेमचंद का पत्र नागर के नाम
49 अपने पात्र कैसे चुनते हैं
55 आचार्य द्विवेदी का पत्र नागर के नाम
58 अमृतलाल नागर: व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व
71 मेरी बा :
आरती पंड्या

स्थायी स्तंभ

8 अपनी बात
72 पखवारे की पुस्तक
73 भरतमुनि के वंशधर

संपादकीय पता : सारिका, 10 दरियागंज, नयी दिल्ली-110002

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अभिव्यक्ति

लेखन की निरंतरता का साक्ष्य

सारिका के साहित्यिक व्यक्तियों पर विशेषांक निकालने की समृद्ध परंपरा रही है. उसी परंपरा को हमारा यह अमृतलाल नागर विशेषांक आगे बढ़ा रहा है. इस विशेषांक को हम पुरानी परंपरा से हटकर एक नयी परंपरा की शुरुआत भी कह सकते हैं क्योंकि अभी तक जितने भी ऐसे विशेषांक निकले वे दिवंगत रचनाकारों से संबद्ध थे. किसी भी जीवित वयोवृद्ध तथा संघर्षशील रचनाकार पर यह सारिका का पहला विशेषांक है. हम इस परंपरा को बनाये रखना चाहते हैं. अभी हमारे बीच अज्ञेयजी और जैनेंद्रजी जैसे महत्वपूर्ण वरिष्ठ कथाकार मौजूद हैं. हम अगले वर्ष इन पर विशेषांक की योजना बना रहे हैं.

कुछ लोग यह पूछ सकते हैं कि हमने सबसे पहले नागरजी पर ही विशेषांक की योजना क्यों बनाई. इसका एक मात्र कारण यही है कि नागरजी का कथालेखन निर्बाध रूप से लगातार चल रहा है. जबकि अन्य लेखकों के लेखन की निरंतरता भंग होती रही है, उसमें लंबा अंतराल आता रहा है. हमने क्रम के रूप में लेखन की निरंतरता को ही आधार माना है. उसके बाद आयु को वरीयता दी है. ऐसा सिर्फ अपनी सुविधा के लिए किया है अन्य किसी कारण से नहीं. नागरजी 1935 से लगातार लिख रहे हैं. पिछले 10-15 वर्षों में उनके लेखन की गति तीव्र ही हुई है और रुकी तो बिल्कुल नहीं.

कविता को छोड़कर साहित्य की ऐसी कोई विधा नहीं जो नागरजी से अनछुई रही हो. व्यंग्य, कहानी, उपन्यास, नाटक, रूपक, संस्मरण, यात्रावृत्त, साक्षात्कार आदि सभी में उनका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है. नागरजी ने दो ही शब्दों में अपने आपको विभाजित किया है. एक है 'व्यस्त' और दूसरा 'मस्त'. लेखन ने उन्हें व्यस्त रखा है और भंग भवानी ने मस्त. ये दोनों ही स्थितियां उनका विशिष्ट व्यक्तित्व हैं और यही दोनों इनकी खास जिंदगी. इनमें किसी भी तरह का अनावश्यक हस्तक्षेप उन्हें सह्य नहीं है. आदरणीया बा (स्व: श्रीमती प्रतिभा नागर) एक सजग और सतर्क चौकीदार की तरह हर व्यवधान पर नजर रखती थीं. बा के बगैर बाबूजी (श्री अमृतलाल नागर) की कल्पना ही मुश्किल थी.

28 मई, 1985 को हर व्यवधान पर 'बा' की चौकसी समाप्त हो गयी. बा के आकस्मिक निधन ने नागरजी, नागर परिवार और उस विशाल हवेली को ही नहीं हम सब आत्मीय जनों को भी एक उदास सूनेपन से भर दिया है. मैं सारिका का यह विशेषांक आदरणीया बा की स्मृति को एक हार्दिक श्रद्धांजलि के रूप में समर्पित कर रहा हूं.

जुएं बालों को हानि पहुचाते हैं

'केन्ज़' का उपयोग कीजिए जुओं का नाश कीजिए
सुगन्धित 'केन्ज़' बाली की सुरक्षा का आधार

केन्ज़

जुओं का शत्रु

जिसमें 'बेन्जोकाइन' निहित है।

उपयोगी और सुरक्षित

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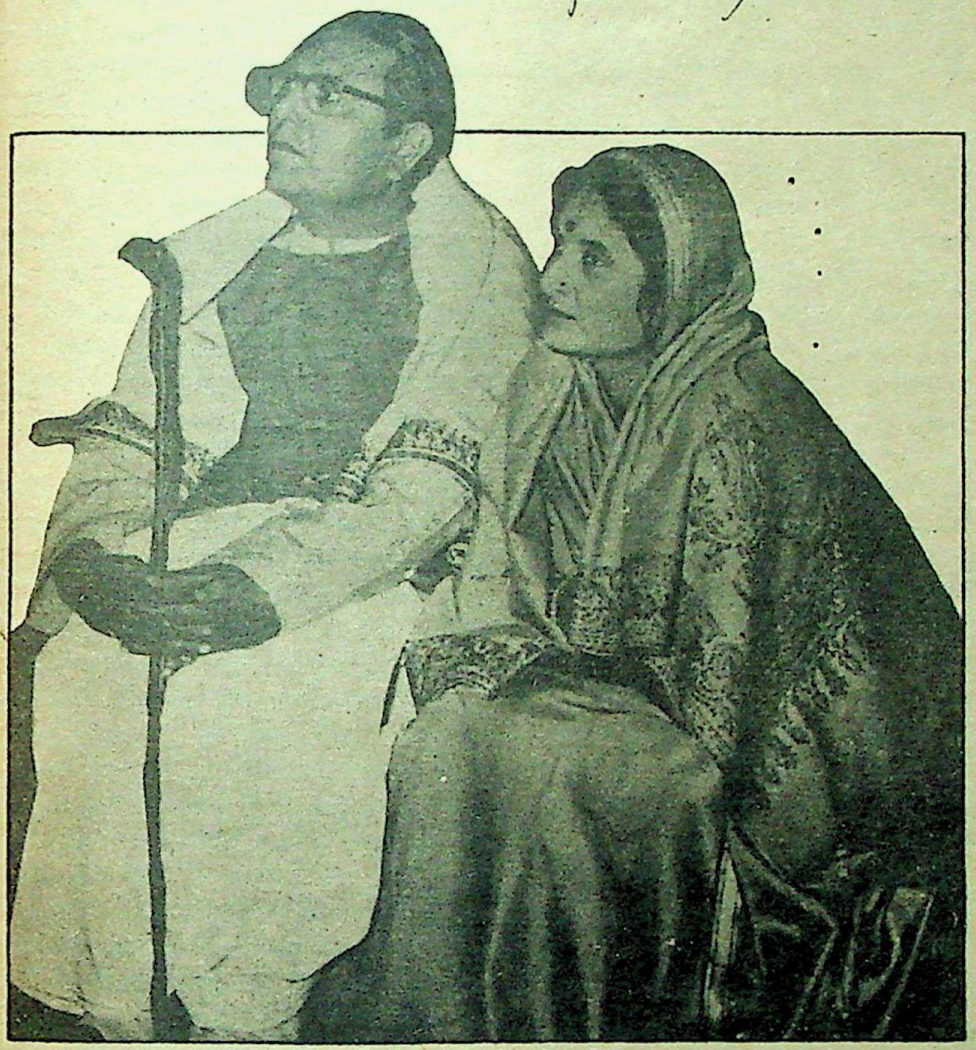
अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में : एक

उजास की धरोहर



नागरजी के साथ श्रीमती प्रतिमा नागर

डॉ. धर्मवीर भारती हिंदी के मूर्धन्य साहित्यकार और धर्मयुग के यशस्वी संपादक हैं. भारतीजी के नागरजी तथा उनके परिवार के साथ काफी पुराने और आत्मीय संबंध हैं. श्रीमती नागर को भारतीजी भाभी मानते रहे हैं. भारतीय समाज में भाभी के संबंध बहुत ही गरिमापूर्ण और मधुर होते हैं. श्रीमती नागर थीं भी गरिमा और माधुर्य से भरपूर. ऐसी भाभी के आकस्मिक निधन पर एक देवर से जैसे शब्दों की अपेक्षा की जाती है, वैसे ही श्रद्धाजल में डूबे शब्द सुमन भारतीजी उन्हें अर्पित कर रहे हैं.

भाभी चली गयीं. इस साल उन्हें अपनी सालगिरह बिना भाभी के कैसी सूनी-सूनी तो लगेगी. पहले तो बधाई की मेरी हिम्मत नहीं होगी, अगर दी भी तो बधाई उस सूने आंगन में भटककर लौट आयेगी. भाभी के बिना उस पुरानी हवेली का वह विशाल आंगन कितना वीरान, कितना अंधेरा होगा.

भाभी की मिसाल किससे दूं! कभी आपने जंगल की सुनसान रात के बाद पौ फटने की उजास देखी है. कितनी दबी-दबी, मगर किस कदर आश्वासन देती हुई. वैसी ही थीं भाभी.

और इस उजास से पहले पहल मेरी भेंट हुई थी एक पुरानी चाल के मकान की सीढ़ियों के नीम अंधेरे में. वह भी मजेदार घटना है.

मैं इलाहाबाद में था उस समय, शायद शोधछात्र. एक दो किताबें छप चुकी थीं. लेखक होने का ठप्पा लग चुका था. गया था लखनऊ किसी काम से. साथ थे केशव यानी केशवचंद्र वर्मा. हजरतगंज में घूमते-घूमते तय हुआ कि क्यों न अमृतलाल नागरजी के घर चला जाये. शाम ढलने लगी थी. चौक पहुंचे. कई गलियों की खाक छानी. सब उन्हें जानते थे, खोमचेवाले, हलवाई, फूलवाले, पानजर्दावाले. सभी ने इतने उत्साह से रास्ता बताया कि हम गुमराह होते-होते बचे. पहुंचे. एक पुराने ढर्रे का मकान (वह नहीं, जहां अब रहते हैं). वे रहते थे तब ऊपर वाली मंजिल में, बाहर से ही जीना था.

सीढ़ियां चढ़ते दिल धड़क रहा था. क्या बतायेंगे कि क्यों आये हैं? क्या बातें करेंगे? नागरजी बातें करेंगे भी या नहीं? अगर कहीं न मिले तो?

जीने पर खड़ी सीढ़ियां थीं और गली के मकान के बंद जीने जैसी सीलन और अंधेरा. ऊपर दरवाजा बंद था. घंटी-वंटी का रिवाज तो तब था नहीं. पहुंचकर कुंडी खड़कायी. क्षण भर बाद दरवाजा खुला और भाभी की पहली झलक मिली. लंबी, तन्वंगी, बादामी रंग की साड़ी और अजब-सा उजास फैलाता हुआ रंग.

"कहिए." उन्होंने थोड़ी रुखाई से पूछा.

"नागरजी हैं क्या?"

"नहीं," वे बोलीं, बड़ी गंभीरता से, "वो तो कानपुर गये हैं!"

हम दोनों हतप्रभ! इतनी हिम्मत करके आये भी और नागरजी हैं ही नहीं. अब क्या करें हम लोग?

वे प्रतीक्षा में खड़ी रहीं कि हम लोग या तो जायें या कुछ कहें. मैंने हिम्मत करके कहा, "नमस्कार! नागरजी कानपुर से आयें तो कह दीजियेगा, इलाहाबाद से भारती और केशव आये थे?"

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"भारती और केशव..." उन्होंने जैसे याद करने के लिए दोहराया... और सहसा घर के अंदर से जोर से आवाज आयी... "अरे चले आओ भइया भारती, केशव आ जाओ, आ जाओ... मैं यहीं हूं!" नागरजी अंदर से पुकार रहे थे.

दरवाजा पूरा खुल गया. भाभी कुछ खीज कर झटके से अंदर चली गयीं.

हम दोनों चमत्कृत, अंदर गये, दूर पर दीवार के सहारे एक ऊंचे से तख्त पर नागरजी बैठे थे. हाथ में तख्ती थी, जिस पर कागज लगे थे, देखकर हंसे जोर से...

"भइया, ऐसा है कि यही तखत जो है न, हमारा कानपुर है. जब लिखते-पढ़ते हैं यहां बैठकर तो तुम्हारी भाभी से कह देते हैं कि आने-जाने वालों से कह देना, कानपुर गये हैं. आओ भारती, केशव भी यहीं आ जाओ, कानपुर में!"

हम दोनों चौक लखनऊ के उस कानपुर में बैठने की जगह बना ही रहे थे कि भाभी दो गिलास पानी लेकर आयीं. बिना किसी को संबोधित किये बुदबुदा रही थीं, "बाहरवालों के सामने हमारी हंसी उड़ती है, खुद ही तो ...."

"अरे, ये बाहरवाले कहां है," नागरजी कुछ मनुहार के से स्वर में बोले..... "और तुमने झूठ क्या कहा..... यह कानपुर तो है ही!"

"रहने दो." भाभी की आवाज में मनुहार के प्रभाव से थोड़ी खनक आ गयी थी... "हरदम नाच नचाते रहते हैं!"

"अरे खाली पानी?" नागरजी ने टोका.

"आ रहा है, आप ये कुरसी ले लीजिए..." भाभी ने टीन की कुरसी मेरी ओर बढ़ायी और चली गयीं. हम लोग बातों में मशगूल हो गये. सेठ बांकेमल (नागरजी की प्रख्यात कृति) का जिक्र आया और लो लखनऊ के उस कानपुर में आगरा प्रकट हो गया और किनारी बाजार की रौनक छाने लगी. थोड़ी देर में लखनऊ फिर लौटा, जब भाभी दो तश्तरियों में चौक लखनऊ की मिठाइयां रखकर लायीं—हरे चने की बर्फी, पिश्ते का लड्डू, लाल पेड़े और मलाई की गिलौरियां. फिर नागरजी की ओर देखा और हंस पड़ीं. पल्ले से मुंह ढंककर हंसी दबायी और चली गयीं. फिर नहीं आयीं.

हम लोग लौटे तो हमारे साथ थी नागरजी की निश्छल हंसी, लच्छेदार बातें, लाल पेड़ों का सोंधा-सोंधा स्वाद, और भाभी के व्यक्तित्व की दीप्त उजास—जैसे घुंघलके में नाक की लौंग का हीरा छिटक मारता है न, कुछ-कुछ वैसा.

उसके बाद बरस पर बरस बीतते गये, नागरजी के दर्शन होते रहे, कभी इलाहाबाद में गजदर के लान पर, कभी वाचस्पति पाठक की बैठक में, कभी रुद्रनारायण शुक्ल के साथ कॉफीहाउस में, कभी रेडियो-स्टेशन पर. धीरे-धीरे हम लोग उनके मुरीद होते गये. लखनऊ से उनके और भगवती बाबू के आने का व्यग्रता से इंतजार करते रहते थे हम लोग. कितना सुकून, कितना उत्साह मिलता था जब वे आते, हमारे बीच बैठते, गपशप करते, शाबाशी देते या कुछ बातों पर डांटते. भगवती बाबू काफी छानबीन कर स्नेह देते थे. मसलन परिमल ग्रुप में वे मुझे और रमानाथ अवस्थी को काफी प्यार करने लगे थे. विजयदेव नारायण साही और गंगाप्रसाद पांडेय से कुछ अप्रसन्न ही रहते..... लेकिन नागरजी का स्नेह मुक्त था. उदार भाव से सबके लिए. क्या गजब की शख्सियत पायी है उन्होंने कि एक ओर परिमलवाले उनके दीवाने थे, दूसरी ओर प्रगतिशील लेखक संघ का काम भी उनके बिना नहीं चल पाता था. उस वक्त परिमल और प्रगतिशील लेखक संघ में काफी संगीन महाभारत छिड़ा हुआ था विचार-स्वातंत्र्य और पार्टी प्रतिबद्धता को लेकर.

नागरजी इस संग्राम के बीच अपने ठहाकों के ब्रह्मास्त्र दोनों ओर छोड़ते रहते थे, दोनों की ओर से. विचार-स्वातंत्र्य तो उन्हें खुद ही हासिल हो गया था, रही प्रतिबद्धता की बात तो वहां भी वे पक्के थे. उनकी प्रतिबद्धता थी मानव मन के सहज प्यार से. हां, एक चीज और थी, उनकी प्रतिबद्धता खूब गहरी थी, शाम को विजया भवानी की एक बड़ी-सी गोली से. वह तो चाहिए ही चाहिए. अब यूं समझिए कि प्रेम का रंग तो हुआ लाल, भांग का रंग हुआ हरा और खुद पहनते थे हमेशा सफेद कुर्ता-धोती. हुआ न तिरंगा व्यक्तित्व, बिलकुल बनारस की मशहूर तिरंगी बर्फी जैसा... और यकीन मानिए, उतना ही स्वादिष्ट, उतना ही मीठा.

भगवती बाबू और नागरजी धीरे-धीरे मेरे जीवन में कितने गहरे उतरते गये, इसका आभास खुद मुझे भी पूरी तरह नहीं हुआ, जब तक मेरे जीवन का एक भयानक, अंधकार भरा आपात्काल नहीं आया. अपने प्यारे इलाहाबाद से उखड़ा, जिंदगी भर की गहरी दोस्तियों में अवांछित दरारें पड़ीं, बंबई में बिलकुल अकेला शुरू-शुरू के दिनों में, 'धर्मयुग' के रूप में परिवर्तन और संस्कार-परिवर्तन के काम का गहरा बोझ और एक गहरी निराशा. उन दिनों मुझे और पुष्पा को नागरजी और भगवती बाबू का जो गहरा प्यार और संरक्षण मिला, उससे क्या कभी हम लोग उऋण हो पायेंगे. भगवती बाबू बंबई आये, स्वयं अपने निकटतम संबंधियों को छोड़कर हम दोनों के पास टिके, लगभग महीने भर रहे और घर के बड़े बुजुर्ग की तरह हमारी हर समस्या का दायित्व अपने मत्थे लिया और तमाम असत्यों और पाखंडों से लड़ने की एक नयी ताकत दे गये. नागरजी आये, शिवाजी पार्क के पास अपने भाई के घर टिके, लेकिन सुबह टहलने के लिए निकलते, आठ-नौ बजे हमारे घर पहुंचते, छड़ी लिये धीरे-धीरे सीढ़ियां चढ़ते, चाय पीते, नाश्ता करते और अपनी मनमोहनी बातों से हमारे सारे दुख-दर्द पर ठंडक बरसाते और बीच-बीच में घर परिवार के बारे में पुष्पा को तमाम हिदायतें, जैसे अपनी बेटी को गहरे संस्कार दे रहे हों. कैसा सुखद बन गया था वह दुखद दौर. हमें बिना बताये नागरजी और भगवती बाबू ने हम लोगों के लिए कितना कुछ किया था, यह तो धीरे-धीरे बरसों बाद पता लगा.

हां, भाभी की तो बात ही रह गयी. बंबई से लखनऊ जाना बहुत कम हो गया था. एक बार गया तो पता चला, नागरजी कलकत्ते गये हुए हैं. फिर तय हुई शादी मेरे अंतरंग मित्र गिरधारीलाल वैद की बड़ी लड़की की, कुंवरनारायण के परिवार में. बारात में शामिल हुए हम तीन दोस्त—मैं, कमलेश्वर और राज बेदी. मजा आयेगा. बारात का माहौल और लखनऊ में नागरजी की छाया. पहुंचते ही हम लोगों की हरकतें शुरू हो गयीं. गिरधर को कुंभकर्णी निद्रा से जगाया और गालियां खायीं, ठाकुरप्रसाद सिंह का नाटकीय भाषण सुना, श्रीलाल शुक्ल की कुर्सी का मुआयना किया और फिर नागरजी के पास चल दिये. कमलेश्वर हस्बमामूल बीच में ही से कहां, कब, कैसे गायब हो गये, पता नहीं चला. रह गये—मैं और राज बेदी.

उनके वर्तमान घर का फाटक और आंगन लांघकर पहुंचे बरामदे के पीछे उनके कमरे में, जहां किताबों, पुरातात्विक मूर्तियों, पुराने चित्रों के बीच गद्दे पर बैठे नागरजी खिल उठे. फिर जो बातें शुरू हुईं कि न उनका आर न पार. इमामबाड़े की रवायतें, पास के लक्ष्मण टीले का इतिहास (लखनऊ लक्ष्मणजी ने बसाया था) नीमसार-मिसरिख की कथाएं और उनके उस समय प्रकाशित नये उपन्यास **'अब मैं नाच्यो बहुत गोपाल'** की सामग्री मेहतरों के बीच जाकर उन्होंने कैसे जुटायी—इसका रोमांचक विवरण. राज बेदी (अब नहीं रहे) आदर्श श्रोता थे. खोदकर पूछते गये और नागरजी के पास तो कुबेर का खजाना...

मैं इस चर्चा के बीच से उठकर जाने किस काम से बाहर आंगन में आया तो देखा, भाभी तश्तरियों में नाश्ता लगा रही थीं. पता नहीं, उम्र के साथ मैं बदल गया था या भाभी बदल गयी थीं... या हम अवधवासियों में सीता जी और लक्ष्मणजी के समय से ही भाभी को मां मानने का संस्कार है... कि उस दिन

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भाभी एक भरे-पूरे घर की गृहस्वामिनी कुल-माता जैसी लगीं. माथे पर बड़ा-सा लाल टीका... उसी मातृत्वभरे अधिकार से उन्होंने सहसा मुझसे पूछा, "देवरानी को क्यों नहीं लाये? बरात में अकेले आये हैं? क्यों?" मैं उनसे बताता रहा कि तीनों बच्चों के स्कूल चल रहे हैं... पर वे इस तर्क को मानने को राजी नहीं थीं.

मैं तब तक नागरजी के अलावा केवल मदन लाल नागरजी से परिचित था, उनके चित्रों के संदर्भ में, बच्चों में से किसी से कभी परिचय ही नहीं हुआ था, पर भाभी की भाव भंगिमा, बातचीत का लहजा ऐसा था जैसे सारे घर पर एकछत्र शासन करती हों... नागरजी की सारी देखभाल के अलावा उनका एक अलग व्यक्तित्व है... नितांत घरेलू होते हुए भी अत्यंत तेजोमय. एक तेवर ही अलग था उनका!

उसका शायद एक और रहस्य था और वह रहस्य मुझे मालूम हुआ बरसों बाद, लखनऊ से हजार मील दूर गुजरात के सूरत नगर की एक जनसंकुल रौनकदार गली में. सूरत में मैं और पुष्पा घूम रहे थे और हमारे साथ थे बड़ौदा के दो युवा गुजराती समीक्षक प्राध्यापक. दोनों बड़े मस्त और प्रेमी जीव. वे हम दोनों को गुजरात के नागर ब्राह्मणों का इतिहास बता रहे थे. कैसे वे सबसे सुसंस्कृत, राज्यैश्वर्य वाले, विद्वान, सभाकुशल और आभिजात्य होते हैं. और फिर बात चली नागरानी (यानी नागर कन्याओं) पर. उनका कहना था कि उनका सौंदर्य, उनके संस्कार, उनके तेवर सबसे अलग ही होते हैं. जब वे नागर कन्याओं के रूप और तेवर का बखान कर रहे थे, मुझे बार-बार भाभी की याद आ रही थी यानी उसका तेवर कुलीन तेवर था, हजारों वर्षों की नागर परंपरा का संचित वैभव. भाभी की याद आने का एक कारण और था. मैं अपने जीवन का स्वर्णिम अवसर उन्हीं दिनों चूक गया था. भाभी के विवाह में नागरजी का सहबाला बनने का.

मतलब ? आप पूछेंगे कि जब नागरजी का विवाह हुआ होगा, तब तो मैं कहीं अतरसूइया की गली में खेलता बच्चा रहा होऊंगा या शायद पैदा ही न हुआ होऊं तब तक! फिर विवाह में सहबाला बनने का क्या मतलब!

मतलब है जनाब! मैं बताता हूं. उस बार जब लखनऊ गया तो काफी सैलानी मूड में था. श्रीलाल के घर पहुंचकर केशवचंद्र वर्मा को इलाहाबाद में फोन करके बुलाया. फिर हम, श्रीलाल, केशव, गिरधर गोपाल सभी एक गाड़ी लेकर चले... नीमसार मिसरिख. नागरजी हमारे नेता थे. 'एकदा नैमिषारण्ये' की कथा-भूमि तो यही नीमसार (नैमिषारण्य) और इरादा था कि उस उपन्यास की कथाभूमि

नागरजी के साथ श्रीमती प्रतिमा नागर

में विचरण किया जाये नागरजी के साथ. उनसे एक-एक स्थल का पूरा ऐतिहासिक पौराणिक संदर्भ समझते हुए. वह स्थल देखा, जहां अस्सी हजार ऋषियों का विराट सम्मेलन हुआ था. संहिताएं बनी थीं, स्मृतियों का पुनर्गठन हुआ था, वह स्थल देखा, जहां से सृष्टि का प्रारंभ होना बताया जाता है, गोमती का वह ऊंचा कगार देखा, जिसके विवरण से नागरजी का उपन्यास शुरू होता है... और छड़ी टेक कर धीरे-धीरे चलते हुए, कथाएं कहते हुए नागरजी, बीच-बीच में ठहाके लगाते हुए नागरजी, बरगद और पीपल के पास रुक-रुक यादों में खो जाते हुए नागरजी. जीवन के बड़े खूबसूरत दिनों में से एक दिन वह भी था.

मिसरिख तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते भूख लग आयी थी. स्वामी नारदानंद तो थे नहीं, उनके आश्रम में कोई यात्रियों के लिए विशेष आर्डर पर पूड़ियां बनाता है. देहात से मटकी का दही आया, पूड़ियां बनीं, आलू की सब्जी छौंकी गयी. हम लोग खाने बैठे. जाने कैसे घर की बात चल आयी तो नागरजी ने बताया कि दो वर्ष बाद ही उनके विवाह को 50 साल पूरे हो जायेंगे.

मुझे यह बात याद रही. संयोग से कुछ ही दिन बाद लखनऊ जाना हुआ. जाड़े की दोपहर थी. भाभी खाना खाकर एक बीड़ा मुंह में दबाये निकल रही थीं, तभी मैंने नागरजी से प्रस्ताव रखा, स्वर्ण जयंती पर एक बार फिर भाभी से ब्याह रचाएं नागरजी. भाभी तो मुस्कराकर और कुछ कुछ झल्लाकर चली गयीं, पर नागरजी को प्रस्ताव भा गया. मैंने तुरंत अपना दावा पेश किया, "इस विवाह में सहबाला कोई और नहीं बनेगा, सहबाला (वर का छोटा भाई) बनने का हक केवल मेरा होगा." नागरजी ने ठहाका लगाया, "मंजूर! फिर हो जाये!" "हो जाये!" मैंने कहा, "मैं सब काम छोड़कर आऊंगा!"

उनके आंगन में एक लतर है. ऊपर झरोखे तक चढ़ी है. जब मैं चलने लगा तो, अब तक याद है... भाभी लोटे का बचा पानी लतर के थाले में डाल रही थीं. मैंने कहा, "सहबाला बनने आ रहा हूं भाभी!" उनके मुंह में पान था. कुछ बोलीं नहीं, पर गर्दन झटकाकर जो मुद्रा बनायी, उसका अर्थ था, "ठीक है लाला, देखूंगी, आना तुम!" अगली बार अचला आयी तो भाभी ने अपनी देवरानी (पुष्पा) के लिए एक अंगूरी रंग की बेहद खूबसूरत चिकन की साड़ी और मेरे लिए चिकन का कुर्ता भिजवाया था, और अचला ने बताया कि उन्होंने घर भर को बता रखा है, भारती बंबई से सहबाला बनकर आयेंगे.

दुर्भाग्य कि जब वह दिन आया, उन दिनों याद नहीं कि कौन-सी परिस्थितियां आ गयीं कि मैं छुट्टी नहीं ले पाया, पर हम और पुष्पा कालबा देवी जाकर सुहाग पिटारी की सारी चीजें खरीद कर लाये, आलता, बिंदी, सिंदूर, टीका, बिछिया, मुंदरी, आरसी और उसके साथ (वे जाड़े के दिन थे) काठियावाड़ का एक कलात्मक ऊनी शाल. सब अचला के हाथ भाभी को भेजा, नागरजी को एक लंबा पत्र.

न जाने का बेहद दुख रहा. लखनऊ से जब उस समारोह का छपा हुआ आमंत्रण आया तो दुख और भी दूना हो गया. फिर बेहद आतुरता यह जानने की कि इस स्वर्ण जयंती विवाह में क्या-क्या हुआ?

अचला लौटकर आयी... सारा आंखों देखा हाल बताया, फिर हम लोगों ने पूछा, "भाभी को शाल पसंद आया!" "पसंद आया? वो तो समारोह में वही ओढ़कर बैठी रहीं और बाद में भी वही ओढ़े इतराती घूमती रहीं. सबको बार-बार बताती थीं... मेरे देवर-देवरानी ने बंबई से भेजा है." अचला ने बताया.

मन भर आया सुनकर! छोटी-सी चीज को इतना बड़ा मान तो मां ही दे सकती है. हम अवधवासियों ने बड़ी भाभी को मां ठीक ही माना है!

इस साल, अभी कुछ महीनों पहले, अकस्मात भाभी चली गयीं. हफ्तों तक तो यह खबर मिली ही नहीं. जब मिली तो स्तब्ध रह गया. कितनी बार नागरजी को खत लिखने बैठा तो समझ ही न आये कि लिखूं तो क्या लिखूं. कितने अकेले पड़ गये होंगे वे. कितना सूनसान होगा वह धूपभरा लतर सजा आंगन, लगता होगा रसोई से अब वे निकलीं, अब धूप में उनका लाल टीका चमका. वह रौनक अफरोज हवेली कैसी उदास, श्रीहीन होगी...

पर फिर नागरजी को जन्मदिन की बधाई हिम्मत कर भेज ही रहा हूं. आखिर हमारी उस उजासभरी भाभी की धरोहर है उनकी कलम. वह चलती रहेगी तो हमारी भाभी के माथे का टीका जगमगाता रहेगा, आंगन की लतर हरी-भरी रहेगी, वह लतरें जिसके नीचे भाभी को आखिरी बार देखा था! □

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अमृतलाल नागर की कहानियां : एक

शकीला की मां

किसी भी लेखक के लिए अपनी प्रारंभिक रचनाओं में से किसी एक प्रतिनिधि रचना को छांटना बहुत मुश्किल काम है. नागरजी ने 'शकीला की मां' को ही अपने लेखन के पहले पड़ाव की प्रतिनिधि रचना क्यों माना है? क्या सिर्फ इसलिए कि यह शरत बाबू और प्रेमचंद के यथार्थ से जुड़ी है, कि इसमें स्व. पं. रूपनारायण पांडेय की बोलचाली भाषा है, कि इसे निरांला ने पसंद किया था या कुछ और भी है? प्रस्तुत है नागरजी के लेखकीय विकास की पहली मंजिल की महत्वपूर्ण सीढ़ी—

के ले और अमरूद के तीन-चार पेड़ों से घिरा आंगन. नवाबी युग की याद में मर्सिया पढ़तीं हुई तीन-चार कोठरियां. एक में जमीलन, दूसरी में जमलिया, तीसरी में शकीला, शहजादी, मुहम्मदी. वह 'उजड़े पर वालों' के ठहरने की सराय थी.

एक दिन जमीलन की लड़की शकीला दो घंटे में अपनी मौसी के यहां से लौट आने की बात कह किसी के साथ कहीं चल दी. इस पर घर में चख-चख और तोबा-तिल्ला मचा, उसे देखने में लोगों को बड़ा मजा आया. दिन-भर बाजार के मनचले दूकानदारों की जबान पर शकीला की ही चर्चा रही और तीसरे दिन सबेरे, आश्चर्य-सी वह लौट भी आयी. लोगों ने देखा—कानों में लाल हरे नग-जड़े सोने के झुमके, 'धनुशबानी' रंग की चुनरी, गोटा-टंका रेशमी कुरता और लहंगा.

घर की चौखट पर पैर रखते ही पहले-पहल मुहम्मदी ने थोड़ा मुस्कराकर उसकी ठोड़ी को अपनी उंगलियों की चुटकी से हिलाते हुए पूछा.

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"ओ-हो-री झको बीबी, दो दिन कहां रहीं?"

शकीला केवल मुस्कराकर आगे बढ़ गयी.

झब्बन मियां की दाढ़ी में कितने बाल हैं अथवा उनकी नुमायशी तोंद का वजन कितना है, यह तो आपको शहजादी ही बता सकेगी. हां, उनका सिन इस समय पचास-पचपन के करीब होगा, यह आसानी से जाना जा सकता है. एक दिन जब आप खुदा के नूर में खिजाब लगाकर शकीला से हंस-हंसकर कुछ फरमा रहे थे, तब शहजादी ने उनके जवान-दिल पर कितनी बार थूका था, मुहम्मदी उसकी गवाह है.

चारपाई पर बैठे-बैठे पंखा झलते हुए मियां झब्बन ने शकीला को देखा. दाढ़ी-मूंछों के काले-सफेद बालों में एक बार बिजली-सी चमकी. फिर कहा, "आह-हाय, यह गजब, यह ठाट! कहां चली गयी थी तुम?"

चुनरी से सिर को अच्छी तरह ढककर कनखियों से देखते हुए शकीला ने कहा, "कानपुर."

शहजादी ने वैसे ही कोठरी के बाहर आकर देखा, शकीला मुंह बिचकाकर दोनों हाथों को सहज ढील पर छोड़ते हुए बोली, "ऊं-हूं, अब तो बेगम साहिबा के कदम क्यों जमीन पर पड़ेंगे? हां भई, यार लोग सलामत रहें, चलो अच्छा है. . . लेकिन कहे देती हूं, मेरे घर यह छिनाला नहीं चलेगा; हां."

शकीला पर जैसे गाज गिर गयी. पत्थर की मूर्ति की तरह, जैसे खड़ी हुई थी, वैसे ही रह गयी.

शहजादी का अंग-अंग, उस समय फड़क-फड़ककर एक अजीब दृश्य उपस्थित कर रहा था—हाथ कभी इधर, कभी उधर, आंखें कभी पृथ्वी और कभी आकाश की ओर. चालीस से कुछ ऊपर का सिन. घर की चहारदीवारी के अंदर सिर पर दुपट्टा डाल लेने की कोई जरूरत थी ही नहीं. फिर झब्बन मियां को लुभाना भी न था—शायद इसीलिए वह 'बाडी' नहीं पहनती और मैले कुरते के सब बटन भी खुले ही रहते हैं.

पान के कत्थे से रंगीले ओठ रसीले हैं या नहीं, इसे झब्बन मियां बता तो सकते थे, परंतु वे आज तक किसी भी अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे आदमी के पास बैठे तक नहीं. फिर भी, उन रसीले ओठों से बात करते समय हमेशा 'पराग' बिखरता है. इसे तो बहुत लोग जानते हैं. शहजादी कह रही थी,

"ऐ, कभी हमारे भी जवानी के दिन थे. हमने भी जमाना देखा है, लेकिन यह सिन और यह सितम—ऐसी जवानी पर खुदा की मार."

अपनी कोठरी के सामनेवाले दालान में चारपाई पर बैठी हुई, जमीलन रोटी खा रही थी. शहजादी के बयान से उसे शकीला के आने की सूचना मिल चुकी थी, फिर भी वह उठी नहीं, चुपचाप सुनती ही रही.

और शहजादी बिना रुके ही कहे जा रही थी, "मुई के मिजाज तो देखो, ऊं-हूं, यह ठसका! जैसे हजार-दो हजार कमा लायी हो. अल्लाह ने जरा सूरत दी तो जमीन पर पैर ही न पड़ते. उफ री नजाकत!" मुंह बिचकाकर, गाल पर उंगली रख, आंखें चढ़ाते हुए उसने इस अंदाज से गर्दन मटकायी कि . . . खुदा की पनाह.

सहनशीलता की भी एक हद होती है. यह ठीक है कि शकीला के भाग जाने पर जमीलन ने 'परवरदिगार' से उसकी मौत मांगी थी, लेकिन आज, अपनी आंखों के सामने अपनी लड़की के लिए इतनी तीखी बातें सुनने को वह हरगिज तैयार न थी. मुंह का कौर जो बहुत देर से दांतों का अत्याचार सहन कर रहा था, आधे लोटे पानी के सहारे पेट में पहुंच गया.

जमीलन ने दालान से बाहर आकर उसको आवाज दी, "शकीला, चल, इधर आ."

किसी स्वप्न को देखते-देखते शकीला जैसे चौंक-सी उठी. मां की आवाज सुनकर उसने अपने को संभाला और फिर अपनी कोठरी में चली गयी.

आग दोनों तरफ बराबर सुलग रही थी. शहजादी अभी कुछ और कहना चाहती थी, और जमीलन का दिल भी अंदर ही अंदर घुमड़ रहा था. आखिर जमीलन से न रहा गया. अपने आप ही किसी को सुनाकर कहने लगी, "जिंदगी भर दुअन्नी-चवन्नी पर कलमा पढ़ा की, अब किसी की बढ़ती देखकर आंखें फटती हैं? वाह रे जमाना बुरा हो तेरा."

"ऐ, तो जमाने को क्या कोसती हो? मुझे कोसो, मुझे, है हिम्मत?" शहजादी फट पड़ी.

"मैं क्यों किसी को कोसूं—मुझे क्या गरज? तुम्हें क्यों चिगनी लगती है?"

"है-है, लगे नहीं. लेके कोस डाला—बुरा हो, बुरा हो—वाह."

"और मेरी आंखों के सामने घंटा भर जो तुम मेरी लड़की को कोस रही थीं, वह कुछ नहीं. . . दिन-भर बहन-बहन कहो, वह मौसी-मौसी रटे, और मौसी मुई जब देखो, तब कोसाकाटी; ऐसी मौसी के मुंह में आग. बड़ी मौसी. . ."

जमीलन की बात अभी पूरी न हो पायी थी कि शहजादी लपककर उसके पास जा खड़ी हुई, "ले रख आग, रख ना? मुई छिनाल, रंडी, बदजात. . ."

शहजादी हांफ रही थी.

"और तुम कौन हो? दूसरे को तो रंडी, छिनाल, बदजात और आप बिचारी बड़ी पाक साफ हैं न? वह दिन भूल गयी बीबी, जब कंपनीबाग में अपने चहेते के साथ पकड़ी गयी थी? रह तो आयी हो तीन दिन तक हवालात में. मुई दो कौड़ी के सिपाहियों ने दुर्गत कर तो दी थी. . . नहीं, अब वह भूल गयी. अपनी वाली कैसे कहे?"

"हां-हां, मेरे तो दो कौड़ी सिपाही थे, तेरे यार तो बड़े लाट के बच्चे थे?"

"थे ही, और ले ही गये मेरे जरा से इशारे पर तुझे छुड़ाकर, वरना मर जाती जिंदगी भर जेल में चक्की पीसते-पीसते."

"ऐ, कौन किसका खून किया था, डाका डाला था, जो जिंदगी-भर जेल में पड़ी रहती? बड़ी आयी है छुड़ानेवाली, कुत्ती कहीं की?"

जमीलन के तन में आग लग गयी. लपककर शहजादी की गर्दन नापी. सब लोग बचाने के लिए 'हैं-हैं' करते हुए दौड़ पड़े. जमीलन उसका गला छोड़कर अपने दालान में चली आयी.

दोनों हाथों को बार-बार ऊपर की ओर उठाकर चिल्ला-चिल्लाकर शहजादी कहने लगी, "अल्लाह करे, आधी रात में इसकी लाश मचमचाती हुई निकले. अल्लाह करे, इसके तन-तन में कीड़े पड़ें, अल्लाह करे. . ."

और फिर अपनी असमर्थता को पछाड़ने के अंतिम प्रयत्न में वह ढह गयी.

मियां झब्बन ने लपककर चारपाई से पंखा उठाया और उसके सिर को अपनी गोद में रखकर पंखा झलने लगे.

जमीलन खाना खाने बैठी, पर उससे ठीक तरह से खाया नहीं गया. थाली एक ओर सरकाकर गड़ुए से हाथ-धोते-धोते उसने आवाज दी, "शकीला."

शकीला अपनी कोठरी से निकलकर चुपचाप उसके पास खड़ी हो गयी. जमीलन के पानदान को अपनी ओर खिसकाकर उसका ढक्कन खोलते हुए पूछा, "गयी कहां थी?"

"कानपुर. . ." चारपाई के एक कोने का सहारा लेकर पायताने की डोरी पर हाथ फेरते हुए सिर झुकाये उसने उत्तर दिया.

"किसके साथ गयी थी?"

"मुन्ना के साथ."

"कौन मुन्ना?"

"रामलाल का लड़का."

"रामलाल कौन? सराफेवाले?"

इस बार मां की आंखों से आंखें मिलाकर शकीला ने उत्तर

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दिया, "वह नहीं, अरे वही सुनार, सब्जी मंडीवाला."

पेशानी पर बल डाल, आंखें चमका, बात समझते हुए जमीलन ने कहा, "हूं."और फिर पान पर कत्था लगाने लगी.

पान के बीड़े मुंह में दबाकर दामन से हाथ पोछते हुए जमीलन ने पूछा, "मिला क्या?"

शकीला ने रेशमी दुपट्टा निकालकर दस-दस के दो नोट मां की हथेली पर रख दिये.

मुट्ठी में नोटों को दबाते हुए कोमल स्वर में जमीलन ने कहा, "तो कहके क्यों नहीं गयी थी." शकीला सिर झुकाकर चुपचाप बैठी रही.

थोड़ी देर बाद जमीलन स्नेहपूर्वक बोली, "अच्छा जा, कपड़े बदल, मैं बाजार से पूड़ी मंगाये देती हूं." जमीलन उठी और गली में आकर खड़ी हो गयी, पूड़ी मंगाने के लिए वह किसी परिचित को खोज रही थी. संयोगवश मियां बुलाकी थोड़ी देर बाद उधर से निकले. अदा के साथ मुस्कराते हुए बुलाकी मियां ने कहा, "किसका इंतजार हो रहा है?"

"तुम्हारा ही." जमीलन ने जरा मुस्कराकर उत्तर दिया.

"ओफ, ओह! खुदा इतना झूठ न बोलो तो क्या हो जाये?"

"अपनी जान-कसम, झूठ नहीं. सोच रही थी, इधर से कोई आता जाता दिखाई पड़े. शकीला भूखी बैठी है, बाजार से पूड़ी मंगानी थी. जरा तुम्हीं ले आओ लपक के."

अकेली गली में खड़े-खड़े मूंछों पर हाथ फेरते हुए तृषित नेत्रों से उसने एक बार जमीलन की ओर ताका और फिर उसके कंधे पर हाथ रखते हुए कहा, 'बोलो, क्या मंगाती हो? लाओ, ले आऊं?"

जमीलन ने अठन्नी का नुस्खा बतला दिया. बुलाकी मियां जाने लगे. जमीलन ने पुकारकर कहा, "अरे पैसे तो लेते जाओ."

पीछे की ओर गर्दन घुमाकर मियां बुलाकी चलते-चलते बोले, "रख लो, फिर काम आयेंगे."

उस दिन शाम को जमीलन ने शकीला को मारते-मारते अधमरी कर डाला. बड़ी मुश्किल से मुहम्मदी उसे बचा सकी. मियां झब्बन अलग से ही आंसू-भरी आंखों से उसे देखते रहे. शकीला रो-रोकर कह रही थी, "हाय मरी, हाय मरी". जमीलन घूंसों और थप्पड़ से उसकी पूजा करती हुई हांफ-हांफकर कह रही थी, "जा, जा न, और जायेगी?"

मुहम्मदी अपनी पुरजोर शक्ति से जमीलन को पीछे ढकेलती हुई कह रही थी, "अरे बस-बस, बहुत हुआ. छोड़ दो उसे. अब मत मारो, वाह रे जोम! ओफ हो तोबा रे तोबा." कहकर उसने अपने गालों पर धीरे-से चपत मारकर कान उमेठ लिये.

शकीला का अपराध दंड को देखते हुए बहुत कम था. बात यह थी कि शकीला ने शाम के वक्त जाकर शहजादी से बड़े लहजे के साथ कहा, "मौसी, आज पान नहीं खिलाओगी?"

आये दिन होनेवाली कलह और सुलह की तरह शकीला ने आज भी संधि हुई जान ली थी, पर शहजादी उस दिन बेहद चिढ़ी हुई थी. इसी से उसने शकीला को हजारों जली-कटी बातें सुनायीं.

जमीलन का चेहरा क्रोध से तमतमा उठा. शीघ्रतापूर्वक आकर शकीला को घसीटती हुई अपनी कोठरी में चली गयी और जमीलन हांफते-हांफते अपनी चारपाई पर.

रात के आठ बजे किसी ने दरवाजे पर थपक दी. जमीलन चारपाई से उठकर चटर-पटर चप्पल चटकाती हुई गयी और कुंडी खोलकर देखा, मुन्ना था.

"आइए, आइए." मुस्कराने का निष्फल प्रयत्न करते हुए जमीलन ने उसका स्वागत किया. जरा-सी बात पर शकीला को कितना मारा! रह-रहकर उसे इसी का ध्यान हो आता था.

मुन्ना ने पूछा, "शकीला कहां है?"

"अभी बुलाती हूं, आप ऊपर तशरीफ रखें."

ऊपर छत पर एक काठ का छोटा-सा कमरा था—वही उसकी रूप की दूकान थी. मुन्ना को ऊपर बैठाकर उसने नीचे आकर शकीला की कोठरी के किवाड़ों को थपथपाया.

"शकीला, अरी शकीला! जरा कुंडा खोल तो बिटिया!" शकीला ने कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया.

"अरी मुन्ना बाबू आये हैं.?"

किवाड़ तब भी बंद रहे. बड़ी देर बाद मां बार-बार मिन्नत करने पर उसने कुंडी खोल दी.

उसके सिर पर प्रेम के साथ हाथ फेरते हुए उसने कहा, "क्यों गयी थी उस जलमुंही, सरी-पीटी के पास?"

शकीला तकिये में मुंह छिपाये जोर-जोर से सिसकने लगी. जमीलन भी रो पड़ी, "तुझे मेरे सिर की कसम, अब न रो मेरी बिटिया. उठ तो मेरी रानी, उठ-उठ."

थोड़ी देर बाद अपने को संभालकर जमीलन ने उससे कहा और हाथ पकड़कर उसे उठाना चाहा.

अपनी छाती से शकीला को कसकर जमीलन रोने लगी और शकीला की सिसकियों और आंसुओं के बीच जमीलन ने कहा, "अल्लाह करे, मेरे ये हाथ गल जायें. मेरी बेटी, मेरी बच्ची," वह उसके मस्तक को दोनों हाथों से अपनी छाती पर कसकर दबाये हुए थी. मुहम्मदी ने कोठरी के द्वार पर खड़े होकर उस दृश्य को देखा और फिर जमीलन से कहने लगी, "पहले तो ले के पीट डाला और अब फफड़दलाली करने चली, वाह री मौसी! ऐसे मना रही हो, अल्लाह कहीं सचमुच ही तुम्हारी बांहें न काट डाले."

". . . शकीला, चल उठ, हाथ मुंह धो. रहने दे अब अपने नखरे. चल-चल यह चोंचलेबाजी ऊपर जाकर दिखाना. दो-एक झुमके और मिल जायेंगे. सुनार का बेटा है कि बातें."

मुहम्मदी ने उसका हाथ पकड़कर अपनी ओर घसीट लिया. वह मुस्करा रही थी, सूजे-से जलमग्न नेत्रों से उसकी ओर देखकर शकीला भी एक बार मुस्करा दी.

मुहम्मदी की मदद से हाथ-मुंह धोया, साड़ी बदली, पान खाया और ऊपर चली गयी. . . और ऐसे ही सारी रात बीत गयी. सुबह उठकर मुन्ना ने देखा कि शकीला बिस्तर पर न थी. उसने जमीलन से पूछा.

शकीला को आवाजें दीं, मुहम्मदी से पूछा, झब्बन से पूछा. शहजादी से भी पूछा. शकीला कहीं भी न थी. एकाएक उसने देखा, ड्योढ़ी की अर्गला तो खुली थी, पर किवाड़ भिड़े हुए थे. दोनों हाथों से अपना कपाल पीटकर वह रो पड़ी.

शकीला सचमुच फिर भाग गयी थी.

एक दिन, दो दिन, महीना, डेढ़ महीना—कुछ पता नहीं, जमीलन के लिए धरती जैसे उसकी शकीला को निगल ही गयी थी. वह दरोगा जी की खिदमत में गयी, "हवलदारों की पाशविक मनोवृत्तियों की छाप गालों और. . . और अवनत स्तनों पर लगाकर लौट आयी, परंतु शकीला न आयी, न आयी.

जवानी की कमाई की बची-खुची स्मृतियों को एक-एक कर उसने बेचा और खा डाला. अच्छा भोजन किया, दिन में चार बार सिंगार करना शुरू किया. मुहम्मदी को अकेले में बुलाकर जमीलन कहती, "जरा मेरी चोटी तो कस दे मेरी गुइयां. आय-हाय, आज तो तू बड़ी खूब-सूरत जंच रही है."

बात समझकर मुहम्मदी जमीलन का जूड़ा बांधते-बांधते कहती, "लेकिन मौसी, तुमसे कम ही कम. गजब ढाती हो तुम तो. सारा बाजार तुम्हें देखता है घूर-घूरकर, जैसे कोई हूर खड़ी हो?"

"ए चल हट मुई! तुझे बातें बनाना खूब आता है." मन ही मन प्रसन्न और गर्वित हो जमीलन उसे उत्तर देती.

दिन चुपचाप यों ही बीत रहे थे. जमीलन बड़े सजाव के साथ बाजार के आने-जाने वालों को देखती. बहुत-से उसे भी देखते, परंतु आता उसके यहां कोई भी न था.

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एक दिन मुहम्मदी भी कहीं चली गयी—तीन दिन के लिए जमीलन के लिए वे दिन कयामत के दिन थे.

सुनसान गली में ही आंखें फाड़-फाड़कर जमीलन जैसे कुछ खोज रही थी. बाजार में जाते हुए मुन्ना को उसने देखा. वह दौड़ी हुई गयी मुन्ना को बुलाने. वह भी उधर ही आ रहा था.

मुन्ना ने पूछा, "शकीला आ गयी?"

"शकीला गयी भाड़ में! उससे तुम्हें क्या मतलब?" कह उसने मुन्ना का हाथ पकड़ लिया और घर में ले गयी.

चारपाई पर उसे बिठाकर बोली, "तुम तो अब आते भी नहीं, क्यों?"

"क्या करूं? किसके लिए आऊं?" मुन्ना जमीलन को यह दिखाना चाहता था कि उसे शकीला से कितना अधिक प्रेम था और अब भी बाकी है.

कटीली कनखियों से देखते हुए उसका हाथ अपने हाथ में दबाकर उसने कहा, "क्यों, क्या मैं खूबसूरत नहीं हूं? बोलो प्यारे, बोलो."

फिर दोनों हाथ सिर के पीछे छत की कड़ियों की ओर देखते हुए झूमकर गुनगुनाना शुरू किया : "क्या इश्क ने समझा है, क्या हुस्न ने जाना है, हम खाक-नशीनों की, ठोकर पै जमाना है!"

गाकर उसने एक बार मुन्ना की ओर देखा, फिर हंस पड़ी. उसके पास सरक अंगड़ाई लेते हुए उसने पूछा, "आज चुप क्यों हो मेरी जान!"

मुन्ना अचानक उठा. वह क्या बताये कि वह चुप क्यों है? कुछ देर बाद जमीलन ने फिर पूछा, "हमसे कुछ खफा हो?"

मुन्ना ने मुस्कराकर उत्तर दिया, "नहीं तो, भला तुमसे कौन खफा हो सकता है? हां, यह तो बताओ, घर में और सब कहां हैं?"

जमीलन ने मुंह फुलाकर आंखे तरेरते हुए हाथ से मुन्ना को धीमा-सा धक्का देकर कहा, "तुम्हें दूसरों से क्या मतलब? ऐ हां, तब से हजार बार पूछ चुके हो, शकीला कहां है, फलानी कहां है, ढिमाकी नहीं दिखाई पड़ती? कोई तो आप पर जान दे और आप ऐसे कि...?"

मुन्ना चुपचाप बैठा हुआ उसकी ओर ताक रहा था. जमीलन कुछ देर चुप रही, फिर कनखियों से देखते हुए मुस्करा पड़ी.

वह मुन्ना के और पास खिसक आयी, खिसकती ही आयी और उसकी गोदी में अपने-आप को बिलकुल छोड़ दिया.

मुन्ना अब उलझन में पड़ा. वह जमीलन से पीछा छुड़ाना चाहता था. उसने कहा, "अच्छा, इस वक्त जाने दो. मुझे काम है. फिर आ जाऊंगा."

मुन्ना अपने को अलग करने की कोशिश करने जा ही रहा था कि जमीलन ने उसे अपनी ओर खींचकर अपनापन जताते हुए कहा, "यह भी जाने का कोई वक्त है? नहीं, अब न जाने पाओगे."

जमीलन की सारी चेष्टाएं मुन्ना को अपनी ओर खींचने का प्रयत्न कर रही थीं. उत्साहित होकर वह अपनी एक-एक अदा से, बचपन से लेकर अब तक आजमाए हुए प्रयोगों से उन्मत्त होकर मुन्ना को रिझाना चाहती थी.

उस वक्त उसकी बांकी अदा में कितना बांकपन था, कितना मजा था, कितना...

मुन्ना सचमुच में घबरा उठा था.

आखिर उससे न रहा गया. अपनी पूरी ताकत से जमीलन को ढकेलकर भागा.

जमीलन दूर जा पड़ी. समूची शक्ति लगाकर उठना चाहा, पर उठ न सकी, वहीं ढह गयी. अकर्मण्य रोष घुमड़-घुमड़कर उसके अंग-अंग को जैसे उमेठ रहा था. होंठ बार-बार फड़फड़ा कर रह जाते थे, मानों कह रहे हों, 'शकीला, आ बेटी, आ जा." जैसे उसकी दोनों बांहें टूट गयी थीं, मुहम्मदी भी नहीं, शकीला भी नहीं, और वह भूखी थी. □

आप किस उम्मीद पर जिंदा हैं?

सन् 1979 में देवेंद्र उपाध्याय ने दिल्ली में बैठे-ठाले नागरजी से पत्र लिखकर पूछा कि आप किस उम्मीद पर जिंदा हैं?... तो नागरजी ने जो जवाब भिजवाया, वह अब सन् 1985 में यहां प्रकाशित हो रहा है.

वर्त्तमान जीवन में हमारे राष्ट्रीय मानस को बहुत असुख होते हुए हमें यह न भूलना चाहिए कि वह उत्तरोत्तर उजाले की ओर बढ़ रहा है.

हमारे इतिहास के लंबे क्रम में अंधेरे-उजाले के अनेक धब्बे पड़े हुए हैं. अगर हम मोटा हिसाब भी लगायें तो यह दिखलायी देता है कि लगभग ईसा से हजार-बारह सौ वर्ष पहले शायद हमारे महाभारत वाले पुरखे रहे होंगे. पुरखों की बात है, इसीलिए ख्वामख्वाह गौरव मंडित बनकर हमारे मनों में प्रवेश करती है, लेकिन यदि आप विचार-पूर्वक सोचें तो वह जमाना बेहद खराब था. राजनीति जुए के दावों पर चलती थी. भरे राज-दरबार में एक स्त्री को नंगा करके अपमानित भी किया जाता था. सोचिए कि उस जमाने में लोग आखिर किस उम्मीद पर जिये होंगे, लेकिन दो-चार सौ वर्षों की कशमकश के बाद ही नया वैचारिक वातावरण सक्रिय होने लगा. उपनिषदों के चिंतक-गण और महावीर, बुद्ध जैसे महापुरुषों के अवतरण से नया जमाना आगे बढ़ा. चाणक्य और उनके शिष्य चंद्रगुप्त मौर्य जैसे महान राज-नीतिज्ञ आये. हिंदुस्तानी साम्राज्य का नक्शा ईरान तक फैला. फिर अशोक ने बौद्ध धर्म की मशाल लेकर सारे एशिया में उजाला किया. उसके बाद धीरे-धीरे फिर देशकाल पर गहन अंधेरा छा गया. उस अंधे जमाने में भी लोगों को किसी न किसी तरह जीने की सूझ तो मिली ही होगी. इसी तरह इतिहास के लंबे क्रम पर ध्यान देने से हमें आज के अंधेरे में भी जीने के लिए बहुत-सी उम्मीदें बंधती हैं.

साहित्य में अपने उदय काल से लेकर आज तक के क्रम में मैंने हिंदी साहित्य को उत्तरोत्तर फलते-फूलते देखा है. पहले किसी लेखक के पास यदि किसी अन्य प्रदेश से उनकी रचना पर प्रशंसाभरा पत्र आ जाता था तो बड़ी बात होती थी. चर्चे होते थे. रचना के अनुवाद भी हुए तो धूम मच गयी. अब अच्छी रचनाओं के लेखकों को सारे भारत से पत्र प्रायः मिलते रहते हैं. जो हिंदी मेरे बचपन में केवल हिंदुओं की ही थी, वह अब हमारी भाषा के विशाल क्षेत्र में मुसलमानों और ईसाइयों की भी हो गयी है. अनेक मुस्लिम विद्वान अब अनेक हिंदू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई सभी नौजवानों को कालेजों और क्लास रूमों में हिंदी पढ़ाते हैं. संस्कृत भी पढ़ाते हैं. हिंदी साहित्य की रचना में सक्रिय योगदान देते हैं—हिंदी का सामाजिक दायरा उचित ढंग से अब व्यापक हो गया है.

यदि हम ज्ञान-विज्ञान आदि अन्य क्षेत्रों में देखें तो इस महालीचड़—लीचड़तर—लीचड़तम जमाने में भी भारतीय मानस की जाग-रूकता आज भी दिखलायी देती है. मैं इस दिये की टिमटिमाहट पर जीता हूं. अंधेरे में भी रोशनी के कण चमकते हैं. □

● प्रस्तुति : देवेंद्र उपाध्याय

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मूरख

बयालीस वर्ष पहले बंग दुर्भिक्ष में मनुष्य की चरम दयनीयता और परम दानवता के दृश्य नागरजी ने कलकत्ते में खुद अपनी आंखों से देखे थे. यह एक ऐसा अनुभव था जो चार साल बाद ही 'महाकाल' उपन्यास के रूप में सामने आया.

मानवीय करुणा के मार्मिक चित्रों की अविस्मरणीय कथाओं का यह दस्तावेज कलात्मय यथार्थ का अनूठा उदाहरण है. प्रस्तुत है इसी उपन्यास का संक्षिप्त रूपांतर.

मोहनपुर ऐंग्लो-बंगाली स्कूल के बरामदे में पैर रखते ही हेडमास्टर पांचू गोपाल मुखर्जी को ध्यान हो आया कि हीरू बाग्दी का लड़का गणेश लगातार दस दिन तक मलेरिया शरीर की सारी शक्ति के साथ भूख से लड़कर, आज सवेरे चल बसा. पांचू को लगा जैसे कि आज उसका स्कूल मर गया. गणेश की मृत्यु ने सहसा उसकी और उसके परिवार के आने वाले कल की तस्वीर उसके सामने लाकर खड़ी कर दी.

दीवार पर स्कूल में लगाये जाने के लिए भेजे गये सरकारी पोस्टर चिपके थे. पहला पोस्टर था—"अन्न की पैदावार बढ़ाओ!" पांचू ने झटककर पोस्टर को चीर डाला. निःश्वास छोड़ते हुए पांचू ने कमरे का ताला खोला. फिर झटपट क्लास रूम में घुस गया, जैसे सुरक्षित जगह में पहुंच जाना चाहता हो.

कमरा स्तब्ध. डेस्कों पर स्याही के तमाम दाग और गर्द की पर्त. बोर्ड पर भी धूल जमी थी. जब से वह गांव छोड़कर गया है किसी ने स्कूल की सफाई नहीं की. उसने भी नहीं. तो क्या स्कूल बंद हो जायेगा.

पांचू ने अपनी जेब से रूमाल निकालकर डेस्क साफ करने शुरू कर दिये. दीमकें सारा काठ चाटे जा रही थीं. . . . एक सौ बाईस लड़कों में से धीरे-धीरे बीस गये, पच्चीस गये, पचास गये. आज 19 मार्च है पर स्कूल में एक भी लड़का नहीं. कानाई मास्टर जनवरी में ही गांव छोड़कर पछांह चला गया था. गोविंद मास्टर भी मार्च के पहले हफ्ते में चले गये. गणेश भी . . .

उसने अपना फाउंटेनपेन जेब से निकाला. मेज पर रखा. दराज में चॉक स्टिकों का आधा भरा हुआ डिब्बा, डस्टर, दवात और पीछे की तरफ कागजों का एक बंडल दिखा . . . 'अभी जरा देर के लिए दराज खुली छोड़कर चला जाऊं कि . . . लेकिन लड़के कहां हैं?'

पांचू इस बार खुद को धोखा न दे सका. कमरा स्तब्ध. डेस्क और बैंचों की लंबी-लंबी चार सूनी कतारें. स्याही के दाग और उन पर गर्द की पर्त . . . पांचू का दम घुटने लगा. चॉक स्टिकों से आधे भरे डिब्बे को उसने डेस्कों पर उछाल दिया. उसका दिल भर आया.

पांच महीने ही तो हुए हैं. बारह रुपये मन चावल बेचकर गांव का हर किसान कितना खुश नजर आ रहा था. घरों का धान भी उठा-उठाकर बेच दिया. पैसे की गर्मी से किसान बौरा गया. दयाल जमींदार और मोनाई की उधार-वसूली शुरू हुई. पैसा तो अनेक मदों में खर्च हो चला था. कचहरियों से सम्मन आने लगे. सुहागिनों के तन के गहने उतर गये. बचा-खुचा चोर-डाकू ले गये. परजा मुंह देखती रह गयी.

पांचू को अपने घर की याद आयी. चार दिन से उसके घर में भी अकाल पड़ रहा है . . . आज शाम को दयाल जमींदार के यहां से चावल मिल ही जायेगा. घर-घर में चूल्हे ठंडे पड़े हैं . . . पार्वती काकी मरीं, हारान मरा, तिनकौड़ी मरा, गणेश मरा. इसी तरह एक दिन . . .

पांचू काजी बुरी तरह विचलित हो गया. दराज के कागज पटलते हुए उसे एस्प्रो का पैकेट मिला. 'निगल जाऊं! नहीं चबाना चाहिए!' उसने सोचा और टिकियों को चबाने की कोशिश करने लगा . . . अंजुली भर-भरकर उसने खूब पानी पिया. उसका पेट तन गया था. उसने सोचना शुरू किया कि उसका पेट भरा हुआ है.

पांचू ने अंदाजा लगाया . . . अभी ढाई बज रहे होंगे. साढ़े तीन बजे चलना ठीक रहेगा. दयाल बाबू सोचेंगे, चावल लेना है, इसलिए जल्दी चला आया. पांचू सोच रहा था आठ रुपये में तो हर महीने पंद्रह

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सेर देने से रहे. तनख्वाह बढ़ा दें तो गुजारा चल सकता है.

दराज में पड़ा मां का पत्र आंखों के सामने आया तो पांचू की आंखों के सामने बीते हुए दिन एक-एक कर सामने आने लगे . . . कैसे उसने रामदुलाल खूड़ो के व्यंग्य की प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप गणेश को पढ़ाना शुरू कर दिया था. उस रोज पांचू ने गणेश से कहा था, "गणेश, अगर तू न आया होता तो गांव में आज यह स्कूल भी न होता!"

. . . आज गणेश नहीं रहा, यह स्कूल भी नहीं रहा!

"बड़ी बहू! चलो-चलो. बखत न गंवाओ. चूल्हा संजो के तैयार रखो हां! और पानी की पतीली गरम होने को रख दो. पांचू के आते ही चावल उसमें डाल दिया जायेगा—बस दिन भर में भात रंधकर तैयार!" पानी पीकर रीता गिलास हाथ में लिये पार्वती मां, एक सुर में बोलती हुई, गिलास मांजने में फुर्ती दिखाने लगी.

भूख को व्रत का बहाना देकर सारा घर आज चार दिन से टाल रहा है. बड़ी बहू फीकी हंसी हंसकर बोली, "हम लोग तो पानी पी-पीकर जी लेंगे . . . पर चुन्नी का क्या होगा!" चुन्नी रोते-रोते हांफने लगी है.

"अरे अभी आते होंगे चावल लेकर! तू घबराती क्यों है?" मंगला ने सांत्वना देने की कोशिश की.

शिबू के साथ दहलीज पार कर दो-तीन लोग दालान में आ चुके थे. शिबू आगे, उसके पीछे सोमेन, पांचू का अनन्य मित्र. शिबू सबको ऊपर कमरे में लिए जा रहा था. शिबू की लीडरी में एक शान है.

सोमेन आजिज आ चुका था. पांचू के कारण वह शिबू का अदब करता है. शिबू को अपनी 'मेड इन इंडिया' अंग्रेजी पर भी नाज है. वह धाराप्रवाह भाषण देते हुए अपनी लीडरी झाड़े चला जा रहा था. सोमेन को अचानक एक तरकीब सूझी. उसने पूछा, "दादा, तो कल डेपुटेशन लेकर चलना है न!"

"चलना माने की, अरे, आई गो . . ." दादा को झटका लगा.

"तो बस मैं जाता हूं! दस गांव के आदमी इकट्ठा करके आपके जुलूस का प्रबंध करना है!"

दयाल जमींदार के यहां पांचू यह आस लगाकर गया था कि सहारे के लिए एक और जुगाड़ लगायेगा, सो उल्टे ट्यूशन भी गयी. जमींदार अपनी पत्नी और बच्चों को कल पंछाह भेज रहे हैं.

लौटते हुए पांचू मौत को बहुत नजदीक से देख रहा था. इस अकाल में एक दिन यही हालत उसकी और उसके घरवालों की भी होती . . . लेकिन अभी तो उसके पास चावल हैं. घरवाले उसकी प्रतीक्षा कर रहे होंगे. दीनू, परेश, नन्ही, चुन्नी, कनक . . . पांचू तेजी से अपने घर की तरफ चलने लगा. थोड़ी ही दूर पर मोनाई की दूकान थी. कितने ही नर-कंकाल झुके हुए चावल की सिर्फ एक कनी को ढूंढ़ रहे थे.

पांचू सोचने लगा, 'इन इंसानों को कोई इंसान मानेगा रईसों और अफसरों की दुनिया में?' सहसा पांचू का ध्यान टूटा. मोनाई की दूकान के सामने पांच-छः जीवित कंकाल एक को घेरे हुए छीना-झपटी और हाथापायी कर रहे थे. घिरे हुए इस आदमी की चीख अचानक घुट-सी गयी. घिरा हुआ आदमी गिर पड़ा. यह मुनीर बढ़ई था.

मुनीर ने उसके स्कूल की बिल्डिंग में लकड़ी का काम किया था. वह इसे दफनाने का प्रयत्न करेगा.

उधर मृतों की मस्जिद के पास मुनीर की बीवी खाना खा रही थी. अजीम पास ही बैठा उसके बदन पर हाथ फेर रहा था. बीच-बीच में उसकी आंखें चढ़ जाती थीं.

बढ़ई नुरुद्दीन मुनीर की मौत की खबर पाकर उसके घर आ पहुंचा था. उसके दिमाग में यह फितूर सवार था कि औरत खाली हुई है. शहर ले चलें . . . अपने काम आयेगी! घर के पिछवाड़े ऊसर खेत में कब्र खोदते हुए उसका दिमाग मुनीर की बीबी पर अटका था. उसने सोचा, मां का दिल जीतने के लिए लौंडियों को ही हथियार बनाना चाहिए. इस बीच काम से फारिग होकर उसने पांचू की चावलों भरी पोटली भी देख ली थी. बस, फिर क्या था . . . बेचारे पांचू को यह कहकर कि चावल तो अशुद्ध हो गये, नुरुद्दीन ने सारे चावल मुनीर की बच्चियों के लिए ही धरवा लिये.

पांचू की, खाली हाथ, घर में घुसने की हिम्मत न हुई. वह मोनाई की दूकान की तरफ गया कि स्कूल की डेस्कें ही बेच दी जायें . . . पर वहां बड़े संकोच के बाद वह मोनाई के ही कहने पर भाजी हो पाया. उसके संस्कार वहां भी दीवार बन गये. अंततः स्कूल की चाबी दे दस सेर चावल लेकर पांचू घर पहुंचा.

किफायत के साथ खाने पर भी छः सेर चावल तो दस दिन में ही निबट गये. मोनाई ने अब तक स्कूल का फर्नीचर औने-पौने कर दिया होगा! पांचू ने सोचा, मोनाई से चलकर हिसाब समझ लिया जाये.

मोनाई की दूकान में कपड़ों का ढेर था, टूटे-पुराने बर्तनों का ढेर था, लोहा-लंगड़, मुहुओं के चाल, चारपाई के पांव वगैरा जमा हो रहे थे. मोनाई बकता था, गालियां देता था; माल रखता था और अजीम से चिट्ठे में दाम टंकवाता चलता था; सबके नाम लिखकर, बाद में पैसे वगैरह बांटे जायेंगे, यह कह दिया गया था. पांचू सोच रहा था—'अगर उसके घर में भी कमी बहुत दिनों तक अकाल पड़ने की नौबत आयी तो . . . क्या रिश्ते, आबरू, ममता, मोह, शील, विनय—यह सब कुछ क्या उसके घर में टिके रह सकेंगे?'

पांचू मोनाई की दूकान के पास गया.

लोग शिकायत कर रहे थे, "तुमने पहले क्यों नहीं बताया? तुमने हमारा सामान क्यों खरीदा?" लोग शिकायतें कर रहे थे. जोश में भीड़ मोनाई के घर में ही घुस गयी. घर की हर चीज तोड़ी-फोड़ी जाने लगी. गोदाम में बोरियों पर बोरियां चिनी पड़ी थीं. लूट-पाट शुरू हो गयी थी. मोनाई पिटा-पिटाया देख रहा था. तभी एकाएक खुशी मौत की चीखों में बदल गयी. पांचू दूर कोने में खड़ा सारा कांड देख रहा था.

अजीम अपनी शेखी बघार रहा था कि किस तरह उसने तुरंत जाकर दयाल जमींदार से मदद मांगी और इन सिपाहियों को लेकर यहां आया.

थोड़ी देर बाद ही दयाल जमींदार आ पहुंचे. उन्होंने तहकीकात की. पूरा केस सुना. बदमाश गांववालों को गालियां दीं और मोनाई को सलाह दी कि दरोगा के आने से पहले तहखाने से लाशों को हटाकर गोदाम में भरवा दिया जाये. पांचू को दयाल बाबू ने पान की गिलौरी खिलाने के साथ-साथ अपनी ही चौकी पर बिठाया.

मोनाई ने प्रेत-भोज दिया था. दस दिन पहले उसके घर पर चौबीस हत्याएं हुई थीं. मोनाई ने हर एक के नाम पर ब्राह्मन न्यौते थे. "मेरा पैसा तो डूब गया बाबू . . ." पांचू से उसने कहा था.

दूर बांस के पुल पर बैठा हुआ पांचू मोनाई के मंदिर के सामने जूठी पत्तलों के लिए चील, कौओं और आदमियों में होनेवाली लड़ाई देख रहा था. मोनाई के मंदिर से, भोजन के बाद निकले कई ब्राह्मणों को ज्यादा खाने के कारण चक्कर आने लगा. बहुतों को वमन होने लगी.

तभी हाली मवालियों के साथ दयाल जमींदार आ पहुंचे. दृश्य देख दयाल बाबू की दया उमड़ी. काफी कुछ सुनाने के बाद दयाल ने मोनाई को पटखनी दी, ". . . मेरी भूखी प्रजा को जूठन खिलाकर तुच्छा बनाना चाहते हो . . . आज शाम तक हर आदमी को एक-एक सेर चावल बांट दो!"

पांचू के साथ लौटते हुए दयाल बाबू खुश थे. मोनाई के गोदाम की चाभी छेदासेंग को लाने को कहकर वे आदेश दे चुके थे, "रोज सवेरे-शाम दीन दुखियों को चावल बांटो. गांव में ढिंढोरा पिटवा दो . . . दरोगाजी का आदमी आये तो कह देना, मैंने दरोगाजी को बुलवाया है . . ."

मोनाई हाथ मलता रह गया. उसकी दरोगा वाली धमकी का

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नयी योजनाएं

जीवन बीमा निगम आपके लिए प्रस्तुत करता है 'दोहरी बीमा' योजनाएं।

'जीवन साथी'

यह कामकाजी दम्पति के लिए आदर्श योजना है। वैवाहिक बन्धन जैसे प्रेम और निष्ठा का अटूट बन्धन है, 'जीवन-साथी' का

सुरक्षा बन्धन जीवन-काल के बाद भी टूटता नहीं है।
अवधि पूरी होने पर, मूल बीमा राशि बोनस के साथ देय होती है।
पालिसी की अवधि में यदि किसी साथी की मृत्यु हो जाती है तो उत्तरजीवी (दूसरे) साथी को मूल बीमाराशि अदा की जाती है।
दूसरे को आगे कोई भी प्रीमियम अदा नहीं करने पड़ते।
इसके बाद अवधि पूरी हो जाने पर उत्तरजीवी साथी को, या अवधि से पहले उसकी भी मृत्यु हो जाने पर नामजद व्यक्ति को, मूल बीमाराशि बोनस सहित पुनः अदा की जाती है।

'जीवन मित्र'

इस योजना की रचना परिवार को अधिकतम सुरक्षा दिलाने के लिए की गयी है।
मियाद पूरी होने पर अन्य बन्दोबस्ती बीमा

योजनाओं की ही तरह बीमेदार को मूल बीमाराशि बोनस सहित अदा की जायेगी।
यदि पालिसी की अवधि में ही बीमेदार की मृत्यु हो जाती है, नामजद व्यक्ति को दुगुनी बीमाराशि और तब तक जुड़े बोनस मिलते हैं।
थोड़ा सा अतिरिक्त प्रीमियम जमा करने पर, दुर्घटना के कारण मृत्यु होने पर अतिरिक्त सुरक्षा भी मिल सकती है।

'दोहरे लाभ' वाली इन योजनाओं के बारे में और जानकारी के लिए अपने जीवन बीमा एजेन्ट या निकटतम जीवन बीमा कार्यालय से सम्पर्क करें।

योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्

भारतीय जीवन बीमा निगम

deCunha/LIC/166/85/HN

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दयाल पर कोई असर हुआ न लगता था. कोठी पर पहुंचते ही दीवान-जी ने जमींदार को सूचना दी कि यूनियन बोर्ड के सेक्रेटरी मि. दास आये हैं. दयाल जमींदार आज पांचू को अपने शीश महल में ले चले.

मोनाई एक दिन की लूट में ही ठंडा पड़ गया था. चावल की लूट से भी ज्यादा उसे जूतों की मार खाने का गम था. दयाल के सिपाही के जूतों से बचने के लिए उसे दयाल की ही शरण में आना पड़ा. उसने बिना किसी शर्त के दयाल के सामने समर्पण कर दिया.

मि. दास तशरीफ लाये. लंबी कांपती उसांस लेकर मोनाई टूट गया. उसे पूरा यकीन हो गया कि ये राहू-केतु मिलकर हमें आज जीता न छोड़ेंगे. शीश महल जगमगा उठा. इन लोगों ने अब जाना कि बाहर अंधेरा हो गया है. शराब, विलायती रोमांस की बातें . . . और मि. दास, दयाल और पांचू. शराब के साथ मुंह चलाने का सामान भी आ गया था. शराब की झोंक में आकर दयाल जमींदार अपनी धुन में कहते गये, "मास्टर, तुम हमारी परशंशा में अच्चा-अच्चा लेख लिखो. तस्वीरें छपाओ हमारी सब अखबारों में. ऐं, क्या हम काबिल नहीं हैं?"

पांचू दो शराबियों के बीच घिर गया था. उसका पहला गिलास ही अभी खाली न हुआ था. एक नौकर आया और बोला, "मोनाई ने दो औरतें भिजवायी हैं!"

घूंघट हटे तो पांचू ने देखा—बढ़ई मुनीर की विधवा और उसके बचपन के मित्र कालीराय की पत्नी—जिसे वह बौदी कहता है . . . वह तेजी से कमरा छोड़कर बाहर चला गया. उसके लिए जीवन असह्य हो उठा था. बौ'दी से बौ'दी तक . . . घर तक . . . तुलसी, मंगला . . .

पांचू और तेजी से आगे बढ़ने लगा.

मोनाई की दुकान दिखाई देने लगी. शोर और हंसी सुनाई देने लगी. स्कूल में आग लगी है . . . मोनाई की दुकान सूनी पड़ी थी. वह दौड़ने लगा.

दिन ढले, छेदासिंह ढेले पर बोरे लदवाकर स्कूल में लाया था. छेदासिंह ने गांव में चावल पांटना शुरू किया. जितनी बन सकती थी कांट-फांस की. फिर भी चावल सबको मिल रहा था . . . अजीम गुस्से से उबल पड़ता था. जिस तरह से आज छेदासिंह ने मोनाई की बेइज्जती की थी . . . उसके लिए वह दिल-ही दिल में बेताब हो रहा था. अंधेरा होते ही उसने पोखर के पीछे से जाकर स्कूल के कमरे में आग लगा दी.

उधर अजीम के कंधे पर हाथ रखे दबी जबान में मोनाई कह रहा था, "बेटे, अपने बाप से जाकर कह कि तुर्त-फुर्त आठ नावों का बंदोबस्त कर दे . . . दुई घंटे में सब सरोजाम हुई जाई समझे? . . . दुई सौ रुपै अंटी में बांध कै छेदा सिंह के पास लपक जाना. और सुनो—यूनन बोट के सित्तरी साब आये हैं. मैंने पानी चढ़ाया. तुम्हारी वे दो औरतें भी काम करेंगी . . . अभी पंद्रा पर अड़े थे, मुल साइत कल मान भी जायें. . . . पौने पंद्रह तक जाकै पटाना . . . फिर भी न मानें तो रुपिया पटक कै माल उठा लाओ! बड़ा जखम कीना है जमींदार ससुरे ने!"

मोनाई की बांह झिंझोड़कर अजीम ने धीरे से कहा, "चाचा . . . छोटे ठाकुर . . . !"

पोखर के किनारे खड़ा पांचू टकटकी बांधकर स्कूल से उठती हुई लपटों को देख रहा था. पांचू का सपना जल रहा था. मोनाई उसी रात माल लदवाकर बाहर चला गया. अजीम मोनाई को धोखा देकर सेठ पहले ही बन चुका था.

मोनाई से अजीम की यह बढ़ोत्तरी न देखी गयी. उसने दयाल जमींदार के लठैतों से नुरुद्दीन को औरतों के साथ गिरफ्तार कराया. औरतें श्री सनातन धर्म अनाथालय में भेज दी गयीं. हिंदू भी थीं मुसलमान भी.

अजीम और नुरुद्दीन अपने व्यवसाय में चोट खाकर इस्लाम को खतरे में महसूस करने लगे थे. वे गौरीपुर के नवाब साहब के यहां जा पहुंचे.

शेरे इस्लाम तैश खा गया. पुरानी अदावत फिर से जोर मार गयी. नवाब साहब की कोठी से निकलकर वे गांव की तरफ आ रहे थे कि मोनाई रास्ते में ही मिल गया. उसने नुरुद्दीन और अजीम को ऐसा पटाया कि वे सारी योजनाएं ही भूल गये. अजीम तो सर झुकाये उसके साथ ही चला गया. हमले की योजना दयाल की हथेली से उठकर सर-सुतीपुर पहुंच गयी जहां मोनाई ने औरतें रखी हुई थीं.

चौक युनिवर्सिटी के वी. सी. पं. नागर

मैंने कहा, "अब तुम पी.एच. डी. कर डालो."

मैं पंडितजी ने जवाब दिया, 'पहले इंटर करना पड़ेगा. फिर बी.ए. फिर, एम. ए. बड़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी. अब पी. एच. डी. वी. एच. का मोह नहीं है. पहले था. तुमने पंडित की उपाधि दे दी. वह बहुत है."

फिर बोले, 'चौक हमारी युनिवर्सिटी, हम उसके वाइस चांसलर हैं."

□

(डा. राम विलास शर्मा की पुस्तक 'पंचरत्न' से)

कनक को लड़कियों में अच्छी तरह सुला भी न पाये थे कि गिद्धों के झुंड ने लाश पर धावा बोल दिया. यह घर में मौत का पहला दिन था. शिबू और पांचू चुन्नी को दफनाकर लौटे तो कनक को उठाने की बारी आ गई थी. गांव में आबरूदारों का बुरा हाल था. आबरू नाम की कोई चीज उनके साथ नहीं रह गयी थी.

पांचू की कल्पना अपने गांव से लेकर कलकत्ते तक के विनाश का दृश्य देख रही थी. उसकी कल्पना सारे विश्व को मानव-शून्य देख रही थी. मंगला उसकी छाती में मुंह छिपाकर सो गयी थी.

सहसा बौदी की चीखें सुनाई दी. मंगला और पांचू सहमकर एक दूसरे की तरफ देखने लगे.

आंगन में शिबू अपनी पत्नी को नंगा करके उस पर बलात्कार करने पर तुला हुआ था. पांचू घर छोड़ कर भाग निकला.

बांयी तरफ खंडहर में कोई पड़ा दिखाई दिया. ताजा पैदा हुआ बच्चा मृत मां की एक टांग पर चढ़कर हाथ-पैर पटक रहा था और रो रहा था. पांचू के नयी समस्या थी . . . बच्चा बचेगा कैसे! 'मां के मर जाने के बाद भी यह जीवित रहा, क्या यह घटना जीवन के सत्य को सिद्ध नहीं करती?'

पांचू ने बच्चे को सीने से लगा लिया, 'इसे बचाना चाहिए.' . . . मंगला के अंदर सोयी मां जरूर इसे छाती से लगा लेगी. पांचू के मन में नयी आस्था जागी—'हां, मैं लड़ूंगा. मोनाई से. दयाल से . . . उन सबसे जिनके पास भूख के साधन छीनकर जमा हैं.'

गांव में हालत बदतर होती जा रही थी औरतें तन बेचकर भी खाना जुटाने को तैयार थीं.

मंगला अकेली रह गयी. घर में चार लाशें पड़ी हैं. घर खाली था. जीवन के लिए मंगला को कहीं से भी प्रेरणा नहीं मिल रही थी . . .

फिर भी वह मरना नहीं चाहती थी. उसकी आंखें यद्यपि खुली थीं किंतु पथरा-सी गयी थीं. मंगला ने देखा—'वह' सामने खड़े थे. उनकी गोद में बच्चा था जो रो रहा था. पति को देखते ही संतोष के अतिरेक से मंगला की आंखों में आंसू छलछला आये. अवरुद्ध कंठ से स्वर फूटा, "आ गये!"

पांचू ने झट से बच्चे को मां की गोद में डाल दिया और उसे पकड़कर बैठ गया, "इसे बचाना होगा मंगला! इसे बचाने के लिए ही मैं तुम्हारे पास लाया हूं."

अविश्वास के वातावरण में जीवन के प्रति विश्वास की इस दृढ़ता ने पति और पत्नी, दोनों को ही अपूर्व धैर्य और बल दिया . . . प्रलय में सृष्टि के बीजांकुर फूटने लगे . . . □

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Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

ओढ़री सरकार

आत्मावलोकन

'सारिका' के इस रजत जयंती वर्ष में जनवरी प्रथम अंक से प्रारंभ इस स्तंभ में हम गत चौबीस वर्षों में 'सारिका' में प्रकाशित प्रत्येक वर्ष की श्रेष्ठ कहानी का पुनः प्रकाशन कर रहे हैं. इसके साथ ही हम कहानी पर एक वरिष्ठ रचनाकार की टिप्पणी भी आमंत्रित करते हैं. इस क्रम में इस बार प्रस्तुत है 'सारिका' के अगस्त (प्रथम) १९७८ अंक में प्रकाशित यह कहानी और वयोवृद्ध उपन्यासकार-कथाकार जैनेंद्र कुमार की टिप्पणी—

छुट्टी का दिन. गर्मी का मौसम. तापमान सैंतालिस डिगरी. पंखे की हवा जितनी आग उगल रही थी, उससे चौगुनी चिंताएं हमारी जबानों पर सुलग रही थीं. सारा आक्रोश बढ़ती हुई अराजकता, महंगाई, नशाबंदी और आरक्षण के कारण था. लोग फिर से इंदिराजी और इमरजेंसी के हिमायती बन रहे थे. बहस की गर्मी मौसम की गर्मी से डबल होकर उबल रही थी. बहस की गर्माहट सबसे अधिक इंदिराजी के कारण बढ़ी. लल्लूबाबू अभी पांच ही मिनट पहले कमरे में दाखिल हुए थे. कोने में रखी सुराही से दो गिलास पानी पीकर उन्होंने तृप्ति की आह भरी; फिर गोष्ठी में सम्मिलित होते हुए बोले, "अजी साहब, आप लोग कुछ भी कहें, इंदिरा नाम में कुछ ऐसी तांत्रिक शक्ति है जो बड़े-बड़े लौह-पुरुषों को मोम-पुरुष बनाकर पिघला देती है. चाहे वो इंदिरा गांधी हों या इंदिरा सिंह.

"ऐं! ये इंदिरा सिंह कहां से टपक पड़ी लल्लू बाबू?" विषय परिवर्तन से ताजगी पाकर मैंने पूछा.

"कौन इंदिरा सिंह?"

"अमां इतनी जल्दी भूल गये? प्रदेश के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री लाल रिपुदमनसिंह. . . "

"अच्छा-अच्छा, वो ओढ़री सरकार! क्या किया उसने?" प्रश्न जयशंकर ने किया. इन दोनों नामों से मेरा मन खोखले कनस्तर में पड़े मिट्टी के ढेले की तरह ढम-ढम बज उठा. लाल रिपुदमन सिंह मेरे पैंतालिस वर्ष पुराने घनिष्ट साथी हैं, यद्यपि तीस वर्ष में मेरी उनकी दोस्ती करीब-करीब बिलो फ्रीजिंग प्वाइंट तक आ चुकी है. कु. इंदिरा सिंह भी लालजू के नाते एक समय मेरे बहुत निकट थीं, मैं उन्हें 'मौजी' कहकर पुकारता था. रिपुदमन के मंत्री और मुख्यमंत्री वाले जमाने में इंदिरा सिंह 'ओढ़री सरकार' के नाम से गांव-गांव, गली-गली में सरनाम थीं. लाल रिपुदमन यदि राजनीति के लौह पुरुष माने जाते थे तो ओढ़री सरकार उनका लौह सार थीं. जयशंकर के प्रश्न में मेरा मौन कौतूहल भी जुड़ा हुआ था. लल्लूबाबू बोले, "आज सवेरे मैं काम से महुआपुर गया था. रास्ते में ही इंदु विलास प्रासाद पड़ता है, यह तो आप लोग जानते ही होंगे, करीब साढ़े दस-ग्यारह बजे जब मैं साइकिल पर लौट रहा था तो देखता क्या

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हूं कि बहुत सारे संदूक, बिस्तर बाहर फेंके जा रहे थे. . .

"कहां?"

"और कहां, इंदुविलास महल के बाहर, सड़क पर."

"सामान किसका था?" मैंने पूछा.

लल्लूबाबू हंसे, सिगरेट की डिबिया की ओर हाथ बढ़ाते हुए कहा, "आपके भूतपूर्व जानी-जिगरी लौहपुरुष लाल रिपुदमन सिंह का. ऐसा लगता था कि पुलिस के सिपाही पलंगों पर बिछे बिस्तरे और कबड़ों में भरे कीमती कपड़े ऐसे के ऐसे लाकर बहार फेंकते जा रहे थे. और साहब, एक बात और मैं आपको बतलाऊं, हमारे भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री एक काठ के बड़े संदूक पर बैठे सिगार पी रहे थे. उनकी रानी साहब, उनकी दो बहुएं जंगले में पहली बार घेरी गयी शेरनियों की तरह उनके पीछे वाले फुटपाथ पर तेजी से टहल रही थीं. (हंसकर) उनके रंग-बिरंगे कपड़ों में मुझे ऐसे लगा कि जैसे पीछे वाली बत्ती बुझती है और आगे वाली जलती है. अगल वाली बुझती है, बगल वाली जलती है. ह: ह: ह:!"

लल्लू बाबू अच्छे किस्सा कहने वाले हैं. कौतूहल की एक-एक मंजिल पर वे किसी न किसी बहाने रुक जाया करते थे और हम पांच-छह जने उनके मुख से त्राटक योग साधने लगते थे. राम-राम करके यह रहस्य खुला कि ओढ़री सरकार ने प्रादेशिक सरकार के भूतपूर्व कर्णधार और उनके परिवार को मय उनके समान, कोठी से बाहर निकलवा दिया.

"क्यों?"

"इसलिए कि इंदुविलास महल सदा सुहागिन कु. इंदिरा सिंह का है तथा लाल साहब और उनका परिवार उस जबरदस्ती अपना अधिकार जमाये हुए था. जैसा कि आम तौर से बड़े-बड़े प्रतापशालियों के पतन पर होता है." मित्र मंडली की व्यंग्य भरी फुलझड़ियों के साथ कमरा पटाखों की तरह कहकहों से गूंज उठा.

लेकिन मेरा मन भारी हो गया. रिपुदमन सन् पैंतीस में युनिवर्सिटी में मेरे सहपाठी हुए थे. सन् पैंतालिस तक मेरा और उनका एक जान और दो कालिब वाला साथ रहा. लाल साहब सरौंठा इस्टेट के छोटे राजकुमार थे. मेरा उनका कुछ दूर का रिश्ता भी लगता था, मगर युनिवर्सिटी यूनियन की हलचलों में समान रूप से जोशीला भाग लेने के कारण हम दोनों एक दूसरे के बहुत पास आ गये थे. सन् बयालिस के आंदोलन में भी मेरा उनका साथ रहा. मैं तो शुरू में ही पकड़ लिया गया था मगर रिपुदमन ने अंग्रेज सरकार के छक्के छुड़ा दिये और सन् छियालिस में कांग्रेस की अंतरिम सरकार बनने से दो महीने पहले तक ऐसे फरार हुए कि परम प्रतापशाली ब्रिटिश सरकार अपनी सारी कोशिशों के बावजूद उनकी छाया तक न छू सकी. उनको इस प्रकार आरक्षित रखने में इंदिरा सिंह का बड़ा हाथ था.

मेरे जेल जाने के बाद रिपुदमन ने कुछ साथियों को लेकर एक पुलिस चौकी जला डाली. तभी से फरार हुआ. मैकू अहीर हमारे इस नगर से मिले हुए गांव अन्नपुर में रहता था. सत्रह-अट्ठारह वर्ष का नौजवान मैकू यद्यपि राजनीति में कभी सक्रिय नहीं रहा फिर भी मन से देशभक्त था. चौकी नसीबगंज जलाये जाने की घटना में वह भी संयोगवश जोश में आकर भागीदार बन गया था. वही युवक लाल रिपुदमन सिंह को अपने घर ले आया. मैकू के घर में उसकी अंधी मां और इक्कीस-बाइस वर्ष की विधवा भावज इंदरानी रहती थीं. स्वयं मैकू कुछ महीने से अपनी ससुराल की जायदाद का मालिक होकर पड़ोस के गांव में रहने लगा था. इंदरानी का पति हरभजन साल भर पहले ही अपनी रिश्तेदारी में हुए लाठी कांड में मारा जा चुका था. तब से इंदरानी ही अपनी घर-गृहस्थी संभालती थी. वह शुरू से ही दबंग थी. अपने स्वर्गवासी पति की साइकिल पर दो भैंसों का पचीस-तीस सेर दूध कैनों में भरकर शहर के एक हलवाई के यहां नियमित रूप से पहुंचाया करती थी. क्या मजाल कि उस पर कोई फब्ती कस तो जाये. साइकिल पर चढ़ने की सुविधा के कारण जब उसने हिंदुस्तानी लहंगा-ओढ़नी छोड़कर चूड़ीदार पाजामा और कुर्ता पहनना आरंभ किया तो कुछ बड़े-बूढ़ों ने टेढ़ी-सीधी बातें कही थीं मगर इंदरानी ने ऐसे मुंहतोड़ जवाब दिये कि तब से कोई सहसा उसके मुंह लगने की हिम्मत न कर सका.

लालजू को छिपाने के लिए मैकू ने तो केवल जोश भर ही दिखलाया था मगर उसे निभाया इंदरानी ने ही. दिन भर काम ही करती रहती थी. दूध बेचकर आती, तीन प्राणियों का खाना बनाती, गाय-भैंसों के लिए लिए चारा काटती. एक चक्कर अपने देवर व देवरानी के यहां भी लगा आना उसका नित्य का नियम था. शहर से लौटकर वह कुर्ते-पाजामे के बजाय फिर से लहंगा-ओढ़नी की पोशाक पहन लेती थी. उसकी कुशाग्र बुद्धि, फुर्ती, कमेरेपन, तेजस्विता और सच्चरित्रता के कारण लालजू धीरे-धीरे उसके भक्त बन गये. शहर में अपने घरवालों से वे उसी के कारण अपना संपर्क साध सके थे. वही उनके लिए घर से किताबें, अखबार और रुपये लाया करती थी. सन् तैंतालिस के अंत में बीमारी के कारण जब मैं जेल से रिहा हुआ तो इंदरानी हमारे लालजू की इंदु और इंदिरा बन चली. रिपुदमन अपनी इंदु को पढ़ाने भी लगे. पढ़ने में वह तेज निकली.

सन् छियालिस में अंतरिम देशी सरकार बनी. लाल रिपुदमन सिंह पार्लियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरी बनाये गये. उनका दिन चमका और इंदरानी उर्फ इंदिरा उर्फ इंदु का गांव छूटा. रिपुदमन ने शहर में ही उसके लिए एक एक मकान किराये पर लिया, एक नौकरानी, एक मास्टरानी रखी और इंदिराजी पढ़ने लगीं. प्राइवेट हाई स्कूल किया, इंटरमीडियट किया, विशारद बनीं, फिर युनिवर्सिटी में भर्ती होकर बाकायदा बी. ए. भी पास कर लिया.

लाल रिपुदमन सिंह तब तक स्वायत्त शासन मंत्री बन चुके थे और मेरी-उनकी घनिष्ठता काफी हद तक घट चुकी थी. दरअसल अपने बढ़ते हुए प्रभाव के कारण लालजू के तेवर बदल चुके थे और उनके पुराने मित्रों में वही लोग उनके साथी रहे जो उनकी मुसाहिबी कर सकते थे. चूंकि मुझसे यह सब हो नहीं सकता था, इसलिए उनसे कट गया. राजनीति छोड़कर विश्वविद्यालय में प्राचीन इतिहास का व्याख्याता हो गया. इसके बाद पिछले तीस वर्षों में इंदु और लालजू से मेरी मुलाकातें केवल उंगलियों पर ही गिने जाने लायक हुईं. बी. ए. में मेरी शिष्या होने के कारण परीक्षा पास करने के बाद इंदु भौजी अंतिम बार मेरे यहां मिठाई लेकर आयी थीं. इंदिराजी अब 'सिंह' भी हो गयी थीं, लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ उनके नाम में कुमारीत्व भी जुड़ गया था. जो हो, आम जनता की जबान पर वे केवल 'ओढ़री सरकार' ही थीं. दुनिया जानती थी कि लौहपुरुष लालजू की जान 'ओढ़री सरकार' में ही बसती है. सन् इकहत्तर के चुनाव के बाद लालजू मुख्यमंत्री बने. उनका इंदुविलास महल तो तभी से बनने लगा था जबकि वे पी. डब्ल्यू. डी. के मंत्री थे, लेकिन उसकी सजावट और चमत्कारी ऐश्वर्य उसके मुख्यमंत्री निवास बन जाने के बाद ही बढ़ा. तभी से इंदु उर्फ 'ओढ़री सरकार' अलग बंगले में न रहकर आठों पहर लालजू के साथ ही रहने लगी थीं. सुना कि रिपुदमन ने करोड़ों रुपयों की हैसियत बना ली थी.

ओढ़री सरकार भी लाखों से खेलने लगी थीं. उनके गांव अन्नपुर में उनके लिए एक बहुत बड़ा डेरी फार्म बनाया गया था. सरकारी न होते हुए भी सारी सरकारी सहूलियतें कामधेनु डेरी फार्म को मिली हुई थीं. शहर में कु. इंदिरा सिंह की अपनी मलकियत के दो बंगले भी थे लेकिन अभी तक मुझे यह नहीं मालूम था कि लालजू ने अपना यह इंदु विलास महल भी ओढ़री सरकार के लिए ही बनवाया था.

कुछ भी हो, पुराने घनिष्ठ मित्र के संबंध में यह बुरे समाचार सुनकर मेरे मन को बार-बार धक्के लगे. इंदरानी के प्रति मेरा आश्चर्य भी उसी अनुपात में बढ़ता रहा. इंदरानी तो लालजू के जीवन में ऐसी गाढ़ी घुली हुई थीं कि मानो दूध में मक्खन गाढ़ा होकर घुला हो. सारे दिन सोचता रहा कि जाऊं या न जाऊं. फिर मन न माना, शाम तक दूरभाष के द्वारा मैंने यह पता लगा ही लिया कि लाल रिपुदमन सिंह

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अपने साले, राजा गनेशबख्श सिंह की कोठी 'सनेहीपुर हाउस' में अकेले टिके हैं. उनकी पत्नी अपने पुत्रों और पुत्रवधुओं के साथ अपनी ससुराल की पुरानी कोठी में थीं. इस खबर से मैंने इतना तो जान लिया कि पत्नी और बेटों ने भी इस महान अपमान के कारण लालजू को त्याग दिया है. मेरे मन में लालजू से मिलने की उत्सुकता और भी बढ़ गयी. मैंने कार निकाली और 'सनेहीपुर हाउस' की ओर चल पड़ा.

पुराने हाहाहूती अहाते में सनेहीपुर हाउस अपने विगत वैभव की निशानी सा, लुटा-पिटा-सा खड़ा था. सनेहीपुर के राजा गनेशबख्श सिंह और उनका परिवार अब बंबई में रहता है. उन्होंने वहीं हवाई अड्डे के पास एक शानदार होटल खोल लिया है. अच्छी आमदनी है. अपनी सामंती शान के कारण अपने सनेहीपुर ग्राम के महल और राजधानी की इस कोठी में थोड़ा पैसा भी लगाते रहते हैं और देखभाल के लिए अब दो-एक नौकर-चाकर वहां रहते हैं. मैं जब पहुंचा तो भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री लान में अकेले बैठे बीयर पी रहे थे. मुझे देखकर वे एकाएक चौंके, फिर लहककर उठे. उन्होंने मेरा स्वागत किया, "जाओ जी रंजीत," कसकर कलेजे से चिपका लिया फिर बोले, "तुम्हें देखि कै हमको गुसाईंजी महाराज के चौपाई याद आय गयी. . . धीरज धर्म मित्र अरु नारी, आपत्ति काल परिखियै चारी. . . अरे कोई है?"

कोई होगा तो जरूर मगर आया नहीं. भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री झेंपकर खुद ही कहते हुए बोले, "ठहरो, हम लाये देइति हैं. कुर्सी," बरामदे से वे एक कुर्सी उठाकर लाये. मैंने रास्ते में ही उसे ले लिया. व्यवस्थित होकर बैठने के बाद मैंने कहा, "यह सब क्या हो गया लालजू?" इंदु भौजी से मुझे तो ऐसी आशा कभी नहीं थी."

मुंह से गंदी गाली निकालते हुए वे बोले, "साली छोटी जात की स्त्री से और आशा ही क्या की जा सकती है. खैर बीयर पियोगे? मैंने दो बोतलें मंगायी थीं, एक पी डाली और एक अभी बची है. क्या करें यार! वह गालिब का शेर है न. . . निकलना खुल्द से आदम का सुनते आये थे लेकिन, बहुत बेआबरू होकर. . . "शेर अधूरा ही छूट गया. . . भद्दी गालियां मुंह से निकलने लगीं. बातों में क्रमशः यह कारण जाना कि कल शाम इंदरानी के मामा और उनके साथ कुछ और अहीर नेता आये थे. आरक्षण के मसले पर सरकारी हल्कों में चूंकि आजकल बहुत गर्मा-गर्मी है इसलिए वर्तमान मुख्यमंत्री ने विभिन्न जातियों के कुछ लोगों को मंत्रणा देने के लिए राजधानी बुलवाया था. वे कु. इंदिरा सिंह बी. ए., विशारद, एम. ए. से मिलने के लिए भी इंदु विलास में आये थे. सन् सतहत्तर के चुनाव में लालरिपुदमन सिंह और उनकी पार्टी की तो करारी हार हुई, मगर संयोग से कु. इंदिरा सिंह जीत गयीं. लाल रिपुदमन सिंह की मंत्रण के कारण ही कु. इंदिरा सिंह इस प्रदेश के हरिजन मुख्यमंत्री तथा अन्य कुछ मंत्रियों से अपने संबंध बनाये हुए थीं. लेकिन जब वे लोग आयें और आरक्षणी राजनीति की बातें चलीं तो लाल साहब का पारा एकाएक चढ़ गया. गरजकर बोले, "आप लोग मेरे घर में बैठकर ऊंची जातियों के विरुद्ध षड्यंत्र रचेंगे, यह मैं बर्दाश्त नहीं करूंगा. दूर चले जाइए मेरी आंखों के सामने से!". . . "सो बंधु, कल मैंने उन्हें निकाला तो आज उस हरामजादी ने मुझे और मेरे परिवार को अपने ही बनवाये महल से बाहर निकलवा दिया. मेरी बिल्ली मुझी से म्याऊं करने लगी है."

इसके साथ ही उन्होंने तथाकथित छोटी और दलित जातियों के लिए इतनी भद्दी-भद्दी गालियां देना आरंभ किया जिसकी मैं कल्पना नहीं कर सकता था. मैंने सोचा कि अबकी पराजय से भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री मन ही मन बौरा उठे हैं. उन गालियों भरे मन की धारा मोड़ने के लिए मैंने पूछा, "मगर क्या महल भी तुमने इंदु ही के नाम से बनवाया था?"

"नहीं, असल में रानी साहब और उनके लड़कों के उत्पात के कारण ही मैंने इस महल को उस (गाली) के नाम लिख दिया. दोनों कुंवर साले बार-बार कहते थे कि इसे हमारे नाम लिख दीजिए. एलेक्शन में हारने के बाद उनकी महतारी (गाली) ने मेरा नातका ही बंद कर रखा था. बहाने के तौर पर मैंने यह प्रॉपर्टी इंदु के नाम कर दी. मैं क्या जानता था कि हरामजादी मुझे ही अपनी जात का ओछापन दिखलायेगी. ऐसा विश्वासघात मेरे साथ कभी नहीं हुआ."

यों तो जातियों के ऊंच-नीचपन के बहुत से संस्कार अभी हम सबके मनों में पलते हैं, फिर भी अनेक प्रगतिशील विचारक इन बातों से मुंह मोड़ चुके हैं. खास तौर से राजनीति के क्षेत्र में लाल रिपुदमन सिंह जैसा घाघ पुरुष इस तरह से कहे तो कुछ-कुछ अजब भी लगता है और दुःख भी. मैंने कहा, "लालजू, जाति-वर्णविहीन समाज की कल्पना कभी हम दोनों ने मिलकर की थी. आज तुम इत्ते बदल क्यों गये हो?"

"मैंने नहीं, बदला है इन छोटी जातियों की सरकार ने. बैठे ठाले, ख्वामख्वाह यह आरक्षण का तमाशा खड़ा कर दिया है सालों ने. इज्जत ले रखी है हमारी. वह चाहते हैं कि सवर्ण साले माइनारिटी में आ जायें और वे लोग उन्हें घर के पीस दें."

सहसा मेरे दिमाग में बिजली-सी कौंध उठी, उलझन की भूल-भुलैया में भटकते-भटकते मन को राह मिली. मैंने शायद उस समय सोचने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं समझी और पूछ बैठा, "लालजू, चुनाव में अपनी हार और इंदु भौजी की जीत से कहीं तुम्हारे वर्षों के सिद्ध लौह-पुरुषत्व को ऐसी ठेस तो नहीं लगी कि तुमने बात-बात में छोटी जात कहकर भौजी को चिढ़ाया हो?"

राजनीति, कूटनीति से आकंठ भरा-भरा लालजू का वर्षों से सिद्ध लौहपुरुषत्व मेरी ओर पैनी, रौब भरी नजरों से देखने लगा. मैंने उसकी परवाह न की, बात में बात जोड़ी, "तुम अकेले ही इस तरह के अपराध के दोषी नहीं हो. सवर्णों के करीब-करीब सभी वर्गों में यह प्रभुसत्ता की भावना हजारों वर्षों से घर किये है. जाने-अनजाने हम इस गलती के शिकार होते हैं."

"तुम मेरे मित्र हो रंजीत, तुम्हारे इस सत्य कथन को मैं नहीं काटूंगा पर उस उल्लू की पट्ठी को इतने वर्षों तक मेरे साथ रहते हुए भी यह समझ क्यों न आयी कि मैं अपनी गहरी चिढ़ भी खुले मन से उसी के सामने प्रकट कर सकता हूं जिसे मैंने गहरे मन से प्यार किया है. जिस प्रॉपर्टी को मैं जीते जी अपने बेटों को भी नहीं देना चाहता था, उसे इंदु के नाम लिखकर मैंने उस पर कितना अथाह विश्वास प्रकट किया है. कोई किसी को भला इतना विश्वास दे सकता है! मैं उसे कभी क्षमा नहीं कर सकता, रंजीत. हरामजादी ने मेरी दौलत लूटने के लिए ही यह षड्यंत्र किया है. लेकिन वह भूल जाती है कि मैं बड़े-बड़े जहरीले नागों और नागिनों को अपने वश में करने का मंत्र जानता हूं."

मैं लाल रिपुदमन सिंह के साथ करीब-करीब घंटे-डेढ़ घंटे रहा मगर कोई समझदारी की बात उनके मुख से न सुनी. हां, यह रहस्य अवश्य हाथ लगा कि इंदु विलास महल में उनका कोई गुप्त 'स्ट्रांगरूम' है जिसका पता किसी को भी नहीं है. इंदिरा सिंह तक को भी नहीं. और वह अपने स्ट्रांगरूम के लिए मन से दुर्बल हुए चले जा रहे हैं. उसके बिना वे पैसे-पैसे के लिए मोहताज हैं और एक बार वे किसी भी प्रकार इंदु विलास महल में जाने के लिए बेताब हो रहे हैं.

लालजू ने सीधे-सीधे तो मुझसे एक बार भी न कहा, किंतु बातों में तरह-तरह से घुमाकर मुझसे यह अनुरोध किया कि मैं इंदु से मिलकर उसे समझाऊं कि वह सनेहीपुर हाउस आकर उन्हें मनायें और 'इंदु बिलास महल' में ले जाये. इसे नेकी का बदला चुकाने के लिए लालजू इंदु को यह वचन देने के लिए तैयार भी थे कि भविष्य में वे अपनी ब्याहता

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पत्नी और बेटों से कोई संबंध नहीं रखेंगे. अब भी नब्बे प्रतिशत वे सदा इंदिरा के साथ रहे हैं और भविष्य में वे शत-प्रतिशत उसके ही होकर रहेंगे.

स्नेहीपुर हाउस से जब चला तो मेरा मन लालजू रूपी दर्पण में अपने आप को देखने लगा. मैं बहुत संयत हूं. मेरी कथनी और करनी में कम अंतर रहता है. फिर भी रहता तो है. अनजाने में अक्सर मेरा क्षात्रधर्मी स्वाभिमान दूसरों को छोटा समझने की स्थिति में आ जाता है. जातियों का छोटा-बड़ापन, उनके भेदाभेद, अभी तरह-तरह से हमारे सवर्ण मनों में पलते हैं. यह प्रभुता और दासता की हजारों वर्षों से जमी हुई जड़ें क्या आसानी से उखाड़ी जा सकती हैं?

पहले तो खास विचार नहीं था, लेकिन यह सब सोचते हुए फिर दवाओं की एक बड़ी दूकान देखकर मैंने अपनी गाड़ी रोक दी और दूकानदार की अनुमति लेकर मैंने 'इंदु विलास महल' में फोन मिलाया. आपरेटर द्वारा लाइन मिलाये जाने पर कु. इंदिरा सिंह ने मुझसे कहा, "भगवान जानता है रंजीत भैया, आज दिन भर में तीन-चार बार आपका ध्यान आ चुका है. जल्दी से आ जाइए. क्या घर से बोल रहे हैं... गाड़ी भेजूं?"

प्रेम, अंतरंगता और अधीरता भरी इस आवाज में मुझे न जाने क्यों यह आश्वासन मिला कि यह नारी बनावटी मन वाली नहीं है. स्वर में सहज स्वभाव बोलता है. 'ओढ़री सरकार' के प्रति मन में स्नेह छलछला उठा. ठाकुर हूं, रिश्तेदारों में और दूसरे ब्राह्मण-बनियों के जीवनों में बहुत सी रखेलों को देखा है. मेरे दादा के एक फुफरे भाई थे, उन्हें छोटा-मोटा ताल्लूकेदार कहिए. जब मैंने उन्हें देखा था, तब काफी बुड्ढे हो चुके थे. मगर उन्होंने अपने महल से कुछ दूर हटकर एक बाग बनवा रखा था. अनेक असवर्णों और दलित जातियों की छोटी उम्र की कन्याओं से घिरे वे अधिकतर उसी बाग में रहा करते थे. बड़े हंसमुख, बड़ों में बड़े की तरह और छोटों में छोटे की तरह घुल-मिल जाते थे. वे उन कन्याओं को अपनी हिरनियां कहते थे. उन्हें खूब खिलाते-पिलाते थे और नितांत अविकसित आयु में ही उनकी चेतना में विलासरत नारीतत्व का भाव भर देते थे. उन छोटी-छोटी बच्चियों को हंसी-हंसी में यह बतलाने से भी नहीं चूकते थे कि उनकी नानी-दादियों के साथ हजारों बार यह खेल खेला था. गांवों में आमतौर से सदियों से छोटी जातियां बड़ी जातियों के पुरुषों की रखेलें बनने को बाध्य होती थीं. दासों की स्त्रियों पर स्वामी का अधिकार होता है. कहीं-कहीं राजा और पुरोहित वर्ग के लोग अपने प्रजाजनों की नयी ब्याहली बहुओं के साथ सुहागरात मनाने का धार्मिक अधिकार भी रखते थे. तथाकथित छोटी जाति के मनों में बार-बार खुले आम हीनता-भावना को जगाना उसी बर्बर सामंती मानसिकता का जहरीला संस्कार है. जिसमें एक मनुष्य को स्वामी और दूसरे को दास बनने पर मजबूर कर दिया गया है. मानव सभ्यता कितनी परतों में सतत चढ़ती-उभरती हुई पानी की तरह बहती है. कहां जाकर मरेगा यह पानी?

'इंदु-विलास' पहुंच गया. पर्ची पर नाम लिखकर भिजवाया. कु. इंदिरा सिंह नंगे पांवों दौड़ती हुई बाहर आयीं. आंखें फटी-फटी, चेहरा पिटा-पिटा पर ईमान की तेजस्विता लिये हुए. मुझे देखते ही छोटी बच्ची-सी खिल पड़ीं. कहा, "आप न आते रंजीत भैया तो मैं आज-कल में खुद आपके पास आती. आज रह-रहकर मुझे आप ही की याद आयी है."

मैंने धीरे-से कहा, "और इतने वर्षों में कभी नहीं आयी?" इंदरानी की नजरें झुक गयीं. कहा, "दुख में सुमरिन सब करें. सुख में करे न कोय.. फिर मेरी आंखों में आंखें डालकर और उनमें शोखी लाने का प्रयत्न करती हुई इंदु भौजी बोलीं, "वैसे मैं तब भी याद करती थी. आपको उनके साथ भी याद किया है. आइए, अंदर चलें."

'इंदु विलास महल' सचमुच किसी राजा के महल जैसा लगता है. वह जिन दिनों यह बन रहा था और जितने वर्षों तक 'मुख्यमंत्री निवास' रहा, इस महल में, अखबारों और जनचर्चा में, लाल रिपुदमन सिंह की रिश्वतखोरी का बड़ा ढिंढोरा पिटा. लाल रिपुदमन सिंह की ठकुराई मानो अपनी रिश्वतखोरी को शतप्रतिशत ईमानदार मानकर जनचर्चा के जहर को हंस-हंसकर पी और पचा रही थी. "समय पाकर सभी करते हैं और मैं भी कर रहा हूं." यह अकड़भरी अदा किसी ब्राह्मण-ठाकुर में ही हो सकती है. मोटी-मोटी कालीनें, झाड़-फानूस और फर्नीचर तथा सजावट का समान देख-देखकर मेरी आंखें चौंधियाने लगीं. खुद से उस करोड़ों की धनराशी का ध्यान भी आया जो लोकप्रिय देशभक्त और जनसेवक लाल रिपुदमन सिंह ने इस लाखों के ऐश्वर्य में कहीं 'स्ट्रांग रूम' बनवाकर छिपा रखी है. भौजी मुझे अपने निजी कमरे में ले गयीं. गैलरी में खड़ी हुई एक नौकरानी से कहा, "जानती है, मेरे जेठजी-देवरजी हैं. खाना साथ ही खायेंगे."

'जेठजी-देवरजी' के सम्मिलित नाते की ईजाद पर हम हंसे, मैंने कहा, "लेकिन भौजी. . ."

"भौजी-वौजी कुछ नहीं; आपके घर में टेलीफोन है?"

"हां."

अपने कमरे के फोन से भौजी ने आपरेटर को आदेश दिया, डाक्टर रंजीत कुमार सिंह के घर पर टेलिफोन मिलाकर कह दो कि वे खाना यहीं खायेंगे. और लौटने में अगर कुछ देर हो जाये तो भाभी चिंता न करें." सोफे पर बैठकर कमरे में इधर-उधर नजरें दौड़ाने लगा. टेलिफोन रखकर इंदु भौजी बोलीं, "अपने मित्र के राज्यकाल में आप शायद यहां कभी नहीं आये."

"मेरी ऐसी हैसियत नहीं थी. तब लालजू मुख्यमंत्री थे और मैं एक साधारण प्रजाजन."

"और आज आप दोनों ही साधारण प्रजाजन हैं."

"लेकिन तुम और लालजू साधारण होकर भी असाधारण हो भौजी. मेरा बड़े से बड़ा अपराध भी काल-चक्र में नाचकर भुला दिया जायेगा. जबकि तुम लोगों की छोटी से छोटी बातें भी हवा के जर्रे-जर्रे में बिजली बनकर अब भी चमक सकती है."

भौजी चुप रहीं. मैंने भी जान-बूझकर बात को आगे बढ़ाना उचित न समझा. हमारे बीच उपस्थित होनेवाला कुछ क्षण का मौन शायद भौजी को बहुत बड़ा लगा. इसलिए ही शायद उनका ध्यान गया और पूछ बैठीं, "क्या? शर्बत, लस्सी या बीयर? खाने में अभी आधे-पौन घंटे की तो देर लगेगी ही."

"कुछ भी पिला दो भौजी, मुझे तो अपनी आतियेया का मान रखना है."

"मान-सम्मान बड़े लोगों का होता है भैया, मैं तो आपके मित्र की रखैल मात्र हूं. जनता की जबान पर 'ओढ़री सरकार'. . . एक बदनाम स्त्री."

"मैंने दोनों के नाते को इस तरह से कभी देखा नहीं भौजी. और जहां तक लालजू का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूं कि उन्होंने आपको सदा पत्नी की तरह से ही चाहा और माना है. सारे अधिकार तो उन्होंने दे रखे हैं आपको."

"आप तो इतिहास के विद्वान हैं रंजीत भैया, जानते ही होंगे कि किसी बादशाह ने अपनी चहेती डोमिन के लिए एक महल भी बनवाया था."

"आप भी तो हैं एक महल की स्वामिनी."

"यह महल मेरा नहीं है."

"मगर मैंने तो सुना है कि लालजू ने यह महल आपके नाम लिख रखा था और आपने उन्हें और उनके परिवार को इस पर जबरदस्ती दखल जमाने के अपराध में ही. . ."

"निकाल दिया, है न? लेकिन पहेली बात तो यह है कि मैंने उनकी पत्नी और बेटों के परिवारों को निकाला था, उन्हें नहीं. विश्वास न होने पर पुलिस में मेरी रिपोर्ट देख सकते हैं."

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

तो आदर और आतंक सूचक है किंतु 'ओढ़री' में व्यंग्य भरा था. कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि तब तक वो अहीरन पढ़-लिखकर बाकायदा मुख्यमंत्री के योग्य मैडम बन चुकी थी. ग्रेजुएट के ऊपर एम. ए. और. . .

कथा लेखक लालजू के सहपाठी थे ही, यूनिवर्सिटी में इंदरानी के बी. ए. के गुरु भी रह चुके थे.

कथा आरंभ होती है एक घटना से. लेखक चर्चा सुनते हैं और मालूम होता है कि लालजू को मय परिवार और मय सब सामान-असबाब के इंदुविलास पैलेस से निकाल बाहर किया गया है. सुनकर लेखक मौके पर पहुंचते हैं तो देखते हैं कि पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री सड़क पर हैं और उनके मुंह से भद्दी से भद्दी गालियां निकल रही हैं, ओढ़री सरकार यानी प्रेयसी कुमारी इंदिरा सिंह के लिए. कारण, चुनाव में वो हार गये हैं और इंदिरा सिंह जीत गयी हैं. पासा उलट गया है और इंदरानी दांव चलाकर महल से उन्हें निकलवा देती हैं. मुख्यमंत्री तो कभी थे. अब दबदबा सब गायब है. और वो सब देखते और भुगतते रह जाते हैं.

शरण लेते हैं सनेहीपुर हाउस में जो उनके साले राजा गनेशबख्श सिंह की पुरानी कोठी है. पत्नी, पुत्र, पुत्रवधू सब अपने ससुराल की पुरानी पैतृक कोठी में पहुंच जाते हैं. रह जाते हैं लालजू अकेले. इस घोर अपमान में से गुजरकर उस सब परिवार ने उन्हें त्याग दिया है. पार्लियामेंट्री सेक्रेटरी और क्रमशः मंत्री, मुख्य मंत्री की स्थिति में वो स्वयं इंदु विलास पैलेस में अपनी इंदु—इंदिरा के साथ रहते रहे थे और परिवार को एक तरह किनारे कर दिया था. पतली हालत में परिवार को साथ लिया लेकिन इस दुर्वस्था में उन सब-ने स्वयं किनारा काट लिया. सनेहीपुर हाउस में लेखक की फिर भेंट होती है. वो चाहते हैं कि एक बार लेखक मित्र रंजीत सनेहीपुर हाउस आने के लिए इंदु को मना लें और वो उन्हें इंदु विलास महल ले जाये. इस नेकी का बदला चुकाने के लिए रिपुदमन इंदु को ये वचन देने के लिए भी तैयार हैं कि भविष्य में वे अपनी ब्याहता पत्नी और बच्चों से कोई संबंध नहीं रखेंगे, शत-प्रतिशत उसके ही होकर रहेंगे.

हुआ क्या था . . . "लाल रिपुदमन सिंह की मंत्रणा के कारण ही कुमारी इंदिरा सिंह प्रदेश के हरिजन मुख्यमंत्री तथा अन्य कुछ मंत्रियों से अपने संबंध बनाये हुए थीं. नये चुनाव में वे आये और आरक्षणी राजनीति की बातें चलीं तो लाल साहब का पारा चढ़ा. गरज के बोले, 'आप लोग मेरे घर में बैठकर ऊंजी जातियों के विरुद्ध षड्यंत्र रचेंगे, ये मैं बर्दाश्त नहीं करूंगा. दूर चले जइए मेरी आंखों के सामने से . . .' तो बंधु, कल मैंने उन्हें निकाला तो आज उस हरामजादी ने मुझे और मेरे परिवार को अपने ही बनवाये महल से बाहर कर दिया. मेरी बिल्ली मुझी से म्याऊं करने लगी."

महल से निकले तो बेहाल थे. धन सब छट गया था पैलेस के स्ट्रांगरूम में. पास कुछ नहीं था. पर ऐंठ कायम थी पैलेस जायें तो कैसे? जा सकते हैं तभी न जब साली इंदिरा बुलाने आये. इस काम पर मित्र रंजीत को लगाया गया. पैलेस में इंदिरा मिली. उसके मन में खेद नहीं था. ये जरूर उसने कहा कि मैंने परिवार के लोगों को ही निकालना चाहा था, उनको खुद उनको तो नहीं . . . ठीक है कि लालजू ने उन्हें बनाया, बढ़ाया, पर आखिर रखा तो रखैल के तौर पर. सब कुछ होने पर भी इस अपमान पर उसे अंदर ही अंदर जलन थी. मौका आया तो उसने बदला ले लिया...

और यहां शायद कहानी का क्लाइमेक्स आता है. रिपुदमन को मान-अभिमान, गर्व-गौरव हो सकता है अपनी ऊंची जाति का. इसे परंपरा से प्राप्त अहंभाव कहा जा सकता है लेकिन उत्तर में उसके फन उठाकर जग पड़ी है प्रतिक्रियागत अस्मिता. तो वो भी अहीर की बेटी है. कड़वे व्यंग्य में सिर उठाकर कहती है, "मान-सम्मान बड़े लोगों का होता है भैया. मैं तो आपके मित्र की रखैल मात्र. हूं. जनता की जबान पर 'ओढ़री सरकार'. . . एक बदनाम स्त्री. . . "

मित्र (कथा लेखक) रंजीत कहते हैं. "मैंने आप दोनों के नाते को इस तरह कभी नहीं देखा भौजी. और जहां तक लालजू का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूं कि उन्होंने आपको सदा पत्नी की तरह ही चाहा और माना है. सारे अधिकार तो उन्होंने दे रखे हैं आपको."

इंदिरा उत्तर देती है, "आप तो इतिहास के विद्वान हैं, रंजीत भैया. जानते ही होंगे कि किसी बादशाह ने अपनी चहेती लौंडी के लिए एक महल भी बनवाया था.'

'आप भी तो हैं एक महल की स्वामी.'

'ये महल मेरा नहीं है.'

'मगर. . . लालजू ने यह महल आपके नाम लिख रखा है. और आपने उन्हें और उनके परिवार को इस पर जबर्दस्ती दखल देने के अपराध में हीं. . . 'निकाल दिया है न'. . . 'लेकिन तुम-सी स्त्री को ये करना न चाहिए था. . .

'. . . मेरा क्या बिगड़ेगा. जब उतर गयी लोई तो क्या करेगा कोई. . . आज तो मैं ये कहने से कदापि नहीं चूकूंगी कि हरिजनों और असवर्णों के सुख्यात हितचिंतक माननीय मुख्य-मंत्री जी में जातिवाद का कितना विष भरा है.'

'. . . इस समय तुम आवेश में हो.'

'ये आवेश एक दिन का नहीं. . . अपनी हार के बाद न जाने कितनी बार इन्होंने मेरी छोटी जात को कोसा है. कल खुलेआम चार लोगों के बीच इन्होंने मेरे मामा जी का अपमान किया. ये ठकुराई की ठसक अब मैं सहूंगी नहीं. अहीर हूं मैं भी. गऊ माता की सेवा करना छोटा काम नहीं है. मेरी बिरादरी की वजह से ही इनकी जमानत जब्त नहीं हुई. वरना लौहपुरुष जी की नाक पूरी ही कट जाती!"

लेखक लिखते हैं, "मैंने समझाने की कोशिश की कि क्रोध में बात को और अधिक न बढ़ायें. आप दोनों अब भी शक्तिशाली हैं. दोनों की सूझ-बूझ से जात-पांत की बढ़ती हुई विषम राजनीति को सुलझाया जा सकता है. . . लालजू सनेहीपुर हाउस में हैं. . . न उनके खाने का ठिकाना है न पीने का. . . उनकी पत्नी व बेटों ने भी उन्हें बेसहारा छोड़ दिया है. . .'

'तो हमें क्या?'

'उन्हें जाकर मना लाओ भाभी. अकेलेपन की घुटन में कुछ कर बैठे लालजू तो तुम जनम भर पछताओगी."

छलछलायी आंखों से लेखक (रंजीत) को देखकर इंदिरा ने कहा, "इंदु विलास महल उनका है. . . यहां से मैं सीधे अन्नपूर चली जाऊंगी. . . रात डेरी फार्म में गुजारूंगी. कल से अपनी झोंपड़ी का प्रबंध कर लूंगी. मेरा क्या, अहीर की बेटी हूं. गोधन मेरा असली धन है मुझे किसी का कुछ नहीं चाहिए."

लेखक बंधु ने कहा, "क्या यह संभव नहीं कि सदा की तरह तुम दोनों साथ-साथ रहो.'

'ये. . . तभी संभव होगा जब वो मुझसे मेरे अपमान के लिए क्षमा मांगें.'

ये कथा का ढांचा है. उसे जिस कलेवर से लेखक की कल्पना और दक्षता ने मंडित किया है और इस प्रकार उसे जो अद्भुत कमनीयता प्रदान की है वो तो कथा को पढ़कर ही जाना जा सकता है, इस बुनावट में अनेक प्रकार के और वर्ण के तार बड़ी कुशलता से गुंफित किये गये हैं. प्रभाव गहरा, मनमोहक हो गया है. कथा में व्यक्ति, जाति और राजनीति इन तीनों पटलों के अंतर्संबंधों और अंतर्विग्रहों के साथ भरपूर न्याय हुआ है.

तमाम रचना को थो अमृतलाल नागर के अंतिम पैरे ने मानो और भी ऊंचा चढ़ा दिया है लिखते हैं :

"बाद में मैं लालजू से भी मिला था, लेकिन लालजू भी इस बात पर अड़े हुए हैं कि जब वह मुझे लेने आयेगी, तभी जाऊंगा. दोनों के बीच सामंती स्वाभिमान की तलवारें तनी हुई हैं और लक्ष्मी फिलहाल निकम्मी होकर घरती में ही गड़ी पड़ी है."

और अनुच्छेद का 'लक्ष्मी' वाला अंतिम वाक्य कथा के आशय को, सार को काफी ऊंचा और काफी गहराई का एक व्यापक आयाम दे देता है.

"मगर तुम्हारी ऐसी संयत और सावधान स्त्री को यह करना न चाहिए था कि जब कल के समाचार पत्र देखोगी तो..."

"मेरा क्या बिगड़ेगा? अरे जब उतर गयी लोई तो क्या करेगा कोई. बदनाम होंगे तो क्या होंगे... आज तो मैं यह कहने से कदापि नहीं चूकूंगी कि हरिजनों और असवर्णों के सुख्यात हितचिंतक माननीय भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री जी में जातिवाद का कितना विष भरा है."

"सुनो भौजी, इस समय तुम आवेश में हो."

"यह आवेश एक दिन का नहीं है. अपनी हार के बाद इन्होंने न जाने कितनी बार मेरी छोटी जात को कोसा है. कल खुले आम चार लोगों के बीच इन्होंने मेरे बूढ़े मामाजी का अपमान कर दिया. यह ठकुराई की ठसक अब न सहूंगी मैं. अहीर हूं मैं भी. गऊमाता की सेवा करना छोटा और अपवित्र काम नहीं है. मेरी बिरादरी की वजह से ही उनकी जमानत जब्त नहीं हुई, वरना लौहपुरुष जी की नाक पूरी ही कट जाती."

मैंने समझाने की कोशिश की कि क्रोध में बात को अब और अधिक न बढ़ाएं. आप दोनों अब भी शक्तिशाली हैं. आप दोनों की सूझ-बूझ से जातिवाद की बढ़ती हुई विषम राजनीति को सुलझाया जा सकता है. मैंने यह भी कहा कि लालजू सनेहीपुर हाउस में हैं. न उनके खाने का ठिकाना है न पीने का. मैंने बतालाया कि लालजू से मिलकर आ रहा हूं. उनकी पत्नी व बेटों ने भी उन्हें बेसहारा छोड़ दिया है.

"तो मैं क्या करूं."

"उन्हें जाकर मना लाओ भौजी. अकेलेपन की घुटन में अगर कुछ ऊंच-नीच कर बैठे लालजू, तो तुम जनम भर पछताओगी."

भौजी चुप! कुछ देर बाद छलछलायी आंखों से मुझे देखकर बोलीं, "इंदु विलास महल उनका है. आपको खाना खिलाने के बाद मैं यहां से सीधे अन्नूपुर चली जाऊंगी आज की रात डेरी फार्म में गुजारूंगी, लेकिन कल से अपनी अपनी झोपड़ी का प्रबंध कर लूंगी. मेरा क्या, अहीर की बेटी हूं, गोधन ही मेरा असली धन है, मुझे किसी का कुछ भी नहीं चाहिए."

स्वाभिमानी नारी की बात ने मुझे छुआ.

मैंने कहा, "क्या यह संभव नहीं कि सदा की तरह तुम दोनों साथ-साथ रहो?"

"नहीं रंजीत भैया, यह तभी संभव होगा, जब वे मुझसे मेरे अपमान के लिए क्षमा मांगेंगे."

बाद में लालजू से मिला था, लेकिन लालजू भी इस बात पर अड़े हुए हैं कि जब वह मुझे लेने आयेगी, तभी जाऊंगा. दोनों के बीच सामंती स्वाभिमान की तलवारें तनी हुई हैं, और लक्ष्मी फिलहाल निकम्मी होकर धरती में ही गड़ी पड़ी है. □

ओढ़री सरकार निश्चय ही एक सफल कहानी है

—जैनेंद्र कुमार

मेरे लिए बहुत नया काम है यह. कहानी को जानना और उस पर रायजनी करना.

कहानियों को मैं पढ़ता रहा हूं रस के नाते. उसका अंजर-पंजर तोड़कर, खट्टा-मीठा जो भी उसका स्वाद हो, अंदर उस स्वादिष्टता का स्थान कहां है, स्रोत क्या है, आदि जानने की चेष्टा मेरे लिए कभी आवश्यक नहीं रही. न अब वह अर्थसंगत जान पड़ती है. कहानी एक जीती-जागती रचना है. व्यवच्छेदपूर्वक उनके अवयवों को अलग-थलग बनाकर फिर जांच-परख करना और मूल्य आंकना मेरे अपने लिए कभी संभव नहीं हुआ. हो सकता है वो काम किसी दृष्टि से आवश्यक और उपयोगी भी हो. फिर भी वो मेरे स्वधर्म में नहीं है. ये मैं अच्छी तरह जानता हूं. और परधर्म भयावह होता है.

पर मृदुगलजी का आदेश है और वो मेरे लिए चुनौती बन गया है. इसलिए जो काम मुझसे कभी नहीं हुआ, वो करना पड़ रहा है.

कहानी निश्चय ही सफल कहानी है. प्रमाण, पढ़ना शुरू करके अंत तक मैं उसके साथ बराबर बंधा रहता गया. सस्पेंस कहीं ढीला नहीं हुआ. यह तनाव पहली शर्त है सफलता की.

मैं चाहता हूं कि कह सकता कि कहानी अत्यंत सफल है. 'अत्यंत' विशेषण फिर उसकी अर्थवत्ता और उस अर्थ की व्यापकता पर निर्भर करता है.

कथा तीन स्तरों पर चलती है. लाल रिपुदमन जागीरदार, यानी ऊंची जात के हैं. देश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई के जमाने में कानून के पंजे से बचकर वो शरण लेते हैं जहां, वो घर अहीर जाति के एक मैकू का है. फिर वह रिपुदमन कांग्रेस की बहाली पर क्रमशः पार्लियामेंट्री सेक्रेटरी और चीफ मिनिस्टर बनते हैं. मुख्यमंत्री के पद से खूब पैसा जोड़ते और नया ठाठदार इंदु विलास महल बनाते हैं. वहां स्ट्रांग रूम है और काला पैसा. किसी को पता नहीं है उस तलघर का और वहां बंद अकूत धन का. यह व्यंग्य है राजनीति की दशा पर. इसमें कदाचित ये भी शामिल किया जा सकता है कि उनके मुख्यमंत्री बनने की नौबत आयी ही इस आधार पर है कि वो खानदानी जागीरदार थे... व्यंग्य ये भी है कि मुख्यमंत्रित्वकाल में लालजू अपने सहपाठी और परमसखा, जो कि स्वयं कथालेखक हैं, उनको आसानी से भूले रहते हैं.

राजनीति से उतरकर उनके व्यंग्य का केंद्र है जातिवाद. जिस मैकू अहीर के घर में एप्सकौंडर की हैसियत से शरण पाते हैं, वहां उसकी अंधी मां थी और इक्कीस-बाइस वर्ष की विधवा भावज इंदरानी. इंदरानी आगे इंदिरा सिंह बन जाती है और विधवा से कुमारी भी हो जाती है. बाद में जो हो, शुरू में उसे खूब कर्तव्यशील दिखाया गया है. उसका पति एक लाठीकांड में मारा जा चुका है और देवर ससुराल की जायदाद का मालिक होकर उसकी सार संभाल में पड़ोस के गांव में रहने लगा है. तबसे इंदरानी ही सारी घर-गृहस्थी संभालती थी. वह..."दबंग थी... अपने स्वर्गवासी पति की साइकिल पर दो भैंसों का पच्चीस-तीस किलो दूध कैनों में भरकर शहर के एक हलवाई के यहां निश्चित रूप से पहुंचाया करती थी. क्या मजाल कि उस पर कोई फब्ती कस तो जाये. साइकिल पर चढ़ने की सुविधा के कारण जब उसने... चूड़ीदार पाजामा और कुर्ता पहनना आरंभ किया तो कुछ बड़े-बूढ़ों ने टेढ़ी-सीधी बातें कही थीं, मगर इंदरानी ने ऐसे मुंहतोड़ जवाब दिये कि तब से कोई सहसा उसके मुंह लगने की हिम्मत न कर सका... लालजू को छुपाने के लिएमैकू ने तो जोश भर दिखलाया था, मगर निभाया इंदरानी ने... दिन भर काम करती रहती, दूध बेचकर आती... खाना बनाती. गाय-भैंसों के लिए चारा काटती... एक चक्कर अपने देवर-देवरानी के यहां भी लगा आना उसका नित्य का नियम था. शहर से लौटकर कुर्ते-पाजामे के बजाय फिर से लहंगा-ओढ़नी की पोशाक पहन लेती, उसकी कुशाग्र बुद्धि, फुर्ती, कमेरेपन, तेजस्विता और सच्चरित्रता के कारण लालजू धीरे-धीरे उसके भक्त बन गये." ... धीरे-धीरे इंद्राणी इंदिरा, इंदिरासिंह और इंदु होने की प्रक्रिया में लालजू की ही बन गयी.

महत्वाकांक्षी युवक लाल रिपुदमन, सीढ़ी चढ़ते-चढ़ते मुख्यमंत्री बने और लौहपुरुष कहलाये तो उनके लोहे की धार प्रियतमा कुमारी इंदिरा सिंह थी. उनके लिए ओढ़री सरकार का विरुद चल पड़ा था. 'सरकार'

वह चीज है ज्ञान, जो बाबूजी के स्वर्गवास के बाद से मेरे जीवन की प्रधान आकांक्षा रही है. मैं अपने हर स्वप्न को पैसे के बगैर पूरा ही नहीं कर पाता. मेरी बहुत-सी स्कीमें अंत में एक ही गढ़े में आकर गिर जाती हैं—पैसा.

तुम देख रहे हो कि पैसा मेरी काल्पनिक दुनिया में कब से राजा बना बैठा है, लेकिन मेरी स्वाभिमानी स्पिरिट ने मुझे पैसे से हार नहीं मानने दी. . .

अब उन्हें यह अनुभव होने लगता है कि पैसे से सब चीजें नहीं, अधिक से अधिक 99 प्रतिशत चीजें ही खरीदी जा सकती हैं. पैसे से भी बड़ी चीज है इंसानियत.

मन सत्य को छूने और असत्य के घेरे को तोड़ने की एक नयी शक्ति अपने अंदर अनुभव करने लगता है. अपने 30.11.44 के पत्र में उन्होंने मुझे लिखा :

संकल्प-विकल्प में ही इतना जीवन निकल गया. देखा, हाथ कुछ भी नहीं आया. प्रश्न उठता है क्यों? इस क्यों में ही मेरे जीवन के उन्नीस वर्षों का इतिहास है जो तुमसे छिपा नहीं.

जीवन को धोखा देकर आनंद प्राप्त नहीं हो सकता.

. . . जीवन को यथाबुद्धि, यथाशक्ति और यथासंभव सरल बनाकर अपनी कमजोरियों पर विजय प्राप्त करने का ही संकल्प इस बार किया है. बस, यही मेरे जीवन का अंतिम स्वरूप है. यदि इसे पा गया तो जी गया, वरना अब तो कफस में आ ही गया हूं, पंख फटफटाकर मृत्यु में शांति पाऊंगा.

मन मेरा अब भी अस्वस्थ होता है, पर अब एक अंतर आ गया है. पहले अपनी कमजोरियों को शक्तिशाली मानकर अपनी पराजय में छटपटाता था. अब अपनी आत्मा को शक्तिशाली मानकर सत्य के प्रयोगों में जहां कहीं कमी अखरती है, उस पर गुस्सा आता है. बहुत लड़ता हूं. कभी-कभी यह लड़ाई थका डालती है. लेकिन अब मैदान छोड़कर भी जाने का चारा नहीं. हिम्मत हारने पर मृत्यु है, जो अभी नहीं चाहता. मृत्यु के भय पर विजय प्राप्त कर मैं शरीर छोड़ने में भी जीवन का आनंद पाना चाहता हूं.

लड़ने के लिए प्रेरणा गीता के कर्मयोग से ले रहा हूं.

मैंने गांधीजी के पद चिन्हों का अनुसरण करना ही अपने जीवन का लक्ष्य बना लिया है—या कर्म द्वारा सत्य के दर्शन अथवा पराजय भरी मृत्यु. देखना है क्या पाता हूं.

कबीर ने भी अनुभव किया था :

जूझैंगे तब कहेंगे अब हीं कहा न जाय.
क्या जानै मन मसखरा लरै किधौं भगि जाय.

मसखरा मन जूझ तो पड़ा है आगे देखना है उस असत्य के संघर्ष से, सत्य का पक्ष लेकर मन से युद्ध करने में अधिक आनंद है—अब तक यही जाना है. इससे विमुख हुआ तो मुझ-सा मूर्ख कोई नहीं. जिस दिन मुझे अपनी मूर्खता पर विश्वास हो जायेगा उसी दिन मेरी मृत्यु भी निश्चित है. बीच का जीवन त्रिशंकु के समान अब नहीं बिताऊंगा. अपने से पराजित होनेवाले के लिए मुंह छिपाने की कहीं ठौर नहीं. देखना है.

पिछले डेढ़ वर्ष से जीवन में परिवर्तन लाने की आंतरिक प्रेरणा पा रहा था. अब उसे स्वरूप मिल रहा है. भविष्य ईश्वर के हाथ में है.

अपने संपूर्ण मानसिक, वाचिक और कायिक कार्यों का ईश्वर में समर्पण—यही मेरा युद्ध क्षेत्र है. काया और वचन पर भी अंकुश बैठ जाता है (अभी पूरी तरह नहीं) परंतु मन अभी हाथ में नहीं आया. देखना है.

मेरी महत्वाकांक्षा का यह अंतिम स्वप्न है ज्ञान. टूटा तो मैं टूटा, बचा तो मैं 'मैं' को पाऊंगा ही.

और इस 'मैं' को पाने के लिए ही नागर जी के मन में शुद्ध साहित्यिक जीवन का स्वप्न यथार्थ में बदलने का संकल्प 1945 से जगा. अब दो नावों पर चलना मन को स्वीकार नहीं हो पाता. सितंबर, 1945 के पत्र में उन्होंने मुझे लिखा :

साहित्यिक जीवन का स्वप्न यथार्थ में बदलना चाहता हूं. और जब यथार्थ शब्द दिमाग में आता है तो उसकी सारी उलझनें और समस्याएं नजरों के सामने आती हैं. एक बात और स्पष्ट कर दूं—फिल्म छोड़कर साहित्यिक जीवन बिताने की कल्पना इस कृत्रिम जीवन की प्रतिक्रिया नहीं है. वह मेरे अंतस की पुकार है.

इस वर्ष के आरंभ में मेरा साहित्यकार जिस प्रकार से जागरूक होकर सामने आया था उसने मेरी सदा की महत्वाकांक्षा को स्वस्थ एवं प्रबल प्रोत्साहन दिया. हो न हो साहित्यकार के नाते अपनी महत्वाकांक्षा के अंतिम बिंदु को पाना जीवन का स्वप्न है—लक्ष्य है.

पिछले दो वर्षों के अंदर मेरी मनोवृत्तियों में जो रूपांतर आया है और आ रहा है उससे मुझे और भी बल मिलता है. मैं झटके के साथ में बड़े-बड़े बंधनों को तोड़ने की हौंस को लेकर आगे बढ़ रहा हूं. अपने 30 वर्षों के जीवन में मैंने यह देखा भी है कि इच्छा करने पर मैं अवश्य आगे बढ़ सका हूं.

दूसरी बात—यह ठीक है कि पैसे के बिना कोई काम नहीं होता. पैसे पर सारी बातें ठंडी पड़ जाती हैं. यह भी जानता हूं कि मुझे पैसे की तकलीफ कभी बहुत उलझनों में भी डाल सकती है. पर दूसरी बात मैं अपने से पूछता हूं—कलम छीनकर तुम्हारे हाथ में यदि एक लाख की थैली पकड़ा दी जाय तो क्या तुम आजीवन संतुष्ट रह पाओगे? इस प्रश्न पर मेरा लोभी मन हिचकिचाकर रह जाता है.

साहित्य के जिस स्वप्न को अब तक मैं हठपूर्वक यथाशक्ति स्थूल रूप देता चला आया हूं, वह मेरे चरित्र निर्माण में नींव का पत्थर है. उसे उखाड़ना अब संभव नहीं.

संसार व्यवहार चलाते हुए साहित्य को भी देखना और उसमें लीन रहना मुझे दो नावों पर पैर रखकर चलने के समान दिखाई पड़ता है. मैं क्रमशः इस निश्चय पर पहुंचा हूं कि साहित्यिक जीवन बिताने के लिए संन्यासी बनना आवश्यक है. मेरा यह विश्वास उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ते-बढ़ते अब प्रायः पत्थर की तरह सख्त हो चला है. यद्यपि अभी भी मुझ में कच्चापन है, परंतु सत्य को मैं अपनी दुर्बलता की आड़ में छिपाना नहीं चाहता. यदि मुझे विशुद्ध साहित्यिक जीवन बिताना है तो मुझे दूसरे मोह छोड़ने पड़ेंगे. आज मैं ऐसे स्थल पर खड़ा हूं जहां मोह के द्वंद्व में अधिक दिन रहना मेरे लिए हानिकर है—साथ-ही-साथ मेरे समस्त परिवार के लिए हानिकर है. अपने को उठाते हुए जिस प्रकार के झटके मैंने पिछले एक वर्ष में अपने परिवार को दिये हैं, उनसे विपरीत जाना सबको अनास्था के झकोलों में छोड़ देने के समान है. मेरे चरित्र-निर्माण से मेरे परिवार के प्रत्येक सदस्य का चरित्र पूर्णता को प्राप्त करने के लिए बढ़ेगा.

. . . पैसा मेरे जीवन से, मन से निकल रहा है. . . मुझे बढ़ने दो ज्ञान. मैं बढ़ूंगा. मेरी महत्वाकांक्षाओं का कोई अंत नहीं है. मैं जीवन से लेकर जीवनी शक्ति के आदि स्रोत तक के दर्शन करना चाहता हूं. मानव के रूप में मैं सारे विश्व के मानव समाज को अपने में मिला लेना चाहता हूं. प्राण के रूप में मैं प्राण के बीज-सच्चिदानंद में समाकर एक हो जाना चाहता हूं. यदि यह पागलपन है तो भी मैं इसके अंत को देखूंगा ही, चाहे वह कैसा भी हो. लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है यह पागलपन नहीं है. और इसीलिए विशुद्ध साहित्यिक जीवन बिताऊंगा. प्रतिभा मेरे साथ है. हम बढ़ेंगे.

नागरजी ने 1945 के अंत में ही फिल्मी जीवन त्यागकर शुद्ध साहित्यिक बिताने का संकल्प कर लिया था. असबाब भी बंध चुका था, परंतु श्री उदयशंकर की 'कल्पना' के संवाद लिखने के लिए कवि-मित्र एवं बंधु श्री सुमित्रानंदन पंत के अनुरोध पर मद्रास जाना पड़ा. अतः अगस्त 1947 को स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के दिन उन्होंने व्रत लिया कि स्वतंत्र भारत में अब वे अपनी कलम से वेश्यावृत्ति नहीं करायेंगे और एक स्वतंत्र चेता साहित्यकार का जीवन बिताते हुए समाज और देश के नवनिर्माण में अपना भी योगदान करेंगे.

इसके बाद उन्हें जीवन में जो संघर्ष करने पड़े, उसकी एक अलग कहानी है. इस संघर्ष में यदि विजयी होने का आधा श्रेय उन्हें है तो आधा उनकी अर्धांगिनी प्रतिभा नागर को. □

अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में : दो

जीवन के स्वप्न की साधना

• ज्ञानचंद जैन

नागरजी और लेखक : मैत्री के शुरुआती दिन.

नागरजी ने अपनी नयी पुस्तक 'करवट' ज्ञानजी को भेंट करते हुए लिखा है—"जिनके साथ मित्रता के साठ वर्ष पूरे हो चुके हैं." ज्ञानजी नागरजी के अभिन्न मित्र ही नहीं; किशोर अमृतलाल नागर के कथा-सम्राट अमृतलाल नागर बनने तक की उनकी कथा—यात्रा के साक्षी भी वे ही हैं.... और नागरजी को उनके तमाम अंतर्द्वंद्वों, महत्वाकांक्षाओं . . . के साथ जानने का एकमात्र जरिया है ज्ञानजी के संस्मरण और समय-समय पर नागरजी द्वारा लिखे ये पत्र जो ज्ञानजी की निजी-संपत्ति होकर भी साहित्य की अमूल्य धरोहर हैं—

पंडित अमृतलाल नागर के संबंध में कुछ लिखने में मुझे उतना ही संकोच होता है जितना अपने संबंध में कुछ कहने में. उनसे मेरी मित्रता तब हुई जब हम दोनों स्थानीय कालीचरण स्कूल में पाँचवे दर्जे में पढ़ते थे. इस जुलाई में हमारी मैत्री 60 साल पुरानी हो चुकी है. पढ़ने के शौक ने पहले-पहल हम दोनों का मन एक डोर में बांधा, फिर लेखक बनने के सपने ने. उनके लेखकीय व्यक्तित्व से मेरा तादात्म्य स्थापित हो जाने से ही हम दोनों अभिन्न मित्र बने. वे जब भी कुछ लिखते हैं पहले मुझे सुनाते हैं. मैं भी उनके सर्जनात्मक लेखन में अपने ही व्यक्तित्व के एक भाग में तृप्ति अनुभव करता हूं.

उन्होंने अपने ड्राइंग रूम में, जो उनका अध्ययन कक्ष और लेखन कक्ष भी है, तखत पर अपने बैठने के स्थान के बिल्कुल समीप छत्रपति शिवाजी के गुरु समर्थ स्वामी रामदास का एक उदबोधन वाक्य दफती पर मढ़कर टांग रखा है :

वह्नि तो चेतवावा रे चेतवीतांच चेततो,
केल्या न होत आहेरे आधीं केलेंच पाहिजे.

—वह्नि (अग्नि) तो चेताओ रे. (वह) चेताते-चेताते ही चेतती है. करने से होता है रे. पहले करना ही चाहिए.

इस उदबोधन वाक्य में उनकी साहित्य साधना का मर्म छिपा है. आज उनकी साहित्यिक सफलता का प्रभामंडल तो सब की आंखों के सामने है, किंतु साहित्य साधना की आग को चेताने, जीवन-संघर्ष के प्रतिकूल झोंकों में उसे सतत चेताते रहने तथा 'करने से होता है रे, पहले करना ही चाहिए' मंत्र को गांठ में बांधे रहने से उन्हें कितनी मार खानी पड़ी है, कितना जूझना पड़ा है, इसका साक्षी उनके साहित्यिक जीवन के मित्रों में शायद सबसे अधिक मैं रहा हूं.

12-13 वर्ष की अवस्था में उनकी पहली तुकबंदी फूटी. 17 वर्ष की अवस्था से छापे के हरूफों में नाम आने लगा. 19 वर्ष की अवस्था में पहला बज्रपात हुआ—पिता की अचानक असामयिक मृत्यु. गृहस्थी का भार सांसारिक अनुभवों से शून्य कंधों पर आ पड़ा. लखनऊ में जमने के अनेक प्रयास विफल होने पर बंबई गये. फिल्मी संवाद और सिनेरियो लेखक बने. किंतु अग्नि को बराबर चेताते रहे. और जब वह चेत उठी तो हृदय-मंथन शुरू हुआ.

सेरा विला, शिवाजी पार्क, दादर, बंबई से अपने 22.9.42 के पत्र में उन्होंने मुझे लिखा:

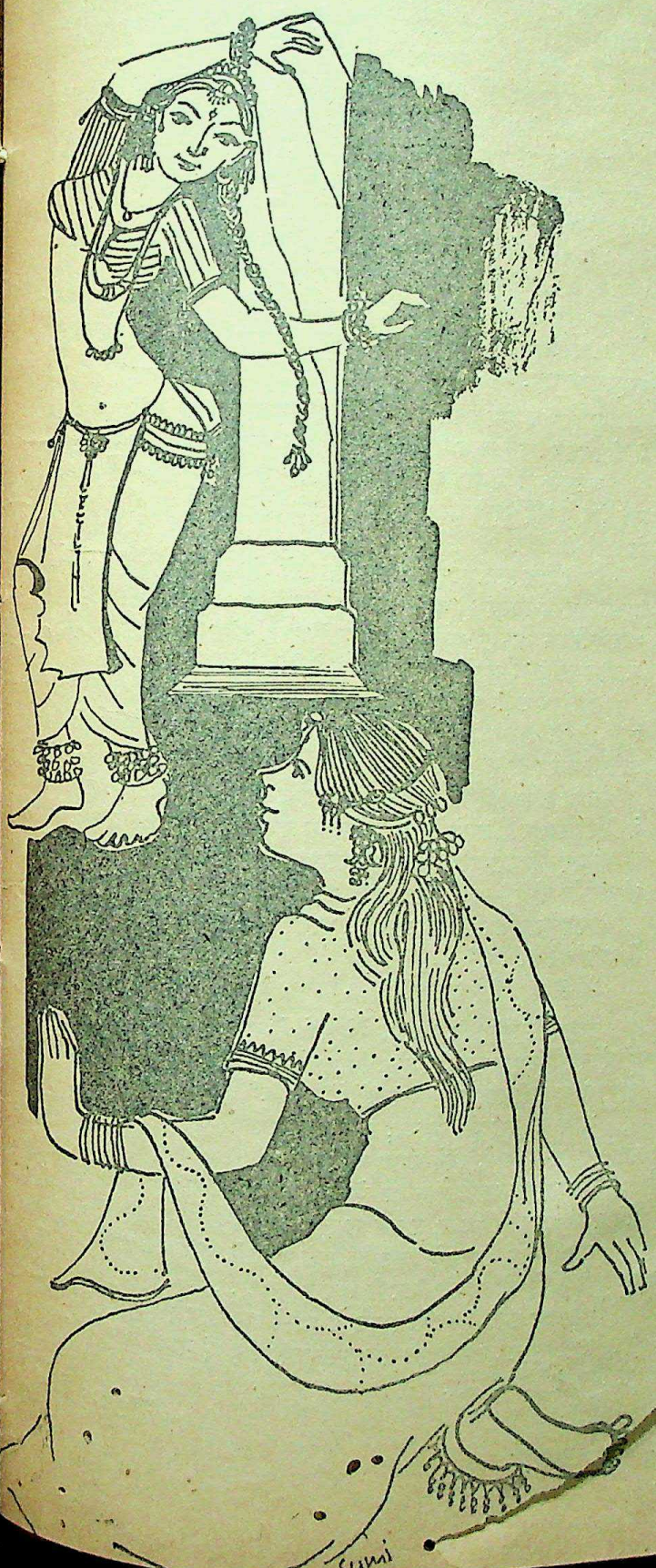
आज आठ महीने हो गये, ज्ञान, सब मिलाकर 25-30 रातों से अधिक भर नींद सो नहीं सका. मशीन बन गया हूं. पैसा कमाता हूं, लेकिन अब तक एक पैसा भी जमा नहीं कर सका. बंबई का खर्च, लखनऊ का खर्च-सोचता हूं. जब तक शरीर चलता है तब तक भाग्य-चक्र मेरे अनुकूल चलता है. मेरी गृहस्थी की गाड़ी भी अच्छी तरह चली जा रही है, परंतु भविष्य के लिए क्या होगा? मुझे हर दम यही चिंता लगी रहती है. कोई फैयाजी और फिजूलखर्ची भी नहीं. पिछले जमाने ने गहरा घाव किया था. आज ईश्वर की दया से इस योग्य हो सका हूं कि कमर सीधी करके चलूं. ज्ञान, पूरी गृहस्थी है मेरी. भाईयों की तरफ भी ध्यान जाता है, बच्चों की तरफ भी ध्यान जाता है. दोनों के लिए मेरे कुछ अपने कर्त्तव्य हैं जो पूरे करने ही चाहिए. बचपन के संस्कारों ने मेरे दिमाग में यह पूरी तरह से जमा दिया है कि रुपये के बगैर दुनिया नहीं चल सकती. इसी भावना ने मुझे व्यावहारिक बना दिया है—अपने कलाकार की आवाज को बराबर अनसुनी करता जाता हूं. मैं अपने आपको धोखा देता चला आया हूं. फूलस पैराडाइज (मूर्खों के स्वर्ग) की कल्पना मुझे नहीं मेरे कलाकार को शिथिल बनाये देती है. अक्सर यह सोचता हूं—क्या मेरा स्वप्न पूरा हुआ? और मेरे सपने की वह सुनहरी दुनिया जानते हो क्या है? जब मरूं तो संसार अमर कलाकार कहकर मेरे नाम को प्रतिष्ठा दे. महत्वाकांक्षा बुरी चीज नहीं. मेरा अपना अनुभव है कि महत्वाकांक्षी ही उत्साही एवं आशावादी हो सकता है. मैं अब तक जितना कुछ भी बढ़ा हूं अपनी महत्वाकांक्षा के बल पर ही. लेकिन साथ ही साथ मेरा पूंजीवादी मन भी तो महत्वाकांक्षी है. वह बहुत कोमल है, मखमल के गद्दों की कल्पना करता है, मोटर कार की कल्पना करता है, आठ नौकर हों, आलीशान कोठी हो, बड़ी इज्जत हो—इस तरह मैं अपने पूरे परिवार के साथ रहूं. मेरा कलाकार युग के साथ है, वह भी महत्वाकांक्षी है. कलाकार मानवजाति के लिए कल्याणकारी साहित्य की सर्जना करना चाहता है. कलाकार अपने देश के उत्थान के लिए कुछ करना चाहता है. कलाकार भिखमंगों के जीवन के विषय में सोचता है, देखता है—मजदूर, किसान, गरीबी, घटनाओं से भरे हुए अनुभवपूर्ण जीवन की कामना करता है. मेरे अपने ही व्यक्तित्व के दो रूप—एक इस्पात का बना है, दूसरा फूल का. 'मैं' दोनों में ही हूं. मैं चाहता हूं कि सबसे पहले मैं कलाकार को ही अपने जीवन में सर्वोच्च स्थान दूं, लेकिन मेरा दुनियादार मन, जो कि प्रतिष्ठा का भूखा है, चाहता है कि मैं अमर कलाकार तो बनूं साथ-ही-साथ मेरे मखमली गद्दे, कोठी और मोटरकार भी बनी रहे. दुख तो इसी बात का है, ज्ञान, कि फूल के वजन से इस्पात लचक जाता है.

और फिर, आत्म-विश्लेषण आरंभ होता है. अपनी चारित्रिक कमजोरियों की तरफ ध्यान जाता है. मन अपनी अच्छाइयों को भी देखता है और अपनी बुराइयों को भी. अपने दुरंगे जीवन पर ग्लानि होती है.

धीरे-धीरे परिवर्तन आता है. अपने 12.9.43 के पत्र में नागरजी लिखते हैं :

पैसा बड़ी चीज है, बेशक, मैं आज भी मानता हूं. लेकिन मेरे मन में अब थोड़ा-सा परिवर्तन हो गया है. पैसा ही सब कुछ नहीं है. पैसा ही

ईसा की पहली शताब्दी में तमिल के महाकवि इलंगोवन ने अपने महाकाव्य 'शिलप्पदिकारम्' में नगरवधू बनाम कुलवधू जनित नारी की पीड़ा को रेखांकित किया था . . . और ठीक दो हजार वर्ष बाद नागरजी ने सन् १९६० में अपनी नयी रचना के लिए उसी कथा को आधार बनाया . . . और संभव है अगले दो हजार वर्ष बाद फिर कोई लेखक इसी कथा को अपनी रचना का आधार बनाये . . .आखिर कैसी है वह पीड़ा जिसका निदान मानव कई हजार वर्षों में भी नहीं खोज सका और न खोज पाने में समर्थ हो सकेगा?—प्रस्तुत है कई-कई बार पुनर्लेखन के लिए प्रेरित करनेवाली उसी रचना के नव्यतम रूप 'सुहाग के नूपुर' का सार-संक्षेप—



माधवी तनकर बैठ गयी. तीखे दृढ़ स्वर में उसने कहा, "कन्नगी के सपनों की पहली रात तुम मेरे यहां रहोगे और. . . . . .तुम्हारी कन्नगी मेरी नागरत्ना की तरह तुम्हारी और मेरी सेवा में. . . ."

कोवलन की आंखें आश्चर्य से फट गयीं, "कन्नगी. . . . यहां ?"

"बस? परीक्षा के एक ही झोंके से तुम्हारे प्रेम की अखंड ज्योति खंडित हो गयी? जाओ चेट्टियार, अब किसी से प्रेम का झूठा दंभ मत करना." माधवी फुर्ती से उठने लगी.

उतनी ही त्वरा से व्यग्र, विकल कोवलन ने झुककर उसकी बांह पकड़ ली. अपनी गोद में घसीटकर धीमें कामोतप्त स्वर में कहा, "मेरी प्राण, मेरी मोहमयी. . . . .मेरी. . . . . मेरी, तुम्हारे लिए कुछ भी अदेय नहीं. मैं वचन देता हूं कि अपनी पहली रात में दो महान कुलों की लक्ष्मी, अपनी सौभाग्य लालिमा से तुम्हारे चरण रंजित करेगी. उठो, मेरे तृषित मन को अपने नृत्य और यौवन की मदिरा से छककर भर दो."

कहने की देर थी. माधवी ने वातावरण में जादू भरना आरंभ कर दिया. अपनी महाविजय पर माधवी आनंदोन्मत्त हो उठी थी. जो कोई न कर सकी, वह माधवी ने किया, जो किसी का प्रेमी न दे सका वह माधवी ने अपने प्रेमी से पाया.

सोलह वर्ष बाद मासात्तुवान सेठ की हवेली उनकी पुत्रवधू नयी कुल-लक्ष्मी के सुहाग-नूपुरों की रुनझुन से भर गयी. वे उसे अंतःपुर के मुख्य-कोषागार में ले गये. वहां पूजा-अर्चना के बाद ताली सौंपते हुए श्वसुर ने अपनी पुत्रवधू को आशीर्वाद देते हुए कहा, "हमारी सात पीढ़ियों की गृह-लक्ष्मियों ने इस कुल-लक्ष्मी की रक्षा की है. आशीर्वाद करता हूं कि तुम्हारे हाथ से यह वैभव सदा फलता-फूलता रहे."

माधवी की आंखों से हर्ष के चमकते तारे झड़ पड़े—उसकी पुतलियों में समर्पण का अगम्य-मादक समुद्र उमड़ रहा था. कोवलन ने इससे पहले कभी इतना रस-वैभव न देखा था. उसकी आंखें चकित थीं, लुब्ध थीं.

जादू के क्षण बीते. कोवलन ने हंसकर माधवी से कहा, "लो प्रिये, तुम्हारी नयी दासी को ले आया."

कन्नगी सिर झुकाये, सौम्य, संयत, मूर्तिवत निश्चल खड़ी थी.

नागरत्ना फुर्ती से द्वार की ओर बढ़ी, तभी छोटी स्वामिनी का स्वर सुनाई पड़ा, "पहले मेरे घुंघरू दे जा नागरत्ना. . . . .परसों अपने विवाह के उत्सव में स्वर्ण सिंहासन पर मेरे प्राणपति के साथ बैठकर नयी सेठानी ने अपने पिता की कोठी में मेरा नृत्य देखा था. आज मेरे कोठे पर सेठानी नृत्य करेंगी और मैं अपने प्रिये के साथ बैठकर देखूंगी. मैं परीक्षा लूंगी. देखूंगी कि मेरे प्राणेश्वर पर एक सामाजिक नियम का सहारा लेकर अधिकार जमानेवाली स्त्री में ऐसा कौन-सा गुण है जो मुझमें नहीं है. . . नागरत्ना. देती क्यों नहीं घुंघरू?"

उसके हाथ से घुंघरू लेकर कन्नगी की ओर बढ़ाती हुई माधवी बोली, "घुंघरू बांधो सेठानी."

"नागरत्ना मदिरा." कोवलन ने आंखें भींचे हुए ही आज्ञा दी.

कन्नगी ने सिर उठाया. एक बार माधवी को देखा. माधवी के नयन झुक गये. कन्नगी ने कहा, "बहन, मेरे देवतुल्य पतिकुल ने सुहाग के

अमृतलाल नागर के उपन्यास : दो

सुहाग के नूपुर

ब्राह्म मुहूर्त में कावेरीपट्टणम के नौका घाट की ओर आज विशेष चहल-पहल थी. सजे-बजे सुंदर बैलोंवाले शोभनीय रथों, पालकियों और घोड़ों पर नगर के गणमान्य चेट्टियार, प्रौढ़ और युवक, कावेरी नदी के नौकाघाट की ओर बढ़े चले जा रहे हैं.

नौकाघाट पर बड़ी भीड़ थी. नगर के दो सर्वश्रेष्ठ धनी मासात्तवान और मानाइहन पास-पास बैठे थे. आज चेट्टियार मासात्तवान का इकलौता बेटा कोवलन उत्तर भारत से अपनी शिक्षा पूरी करके लौट रहा था और आज ही विख्यात जल सार्थवाह मानाइहन चेट्टियार की इकलौती पुत्री कन्नगी की सगाई भी कोवलन के साथ होगी. मासात्तवान चेट्टियार कावेरीपट्टणम के ही नहीं समस्त दक्षिण भारत के स्थल सार्थवाहों के सिरमौर हैं. मथुरा, इंद्रप्रस्थ, सुदूर नगर हाट तक के श्रेष्ठ व्यापारियों में मासात्तवान की साख पुजती है. उसी प्रकार समुद्र पार के देशों में मानाइहन चेट्टियार का नाम चमकता है. शूर्पारक, बाबेर, मिस्र, रोम आदि देशों तथा सिंहल, सुवर्ण, कटाह, यव आदि सुप्रसिद्ध द्वीपों तक मानाइहन चेट्टियार के साथ चलते हैं.

प्रतीक्षा की लंबी अवधि समाप्त हो गयी. भव्य चोल-सिंह-मूर्तियों से युक्त सीढ़ियां चढ़कर कोवलन ऊपर आया. पिता के चरणों पर गिर गया. महाश्रेष्ठि मानाइहन पास खड़े मुग्ध नेत्रों से अपने भावी जामाता की ओर निहार रहे थे.

कोवलन अपनी मित्र-मंडली के साथ हंसता-बोलता स्नान-घाट की ओर पैदल ही चल पड़ा.

यौवन की सीढ़ियां चढ़ती हुई एक अनिंद्य सुंदरी बाला घाट की सीढ़ियों से क्रमशः ऊपर आ रही थी. आंखें अटक गयीं. उसके मित्र कृष्ण ने कहा, "बड़े भाग्यशाली हो मित्र जो शुभ कार्य के लिए आते ही मंगलामुखी के दर्शन हुए. माधवी, इन्हें पहचाना, कोवलन चेट्टियार हैं."

माधवी की बड़ी-बड़ी मीन-सी आंखें क्षणभर के लिए कोवलन के चेहरे पर टिक गयीं. कोवलन मुग्ध होकर इन्हें देखने लगा. फिर अपने गले से बड़े-बड़े शुभ्र मोतियों का मूल्यवान हार उतारकर उसने माधवी के गले में डाल दिया और कहा, "मेरे शकुनपंक्षी की जय हो."

माला तुरंत ही उतारकर पास ही बैठे भिखारी की झोली में डालते हुए माधवी ने सदर्प कहा, "आज तो स्वयं महाराज के कंठ से उतरी हुई मुक्तमाले ही मेरे गले में पड़ेगी. उसके आगे और मालायें झूठी हैं." कहकर चांदी की भारी कलशी लिये माधवी आगे बढ़ गयी.

कोवलन का चेहरा अपमान से लाल हो उठा.

माधवी पेरियनायकी द्वारा मोल ली गयी कन्या थी. पेरियनायकी भी अपने समय में मोल ली गयी थी. रूप जीवाओं की दुनिया में भी कुलीनता-अकुलीनता का बहुत बड़ा भेद माना जाता था. 'इलंगाइ' और 'वलंगाई' दो वर्गों में बंजि वर्ग बंटा हुआ था.

आज के नृत्योत्सव में माधवी की सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रतिद्वंद्विनी राजम्मा की पुत्री ललिता थी. जो वंश परंपरा से प्रतिष्ठित कुल की थी.

नृत्य मंडप में कोवलन चेट्टियार को राजकुमारों की युवक मंडली में आसन दिया गया था. माधवी अपनी जगह बैठे-बैठे ही उस पर नयनबाण चलाती रही.

सभा में केवल कुछ को छोड़कर ऐसा कोई नहीं था जो माधवी के नृत्य के जादू से बंधकर वाह-वाह न कर रहा हो. मंडप उल्लास की गूंज से दूना गूंज रहा था.

महाराज ने परंपरानुसार अपने गले की मोती-माला उतारकर माधवी के गले में डाल दी, राजा के रूप में मानो समस्त जन-गण ने गणिका को वर लिया था. वह 'कामदेव का नव-धनुष' घोषित की गयी.

घोषणा सुनते ही माधवी के विजयोल्लास-भरे, मद की विद्युत गति से परिचालित नयन-बाण कोवलन की ओर सधे. महाचेट्टिपुत्र कोवलन उसका पहला शिकार था. माधवी की प्रतिज्ञा पूरी हुई. उसने वर्ष का पुरस्कार भी जीता और नगर का नवनायक भी.

कोवलन के घर उसके विवाह की तैयारियां बड़ी धूमधाम से हो रही थीं. मासात्तवान सेठ ने अपनी पुत्र वधू के लिए मदुरा से सुहाग के नूपुर बनवाकर मंगाये थे. मदुरा के पांड्य राजा की रानी के सुहाग के नूपुरों की समस्त दक्षिण भारत में चर्चा थी. वे बहुत सुंदर और मूल्यवान माने जाते थे. नगर में इस बात की बड़ी चर्चा थी.

...कोवलन चुपचाप माधवी के साथ अपने प्रथम समागम की तैयारियां कर रहा था. अनेक बहुमूल्य आभूषण और वस्त्र खरीदकर उसने माधवी के पास भेजे थे. नृत्योत्सव में विजयी होने के आठवें दिन कोवलन की कृपा से माधवी कन्या से नारी बन गयी. कोवलन का उसके यहां आना-जाना बहुत गुप्त रखा जाता था.

एक दिन प्रेमालाप करते हुए कोवलन ने माधवी से कहा, "तुम्हारे प्रेमधन को पाने के लिए मैं सदा तुम्हारे द्वार का भिखारी बना रहूंगा माधवी. मैं तुम्हारे आकर्षण से विवश हूं. अपने आप से विवश हूं."

माधवी मदिरा पात्र भर रही थी. मदिरा का चषक कोवलन की ओर बढ़ाते हुए फीकी मुस्कान और थके स्वर से कहा, "और कितने दिन रहोगे याचक? सप्तमी को धर्म, राज और समाज के अटल नियम मेरे आराध्य देव को मुझसे बरबस छीनकर किसी और के मन-मंदिर की प्रतिमा बना देंगे, और मैं हाथ मलती ही रह जाऊंगी, मन से अपना प्राणपति बना चुकने पर भी मैं अधिकार पूर्वक जीवन भर तुम्हें अपना न कह सकूंगी. मैं स्त्री नहीं वेश्या हूं. स्त्री के नैसर्गिक रूप, गुण और मन को पाकर भी उसके अधिकारों से वंचित हूं. मैं स्त्री नहीं, वेश्या हूं."

कोवलन ने उसकी टीस का स्पर्श पाकर भी न पाया, मदिरा की झोंक में बोला, "तुम्हारा भय मिथ्या है माधवी, मैं तुम्हारा ही रहूंगा."

"हां. . . . . रहोगे, चोर के धन की तरह. दुनिया कहेगी वेश्या माधवी ने कन्नगी के सौभाग्य को चुरा लिया. कोई यह नहीं देखेगा कि विवाह के अनैतिक धर्मपाश में बांधकर कन्नगी मेरे जीवन-सर्वस्व को बरजोरी हर ले गयी."

कोवलन की विचार टकटकी बंध गयी. धीर-गंभीर स्वर में कहने लगा, "इस विवशता को हंसकर स्वीकार करना ही तुम्हारे लिए अच्छा होगा माधवी. यह मेरी या तुम्हारी इच्छा-अनिच्छा का प्रश्न नहीं. विवाह समाज का आवश्यक नियम है."

"क्यों ?"

"संतान के लिए."

"मैं संतान नहीं दे सकती?" आंखों में विद्रोह की चमक थी.

"तुम्हारी कोख की संतान किसी कुलीन का कुलदीप नहीं बन सकती प्रिये. यह दूसरा कठोर सत्य है."

उत्तर सुन माधवी के चेहरे पर निराशा की कालिमा छा गयी. फिर सनक भरी हंसी फूटी, बोली, "मैं केवल खिलौना हूं. प्रकृति से मानवी के सारे गुण पाकर भी मैं समाज के अधिकारों से वंचित हूं. मेरे प्यार का उपहार तुम्हारा प्यार नहीं हो सकता. . . . . केवल विलास. कोरा विलास . . . . वाह रे तुम्हारा न्याय. . . . ."

मदिरा के नशे से अधिक माधवी के नशे में मतवाला हो अपने दोनों हाथों से उसे आलिंगन में बांधकर कोवलन ने निष्ठा से अधिक काम की उत्तेजना भरे स्वर में कहा, "मेरा प्रेम तुम्हारी परीक्षा की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है. बोलो, तुम्हारे समाधान के लिए मैं क्या साहस करूं?"

अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में : तीन

बराबर अकेले पड़ते जाने की स्थिति.

एक लेखक की नजर जब दूसरे लेखक की जिंदगी पर पड़ती है तो वह किस तरह उसे विश्लेषित करता है ! यहां प्रस्तुत है ठाकुर प्रसाद सिंह की नजर—

गुलिस्तां कालोनी से महानगर-इंदिरा नगर-अलीगंज होते लोहे वाले पुल से पुराने लखनऊ की ओर जाना केवल जाना ही नहीं होता. रूमी दरवाजे से छोटे इमामबाड़े की ओर जाते हुए लखनऊ की स्काई लाइन पर मस्जिदों तथा मीनारों की पंक्ति दिखाई पड़ती है. शाम के डूबते सूरज की ललाई में यह मंजर और आकर्षक हो जाता है. आपके पैर अपने आप रुक जाते हैं.

लेकिन आपको तो नागरजी के यहां जाना है. आप को कहां उलझा दिया मैंने. आप बायें मुड़ जाइए और गोल दरवाजे से चौपटिया जाने वाली सड़क पर उलटी तरफ से आकर उस गली के सामने गाड़ी रोक दीजिए. नागरजी तक पहुंचने के पहिले आपको अपना मन बनाना होगा. पतली गली से होकर आप नागरजी की हवेली के बड़े दरवाजे तक पहुंचेंगे जिसे पूरा खुला मैंने अपने तीस बरसों के लखनऊ-निवास-काल में शायद ही कभी देखा हो. लकड़ी के उन दरवाजों को आप चाहें भी तो खोल नहीं सकते. आप पूरी ताकत लगाकर बायेंवाले विशाल पल्ले को ढकेलिये तो वह आपकी ताकत और साइज के हिसाब से बस उतना ही खुलेगा जितने से आप भीतर जा सकें. भीतर के दालान में खड़े होकर आप उस विशाल मकान का बड़ा-सा आंगन देखिए: जिसके चारों ओर दुमंजिले कमरे बने हैं. आपके ठीक सामने विशाल बरामदा है, फिर उसके भीतर पुरानी हवेली का बड़ा हाल जिसमें नागरजी का संसार फैला हुआ है. सत्यजित रे और श्याम बेनेगल को हवेली का यह माहौल बहुत प्रिय है. 'शतरंज के खिलाड़ी,' 'जुनून' और कई और फिल्मों की शूटिंग भी यहां हो चुकी है.

नागरजी ने इस जादुई माहौल को बरकरार ही नहीं रखा है बल्कि काफी हद तक उसे बढ़ाया भी है. उनके कमरे में उनकी पसंद के सामान अपनी बेतरतीबी की तरतीब में अटे पड़े हैं. पुरानी रैकों में भरी पुरानी पुस्तकों की जिल्दें, लक्ष्मण टीले से खोदकर निकाली गयीं कुषाण कालीन ईंटें, जगह-जगह से लायी गयीं विभिन्न समयों की मूर्तियां, मेलों से पसंद करके लाये गये खिलौने, जन्माष्टमी की झांकी, नर्तित गणेश और न जाने क्या-क्या ! एक ओर चौकी पर गद्दे जमाये, तकियों पर तकिये रखे खुद नागरजी. इसी में टेलीफोन और टी.वी, सोफे और चाय की टेबुलें भी. पुराना बोसीदा माहौल जिसे नागरजी ने बिना इंटीरियर डेकोरेटर की मदद के और गहरा कर दिया है. अपनी पसंद की सजावट से, हर बाहर की दुनिया से आनेवाले को अरेबियन नाइट्स की दुनिया से कहीं अधिक आकर्षक लगता है. फिर सत्यजित रे हों या श्याम बेनेगल घुटने टेकने के अलावा उनके पास और रास्ता ही क्या बचता है.

हर नया उपन्यास वे अंतिम कहकर शुरू करते हैं पर उसे पूरा करते ही उन्हें लगता है कि कही जानेवाली बात तो रह ही गयी: इस बार जो नया उपन्यास उन्होंने पूरा किया है वह 'खंजन-नयन' या 'अग्निगर्भा' जैसा फरमाइशी नहीं है. इस बार उन्होंने पूरे अवध को अपने जाल में समेटा है. पूरी तरह अपनी इच्छा से. पहला खंड पूरा किया है पर अभी तो पूरा समुद्र सामने है. हेमिंग्वे के 'ओल्ड मैन एंड द सी' के बूढ़े मछुआरे की तरह उन्होंने अपने शरीर की जर्जर नाव के भरोसे शार्क पकड़ने की जो साहसिक यात्रा शुरू की है, वह उनके पुराने सपनों का ही हिस्सा है. कभी 'शतरंज के मोहरे' जैसे जबरदस्त उपन्यास पर उन्हें बधाई देते हुए मैंने शिकायत की थी कि उन्होंने अवध का विशाल कैनवस बीच ही में ईजेल पर से हटाकर और तरह की पेंटिंग्स बनानी क्यों शुरू कर दीं ?

वे जिस वेवलेंथ पर सोचते या बातें करते हैं, उस फ्रीकवेंसी पर जाना मुश्किल है. वैसे नागरजी पहली नजर में एक खुले हुए, बैठक-बाज दोस्त जैसे लगते हैं. अत्यंत अमूल्य रचनाएं भी वे बड़ी सादगी से पैसे के लिए लिखी हुई बताते हैं, और वे बिना मतलब के झूठ बोलते भी नहीं पर साधारण बोझ ढोने वाले तथा हर क्षण अपनी बेचैनी को मोती की शक्ल देने वाली सीपी के श्रम में अंतर तो होगा ही.

नागरजी कभी लखनऊ के बहुत ही जागरूक और हर दिल नागरिक हुआ करते थे. भगवती बाबू और ज्ञानचंद जैन के साथ सिनेमा की लाइन में कई बार हम लोगों से आगे रहे हैं, सुशांयन, सदा हंसते और लोगों को हंसाते. बड़े समारोहों में अपनी विशिष्टता से अलग दिखायी पड़ते. पर अब वे बाहर दिखायी पड़ते हैं. घर जाने पर वे ललक कर मिलते हैं और पुराने दिनों में लौट जाते हैं. यशपालजी तथा भगवती बाबू के साथ की साझेदारी रही नहीं. वे एक तरह से अकेले छूट गये हैं, खाली जगह खाली पड़ी है. वहां श्रीलाल, कुंवर-नारायण या कक्कड़ में कोई नहीं आया है. वे लखनऊ में लगभग अकेले पड़ गये हैं.

पत्नी के जाने के बाद उनका निर्वेद और बढ़ जायेगा. बहुत पहले छोटे भाई रतनलाल के जाने से वे हिल गये थे, फिर पिछले दिनों सबसे छोटे भाई मदनलाल भी चले गये. जो लोग नागरजी को जानते हैं वे ही समझ सकते हैं कि पत्नी प्रतिमाजी और दोनों छोटे भाई उनके लिए कितने जरूरी थे. नागरजी ने सारा कुछ अकेले लिखा है, वैसे ही सारा कुछ सहा तथा झेला भी अकेले ही है. बहुत ही सामान्य स्थिति में रहकर भी लिखने के लिए बंबई छोड़ी, फिर आकाशवाणी की अच्छी-खासी नौकरी. छोटे-छोटे बच्चे तथा लड़खड़ाते पैरोंवाले छोटे भाई. तभी उन्होंने निर्णय लेने के पूर्व पत्नी से राय मांगी थी. कुल दो महीने पूर्व उनके घर पर ही रसोईघर के बाहर बीमारी से उठकर बैठी प्रतिमाजी के पास बैठकर मैंने वे अंतरंग संघर्ष-वर्ष एक बार फिर जिये थे जो नितांत उनके थे. वे बीमारी से एकदम हिल गयी थीं पर हमेशा की तरह नागरजी को देखती चल रही थीं.

नागरजी दूर से हमें देख रहे थे. कुछ शर्मिंदा से... जैसे वह सब सुन रहे हों, जो प्रतिमाजी कह रही हैं. अकेले होने पर उन्होंने मेरा हाथ पकड़कर जैसे अपने जवानी के फक्कड़पन के लिए मेरे माध्यम से पत्नी से क्षमा मांगते हुए कहा, "मेरे पागलपन के लिए इसने बहुत कष्ट झेला है. यह न होती तो मैं क्या लिख पाता ?"

मैंने चुटकी लेते हुए कहा कि वे कह रही थीं कि उनमें प्रतिभा कम नहीं थी, लिख भी वे सकती थीं. संगीत में उनकी रुचि थी. पर सब छोड़कर उन्होंने आपको थाम लिया. नागरजी कातर हो आये. वे सबका ऋण लौटा सकते हैं पर पत्नी का ऋण तो जन्म-जन्मांतर तक नहीं उतरेगा. अब प्रतिमाजी मुझे दूर से देख रही थीं. उनकी मुद्रा से लगता था कि वे भी सब सुन रही हैं. दरवाजे तक मुझे छोड़ने आयीं तो जैसे अधूरी बात पूरी कर गयीं, "बच्चों जैसे हैं, नागरजी. उन्हें छोड़ दूं तो कैसे रहेंगे ?"

मैंने भाभी से मजाक का रिश्ता संभाला, "आप लोग छोड़ती कहां हैं ?" श्री इलाचंद्र जोशी के शब्दों में 'मित्रवर, इसमें चक्कर ही चक्कर है.' यह मामला तो जन्म जन्मांतर का है.

इस बीच वे नागरजी को छोड़कर चली भी गयीं. अब वे एकदम अकेले रह गये हैं. □

नूपुरों से मेरे पैरों को बांध दिया है. ये घुंघरू तुम्हारे ही पैरों में शोभा पायेंगे." 'सुहाग के नूपुर' शब्द मन के अभाव खड्ड में ऐसे पड़े मानो भारी गठरी कुएं के पानी में छपाका मार स्रोत के तल में जा लगी हो.

"हां, सुना है कि इन बहुमूल्य नूपुरों के कारण तुम नगर-भर की सुहागिनों के लिए ईर्ष्या की वस्तु बन गयी हो. पर इनसे अपने सौभाग्य देवता को न रिझा सकोगी गुइयां, वह शक्ति मेरे ही घुंघरुओं में है."

कन्नगी ने उसी प्रकार संयत भाव से उत्तर दिया, "मुझे तुम्हारे घुंघरुओं से ईर्ष्या नहीं बहन. मेरी दृष्टि में उनका कोई मूल्य नहीं."

"तुम अपने को उच्च और मुझे नीच समझती हो? तुम मुझसे घृणा करती होगी, है न?"

"मैं तुमसे घृणा क्यों करूं बहन, तुम अपनी परिस्थितियों के कारण ऐसी हो. इसमें तुम्हारा क्या दोष है?"

सुनकर माधवी परास्त हो गयी. "सुन रहे हो, तुम्हारी नवेली सुहागिन मेरी परिस्थितियों को ताने मार रही है."

कोवनल तब तक मदिरा के सहारे कुछ-कुछ होश और मस्ती पाकर सनक गया था. चागरत्ना के हाथ से भरा मदिरा-पात्र लेते हुए उसने कहा, "सोच रहा हूं कि आज की रात मेरे संन्यास ग्रहण करने के लिए उत्तम मुहूर्त आया है..."

उस रात माधवी के घर कन्नगी को लेकर कोवलन के जाने की बात जग की चर्चा बनने से बच न सकी. कुलीन घरों के वेश्या-प्रेमी युवकों में यह उदाहरण अभूतपूर्व था और अकल्पनीय था. यह समाचार भूकंप के धक्के से कम नहीं था. कोवलन सचमुच दुखी था. कन्नगी के शील ने उस पर ऐसी विजय पायी थी कि स्वयं उसका अंतर्पुरुष भी अपना पौरुष, तेज प्रदर्शित करने के लिए तड़प रहा था.

कोवलन ने अब अपना ध्यान कामकाज में लगाया. उसने अपने पिता और श्वसुर दोनों के कारबार का प्रबंध देखना शुरू किया. कुछ समय बाद वह अपनी पत्नी कन्नगी को साथ ले वाणिज्य-व्यवसाय के उद्देश्य से विदेश रवाना हो गया. और जब वह कावेरीपट्टणम लौटा तो चारों ओर उसकी व्यापार कुशलता की चर्चा थी. कन्नगी से उसे असीम सुख मिला था.

...और माधवी के पिछले दो वर्ष पल-पल पहाड़ बनकर बीते थे. रोयां-रोयां कोयले की तरह सुलगता था.

एक दिन माधवी ने सूचना दी कि वह गर्भवती है.

कोवलन के मानसिक तराजू के पलड़े फिर अपना संतुलन खोने लगे. माधवी परम सुखी थी. कोवलन की संतान की माता बनकर गृहिणी-भाव जागा.

नगर के कोने-कोने में इसी चर्चा की गूंज थी. माधवी कुलीनों के क्षेत्र में आ बसी थी. कोवलन की पैतृक हवेली में. किराये के पंडित बुलाकर मासात्तुवान की हवेली में माधवी और कोवलन का विवाह हुआ. पत्नी बनते ही उसने अपने अधिकार मांगे. "सुहाग के नूपुर दो, कुल-लक्ष्मी की पूजा का अधिकार दो."

कोवलन अपने जादू से आप ही ठगा-सा रह गया. "वाह री सती... तेरे प्रति मेरे मोह की अंतिम परिणति यदि यही है, तो एवमस्तु. ला, ढाल, इतना बेसुध कर दे कि मैं कन्नगी से उसका अधिकार हरण कर लाऊं."

कन्नगी ने सविनय वंश-निधि कोष की चाबी और सुहाग के नूपुर देने से इनकार कर दिया. कोवलन ने उसे लहूलुहान कर दिया... अंतःपुर से बाहर ड्योढ़ी तक शव की भांति घसीटते हुए उसे ले आया. उसकी करधनी में बंधा तालियों का गुच्छा खोल लिया, और अंदर जा पूरी शक्ति से कपाटों को धकेलकर फाटक बंद किया और थककर वहीं गिर पड़ा.

कन्नगी के लिए अपने घर के द्वार बंद होते ही लोक-सहानुभूति के अनेक द्वार खुल गये. वह अपने श्वसुर द्वारा बनवाई हुई सत्रम (धर्मशाला) की ओर चली. देवंती भी बतलाती चली.

मानाइहन तक बात पहुंची तो वे दौड़े आये. कन्नगी बोली, "इस समय पीहर जाकर मैं श्वसुर-कुल को कदापि न लजाऊंगी, अप्पा."

"तुमसे दोनों ही कुल उजागर हुए. तुम्हारी माता की कोख धन्य हुई. मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ बेटी... मैं परम शांत हूं..." पिता बोले.

माधवी के सामने जाकर कोवलन उस दार्शनिक के समान बैठ गया जिसे सुख-दुख, आशा-निराशा में समान रूप से हंसी आती है. यह हंसी माधवी को चिढ़ा गयी. तमककर, पूछा, "लाये?"

"ला पाता तो आकर यों बैठता?"

"तो अब यों भी न बैठ पाओगे. मैं अब तुम्हें तुम्हारी चरमगति पर ही पहुंचाकर दम लूंगी. अपना सर्वस्व निछावर कर चुकने के उपरांत अंत में तुमसे कुछ न मिला. तुम मुझे सती न बना सके तो अब मैं तुम्हें वेश्या बनकर ही दिखाऊंगी. निकल जाओ मेरे घर से, उठो! जाओ..."

"यह मेरे पुरखों का घर है..."

"जब था तब था. वेश्या के पास जो आयेगा उसी का हो जायेगा. उठो निकलो!" माधवी ने उसका हाथ पकड़कर झटका दिया.

"नागरत्ना! इस निकम्मे, निर्लज्ज कापुरुष को मेरे सामने से धक्के मारकर बाहर कर. पकड़ इसका हाथ. मैं अब बदल नहीं सकती. इस कापुरुष को सह नहीं सकती. चल निकल!"

माधवी दोनों हाथों से कोवलन को खींचने लगी. वह चौकी से गिर पड़ा. कोठे, दालानों की चौखट से रगड़ खाती हुई कोवलन की देह टूटी-टूटी जा रही थी. परंतु एक कराह तक न निकली.

कोवलन जड़ हो चुका था. शव की भांति अपने ही घर के अंतःपुर के बाहर पड़ा रहा.

कुछ समय बाद अपने नये प्रेमी एक राजपुरुष के जरिए माधवी ने कोवलन को सरे आम सिपाहियों से पिटवाकर घूरे पर फिकवा दिया.

जनश्रुतियों में दौड़ते-फिरते चेलम्मा तक यह दुःसमाचार पहुंचा. वह रात में कई पुरुषों की सहायता से उसे शिविका में उठाकर कन्नगी के यहां ले गयी.

दूसरे दिन प्रातःकाल कोवलन ने आंखें खोलीं. दोपहर तक आशाजनक रूप से स्वस्थ हो चला. देवंती स्वामी के तलवे सहला रही थी. स्वामिनी की आवाज सुनकर वह उठने लगी. कोवलन ने आंखें खोलीं, "तेरी सखी क्या अब मेरा मुंह भी न देखेगी देवंती?"

द्वार पर खड़ी कन्नगी तुरंत आगे बढ़ी. देवंती ने कहा, "मेरी सखी आप ही का श्रीमुख देखकर जीती है प्रभु. वह केवल आपकी आज्ञा की प्रतीक्षा कर रही थी."

तब तक कन्नगी पति के चरणों में अपना शीश नवा चुकी थी. कन्नगी ने सिर उठाकर पति को देखा, "आप आ गये, मेरा भार उतर गया."

"मन की बात और है, तन की बात सोचता हूं... व्यवहार की बात सोचता हूं प्रिये—धन, मान, व्यापार!"

"सब कुछ फिर से आ सकता है. आपको व्यापार आरंभ करते देर ही कितनी लगेगी..."

"पूंजी कहां से लाऊंगा?"

कन्नगी मुस्करायी, "अप्पा मेरे पैरों से लक्ष्मी जो बांध गये हैं. इन नूपुरों को बेचिए, नया जीवन आरंभ करने के लिए इनसे पर्याप्त धन मिल जायेगा. सुना है नौ लाख मुद्राओं में बने थे."

"तुम अद्भुत हो कन्नगी. इतना सहकर भी जो न दिया, वह अब इतने सहज भाव से दिये डाल रही हो?"

"ये नूपुर आपकी प्रतिष्ठा के प्रतीक हैं स्वामी, विलास के नहीं. मैंने नया कुछ नहीं किया, न तब, न अब. इन्हें बेचकर काम चलाइए."

तुम निष्ठा में मुझसे बहुत बड़ी हो कन्नगी. यदि उठ सका तो यह तुम्हारी निष्ठा के सहारे फिर से संभव होगा..."

कोवलन नये जीवन के स्वप्न में बंधने लगा. हारे हुए पुरुष ने सब कुछ पा लिया था. उसके तन-मन की सारी पीड़ाएं मानो जादू का स्पर्श पा विलीन हो गयी थीं. □

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अमृतलाल नागर की व्यंग्य रचनाएं : एक

नवाब साहब

कहते हैं खुदावंदकरीम जब किसी को कुछ देना चाहता है, तो पहले उसका छप्पर फाड़ डालता है; मगर जनाब, यहां तो उसने मेरी कमीज पर ही हाथ साफ किया.

किस्सा यों है कि कलकत्ते की सिंदुरिया पट्टी के मोड़ पर खड़ा पान खा रहा था. एकाएक ऐसा मालूम पड़ने लगा कि मेरे बगल में लखनऊ के मशहूर ताजिर इत्रफरोश असगर अली मोहम्मद अली की ब्रांच नहीं, तो एजेंसी तो जरूर ही खुल गयी है. जो नजर घुमा के देखता हूं तो वल्लाह, आंखें जुड़ीं, कलेजे को ठंडक पहुंची. एकदम खयाल मुझे लखनऊ के चौक में दौड़ा ले गया. इन ढीली धोती और पगड़ीवाले बंगालियों और मारवाड़ियों के शहर में वह चुस्त चपकन, वह सुरमींली आंखें, वह काकुलें—बस आपसे क्या अर्ज करूं, दिल ने चाहा कि उस अदा पर वहीं अपने को सौ बार कुर्बान कर दूं. नबाब साहब भी पान खाने के लिए ही खड़े थे. सीने पर लगी हुई पतली-सी जेब में, जरा कमर झुकाकर, इस नजाकत के साथ, उन्होंने दो उंगलियां डालकर एक इकन्नी निकाली कि . . .मगर वैसे ही बगल से एक बंगालिन मजदूरनी चमककर धक्का देती हुई निकल गयी. मैं एकदम दीवार से भिड़ गया. जरा संभलना चाहता था कि पीछे से झूमता हुआ एक मस्त सांड आ धमका. लपक के तेजी में जो आगे बढ़ना चाहा हो तो दीवार में लगी हुई कील ने इस नाचीज पर ऐन इनायत की. चररर-चर्र से कमीज की बांह ने अपना दरवाजा खोलकर फटी बनियाइन की बांकी झांकी लोगों को ठीक उसी तरह दिखाना शुरू किया, जैसे कि हवा का तेज झोंका अक्सर काले देव की बेगमात के चेहरों का नकाब उलटकर लोगों को उनकी खूबसूरती का कायल करना चाहता है. मैं आपसे अर्ज करूं, कि खुदा जाने कितनी हसरतों और तमन्नाओं को एक फकत उस कमीज में लपेटकर लखनऊ से कलकत्ता आया था कि इस नयी कमीज को पहनकर दिन-भर मिलों में नौकरी की तलाश में घूमूंगा, शाम को टहलने जाऊंगा और रात को अपने ही हाथों सनलाइट साबुन से इसकी मालिश किया करूंगा. मुर्गी के लिए तकुए का घाव ही बहुत होता है. मेरी कमीज का फट जाना और अवध के कन्हैया नवाब वाजिदअली शाह साहब से अंग्रेजों का उनकी तमाम सल्तनत का छीन लेना, बिलकुल एक ही वजन की दो चीजें थीं.

पैदाइश, रहना-सहना खास लखनऊ का ही ठहरा, अगर कहीं बनारस या मिर्जापुर का असर होता, तो आप यकीन ही मानिए, उस पानवाले की खैर न थी, जो कम्बख्त दीवार में कील ठोके रहता है. नवाब साहब ने बड़े अफसोस के साथ मेरी तरफ देखकर हमदर्दी से भरे दो-चार अलफाज कह दिये. गमगीन था ही, उनकी इस हमदर्दी से हुब्बे-वतनी ने जोर मारा. एकदम एक सेकेंड के लिए अपना दुख-दर्द भूलकर अपने शहर की तहजीब के खयाल में गर्क हो कुछ योंही बदहवास-सा हो गया और कमीज की बांह पकड़कर उसी बदहवासी की हालत में जो आगे बढ़ा, तो नवाब साहब भी पलटे. मेरे एक हल्के-से धक्के से उनकी पतली खुशनुमा, नाजुक छड़ी हाथ से छूटकर गिर पड़ी.

कसम खा के कहता हूं, शर्म से पानी-पानी हो गया. . .

"आह मुआफ फरमाइएगा," कहकर मैंने लपककर उनकी छड़ी उठायी, दामन से साफ किया, होंठो से चूमा और दोनों हाथों में रखकर उनकी तरफ झुका. झुककर नवाब साहब ने छड़ी उठायी, शुक्रिया अदा किया और फिर फरमाया, "आपकी कमीज फट जाने का मुझे निहायत अफसोस हुआ."

उनके सामने कैसे कहता कि अफसोस की बस कुछ पूछिए मत, यहां तो दिल पर छुरियां चल रही हैं. मगर दिली जज्बात को कलेजे पर हाथ रख के रोका और यों अर्ज किया, "अजी वाह, इस जरा-सी बात के लिए अपने दिल को रंज न पहुंचायें. कोई खास बात नहीं. मैं जनाब की इस हमदर्दी के लिए शुक्रिया अदा करने की इजाजत चाहता हूं."

बड़े तपाके के साथ नवाब साहब ने फरमाया, "वल्ला, आप भी . . ." फिर एक लहमे के लिए रुककर जरा जोश के साथ कहा, "माशाअल्ला, क्या शीरीं जबान है, च-हा-हा! जनाब का दौलतखाना?"

"गरीबखाना लखनऊ में है, बंदापरवर!"

बड़े जोश के साथ मेरा हाथ अपने दोनों हाथों में निहायत मुलायमियत से दबाकर कहा, "ओहो, वल्ला, तभी मैं कहूं कि यह लहजा, यह तर्जे गुफ्तगू सिवा हमारे शहर के और कहां आ सकती है? मगर भाईजान, खूब मुलाकात हुई आपसे भी, आप यकीन मानियेगा, वल्ला आंखें तरस उठी थीं अपने हमवतन को देखने के लिए."

निहायत अदब के साथ मैंने अर्ज किया, "हें-हें-हें, मुआफ फरमाइएगा, हुजूर यहां कहां तशरीफ रखते हैं?"

"बंदा यहां जकरिया स्ट्रीट पर कयाम करता है. बात यह है कि मैंने आपसे अर्ज किया न, कि जानआलम नवाब वाजिदअली शाह साहब खुदा उन्हें जन्नत बख्शें, मेरे परबाबाजान थे. जी हां! और अब एक तरह से आप खयाल फरमाइए कि यहीं का बाशिंदा हूं. इधर हाल में ही कोई तीन-चार महीने का वाकया है, लखनऊ गया था. मगर साहब, सच तो यह है कि वहां जाकर अब जी भर आता है. कहां तो अपना शहर; अपनी हकूमत! आप यकीन मानिएगा, वहां जाकर मैं फूट-फूटकर रोया. सब कुछ लुट गया जनाब, आह!" नवाब साहब कुछ देर के लिए शोक में डूब गये.

मुझे अपनी फटी हुई कमीज का जो ध्यान आया तो दिल गले-गले भर आया. निहायत अफसोस के साथ एक सर्द आह खींचकर अर्ज किया, "अरे, वह दिन हवा हुए, जब पसीना गुलाब था. आह, क्या-क्या अरमान था, कितनी हसरतें थीं. सारी रियासत तबाह हो गयी. मगर अब, क्या? एकदम मजनूं की तरह घूम रहे हैं. कहां तो ये हालत थी कि अरबों का कपड़ा उठाकर गरीबों को बांट दिया और चेहरे पर शिकन तक नहीं, और कहां आज यह हालत है कि बस पूछिए मत. जिसकी जैसी इज्जत है, वही बनाये बैठे हैं. मगर अब खुदा की मर्जी में चारा क्या है? जिसकी इज्जत उसने लूट ली, हम तो कहते हैं, भाई लूट लो. तुम्हीं ने बख्शी थी, अब वापस ले रहे हो. खैर, तुम्हारी मर्जी!" कहकर मैंने फिर एक सर्द आह खींची.

नबाव साहब ने बात पटलते हुए कहा, "लखनऊ में आप किस जगह तशरीफ रखते हैं?"

"फिदवी पीटेनाले पर आपके जेर साये परवरिश पाता है."

"क्या फरमाया आपने, पाटेनाले पर? पाटेनाले पर तो मेरे मामूजाद भाई भी रहते हैं. गालिबन आप उनसे वाकिफ भी हों. जनाब फरजंद अली साहब उनका इस्म-मुबारक है."

हलफ उठाकर कहता हूं, इस नाम को अपनी जिंदगी में पहली ही बार सुना था. वजह यह थी कि पाटेनालेवाला अपना जाती मकान जब खंडहर हो गया तभी से वालिद बुजुर्गवार साहब मय अपने बाल-बच्चों के मुफ्तीगंज में किराये के मकान में उठ आये थे. मगर अब इस वक्त तो अपनी, अपने बाप-दादों के बड़प्पन की और नबाव साहब की शान रखनी थी. लिहाजा चट से बोल उठा, "बखूबी जानता हूं साहब! . . . और सच तो यह है कि नबाव साहब के यहां ही मेरी चौबीस घंटे की बैठक है. च-हा-हा-हा, अल्लाताला ने क्या नेक तबीयत उनको बख्शी है! वाह-वाह. खुदा उन्हें सलामत रक्खे, बड़े जिंदादिल आदमी हैं वह भी."

नबाव साहब ने एक बार फिर बड़े जोश के साथ मेरा हाथ दबाया

Funding: Tattva Heritage

और बोले, "ओहो, तब तो आप मेरे अजीज हैं. जनाब का इस्म-शरीफ?"

"खाकसार को 'तस्लीम' लखनवी कहते हैं."

"अक्खा, आप ही तस्लीम साहब हैं. जनाब से नियाज हासिल करने का तो एक अरसे से इश्तियाक था. और फरजंद भाई तो आपकी इस कदर तारीफ करते थे कि बस! यकीन मानिएगा, सचमुच इस वक्त तो तबीयत खुश हो गयी भाईजान! वल्ला देखिए, खुदा की मर्जी! च्-हा-हा-हा. भई फिर कहूंगा कि खूब मिले भाईजान! जिन दिनों मैं लखनऊ गया हुआ था, शायद आपकी वहां तशरीफ नहीं रखते थे."

"जी हां, आप का फरमाना बजा है. उन दिनों देवें-शरीफ का मेला था, वही मुशायरे का इंतजाम था और आपका यह गुलाम उस जलसे की सदारत के लिए गया था, वरना आपसे दीदार हासिल हो जाता."

"और कहिए, फरजंद भाई तो मजे में हैं न?"

"जी हां, अल्लाह का शुक्र है. आपको अक्सर याद किया करते हैं."

नबाव साहब हंसते हुए बोले, "अरे जनाब, हम लोग तो हम-प्याला और हमनिवाला है. आपको शायद मालूम भी हो, भाईचारे से जियादा हम लोग एक-दूसरे के जिगरी दोस्त हैं. और कहिए, उनका लख्तेजिगर महमूद तो मजे में है न? बड़ा शरीफ लड़का है."

"जी हां, बड़ा शरीफ, मगर यकीन मानिए कि मेरा बड़ा अदब करता है, जी हां."

"और वो अब्बासी महरी? भई बड़ी नेक है."

"जी हां, क्या कहने हैं उसके भी. गजब का इखलाक है और ऐसी पुर-मजाक कि वाह! मैं कलकत्ते आने लगा तो तांगा रोक के बोली, मेरे लिए मुर्शिदाबादी साड़ी लाइयेगा. देखिए, भूलियेगा मत."

"और उनका लाल बटेर! आपको मानना होगा साहब, कि उसकी जोड़ का लखनऊ में दूसरा न मिलेगा."

निहायत अफसोस के साथ सांस लेकर मैंने कहा, "अरे जनाब, बस अब कुछ अर्ज नहीं किया जाता. कलेजा मुंह को आ रहा है. आज कोई आठ रोज हुए, अल्लाह करे उस कम्बख्त बिल्ली को जहन्नुम में भी कीड़े नोच-नोचकर खा जायें. खुदा की मर्जी, उसी के हाथों उसे जन्नत बदी थी."

एकाएक चौंककर नवाब साहब ने फरमाया," अरे यह आप क्या फरमा रहे हैं? हाय-हाय, बड़ा प्यारा जानवर था. अब तक उसका चेहरा आंखों के सामने नाच रहा है. क्या नोकीली चोंच थी. और साहब, क्या मस्तानी अदा थी उसकी भी. खैर साहब, जब आप लखनऊ तरीफ ले जायें, तो मेरी तरफ से फरजंद भाई को दिलासा दीजिएगा."

एक-दो मिनट तक चुप रहने के बाद नबाव ने दोनों हाथों से छड़ी को कमर के पीछे रख, पान की गिलौरी को एक गाल से दूसरी तरफ फेरते हुए कहा, "और हाल-चाल क्या है?"

मैंने भी निहायत इतमीनान के साथ जवाब दिया, "और सब अल्लाह का शुक्र है, आपकी नवाजिश है."

"लखनऊ में शायद आप अच्छन टांगेवाले को भी जरूर जानते होंगे. जनाब ऐसा जबर्दस्त पेंच लड़ानेवाला आपको जरा कम मिलेगा. च्-अहा-हा! अभी हाल ही में जब मैं लखनऊ गया था, फरजंद भाई ने कहा, 'मियां इसका भी पेंच देखते जाओ.' हमने हंसकर टाल दिया कि क्या खाकर कोई अब लखनऊ में कनकव्वा उड़ायेगा. कहां तो साहब यह हाल था कि आप यकीन नहीं लायेंगे, मेरे वालिद साहब मरहूम ने एक बार हुसेनाबादवाले लड्डन नबाब से मैदान बदा. आप यकीन मानें आंखों देखी बात अर्ज कर रहा हूं. वो-वो पेंच लड़े थे कि बस आपसे क्या अर्ज करूं. सारा शहर खड़ा-खड़ा देख रहा था और साहब, लड्डन नबाव ने जो झल्लाकर पौनतावा जन्न से मैदान में उतारा तो बससारा शहर एक मुंह से यही कह उठा कि भाई, बाजी इस बार लड्डन नबाब के हाथ रहेगी. मगर वाह रे मेरे अब्बाजान. खुदा उन्हें जन्नत बख्शें, तीन दिन और तीन रात तक वह ऐसा नचाते रहे कि बस अब आपसे क्या अर्ज करूं. . . . देखनेवालों ने अपनी-अपनी उंगलियां काट लीं. और फिर

". . . क्या बताऊं हजरत, गरीब समझकर मैंने इसे पनाह दी, अपनी बीवी की तरह रखता हूं. मगर . . ." वाजिदअली शाह की मुगलिया शान-शौकत को सपने के भ्रम की तरह पालते हुए नवाबी-आब के लोगों की जीवनशैली को रेखांकित करती एक संवेदनशील व्यंग्य-रचना. . .

चौथे दिन उन्होंने नबाव लड्डन को छकाकर वो कन्ने पर लपेट मारा कि पौनतावा सर-से गायब. . . यानी कि आप यकीन मानें, बड़े-बड़े सिन-रसीदा बुजुर्गवार भी कह उठे कि भई, ऐसे पेंच तो हमने जिंदगीभर नहीं देखे थे."

गर्ज की बातें करते हम लोग जकरिया स्ट्रीट तक पहुंचे ही थे कि एकाएक इस जन्नाटे से पानी आया कि बस आपको क्या अर्ज करूं. हम लोग एक दूकान के बरामदे के नीचे खड़े हो गये. अनकरीब पंद्रह मिनट तक हम लोग वहीं खड़े रहें. आखिरकार नवाब साहब ने ऊबकर कहा, "आइए जनाब, अब हम लोग यहां कब तक खड़े रहें? इसी बिल्डिंग के तीन तल्ले पर मेरे एक अजीज रहते हैं. चलिए, वहीं आराम किया जाये."

यह कहते हुए नबाव आगे बढ़े, मैं भी उनके पीछे ही पीछे चला. दो-तीन सीढ़ी घूमकर एक कमरे के दरवाजे पर खड़े हो नबाव साहब ने आवाज लगायी, "अमां बच्छन हैं?"

अंदर से एक लड़के ने जवाब दिया, "जी, आ रहा हूं अब्बाजान."

निहायत गुस्से में नाक-भौं सिकोड़कर नबाब साहब ने अपनी छड़ी दरवाजे पर ठोंककर कहा, "लहौलविलाकूवत? अबे चुप!"

बच्छन ने दरवाजा खोलते हुए नबाब साहब से कहा, "ऐ अब्बा, आज जरी चुपके से रहियेगा. अम्मीजान आज बड़ी खफा हो रही हैं."

मैं नबाब साहब के पीछे खड़ा था. इसलिए पहली झलक में बच्छन शायद मुझे देख न पाया. नबाब बच्छन साहब छह पैबंदों से जुड़ा हुआ मैला पाजामा पहने हुए, नंगे बदन, गले और बांहों में आठ-दस गंडे तावीज बांधे खड़े थे.

नबाब साहब ने झल्लाकर फरमाया, "अबे चुप, अम्मीजान का बच्चा कहीं का. मैं क्या कोई तेरा सचमुच का बाप हूं?"

एकाएक घर से एक तेज आवाज सुनायी पड़ी, "ऐ, मैं कहे देती हूं, जो तुम मुझे इस तरह कोसोगे तो अच्छा न होगा. ऐ-हां, ये तुम्हारे लड़के नहीं तो कहीं गैब से आये हैं."

नबाव साहब खड़े-खड़े गुस्से से कांप रहे थे कि अंदर से रोते हुए बेगम ने फरमाया, "उई अल्लाह, तुमने मुझे कैसी आफत में फंसा दिया. तीन-तीन दिन से फाके करो और ऊपर से ये गालियां सुनो. . ."

नबाव साहब गुस्से से तिलमिला रहे थे कि मैंने उनकी पीठ पर निहायत मुलायमियत के साथ हाथ रख अर्ज किया, "अच्छा, अब इजाजत दें. मुझे जरा एक काम है. फिर कभी. . . "

नबाव साहब ने झेंपते हुए मेरा हाथ पकड़कर निहायत खिसियायी हुई आवाज में कहा, "जाइयेगा! अच्छा. . . देखिए कुछ खयाल न कीजियेगा हजरत."

सीढ़ी तक मुझे पहुंचाने आकर नबाव साहब ने धीरे से कहा, "क्या बताऊं हजरत, गरीब समझकर मैंने इसे पनाह दी, अपनी बीवी की तरह रखता हूं मगर. . ."

बात काटकर, हाथ छुड़ाते हुए मैंने अर्ज किया, "मैं सब समझता हूं, लेकिन आप मेरी तरफ से इतमीनान रखें."

कहते हुए मैं नीचे उतर आया. □

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अमृतलाल नागर की व्यंग्य रचनाएं : दो

जुलाब की गोली

"कल तो जनाब वो हंगामा मच गया कि उफ! उफ!! अजी बस, पूछिए मत!... वह तो कहिए कि खुदा ने कुछ नजरबंद से बचा ही लिया... मौके पर हम न थे... वरना तलवारों पर मूंठें ही बचतीं या घड़ों पर सिर ही सलामतियां मनाते नजर आते."

'सुना साहब चौक में गुल खिला.' एक ने कहा, 'कोठा उलट गया.' दूसरे ने उसमें कुछ सुधार किया, कहने लगे, 'अजी नहीं भाईजान, उलटा नहीं, बस उलटकर रह गया.' तीसरे तशरीफ लाये, दिल पर हाथ रखा, जरा-सी एक सर्द आह खींची, कुछ आंखों में नमी थी, कुछ गले में गुबार उभरे थे, बोले, 'हाय! छुन्नन कोठे से गिर पड़ी. बीच-बाज़ार में कई सिरों पर गिरी. दिल था सो उछल के निकल पड़ा, आंखें जो फिरीं तो फिर मिलना नसीब न हुआ, धुरपद का खयाल गले में अटक के ही रह गया. उसके सच्चे आशिकों ने जो सुना तो इस वक्त खबर यह है कि अपने-अपने घरों में उनकी लाशें फांसी में लटक रही हैं.'

"बी छुन्नन का नाम! और हमारा नाम उसके आशिकों की लिस्ट में. अजी सुनना था कि दिल पे बन आयी. अब लाख-लाख सर्द आहें निकालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं. आंखों में सावन-भादों बसाना चाहते हैं, मगर जान है कि कम्बख्त निकलने को नहीं आती. इधर आशिकों के नाम पर बट्टा लगता है, और घर में फांसी लगाने लायक जगह नहीं. इरादा यह भी हुआ कि खबर लानेवाले साहब को हलाल करके रख दें. सरकार खुद ही हमारे लिए फांसी का इंतजाम कर देगी. वह तो कहिए कि हजरत किस्मत के धनी निकले. हम पैदाइशी बेकार हैं, सब्जी बनती ही नहीं, घर में छुरी रक्खी ही किसलिए जाये? और अब तो खुदा के फजल से चेहरे पर नूर भी है. पनामा ब्लेड क्या, उसकी एक किर्च भी पास में नहीं. बच गये".

"गम का यह हाल कि उमड़ता ही चला आया, गोया समंदर हो और हम थे कि उस जमाने की याद कर-करके मजनूं हुए जाते थे. जब जवानी का नया दौर ही चला था और छुन्नन का नाम हमारे कानों में बंसी की तरह बजता था—एक दिन महफिल में छोटे नबाव की बदौलत दूर से देख भी लिया था और सीने में एक लोटन-कबूतर पाल लाये थे..."

"वो उसके जिगर को चीरकर निकली हुई चीख! हाय! एक-एक लफ्ज अब तक मिस्ले-तावीज दिल पर नक्श है."

'...तुम अइयो कान्हा नदिया किनारे मोरा गांव.'

"अजी गया; मगर जाने से क्या होता है... चौक के चौराहे पर पनवाड़ी की दूकान के सामने दुन्नी उस्ताद मिल गये. उनसे कहा कि भई तुम दो दिलों को जोड़ने के लिए सरेस बन जाओ. बोले—मियां, सोना महंगा है, पचास का भाव है, दस-पांच और लगे-लिपटे में."

"मन मसोस के रह गया. बेकारी तीन पुश्त से विरासत में चली आ रही है. हम तो खम ठोक के सरे-बाजार पुकारते चलते हैं कि हमें कोई ऐरा-गैरा न समझना, खानदानी बेकार हैं जनाब. कभी हमारे पुरखे भी गोटे-पट्ठे का काम करते थे. एक-एक गुलबदन निखर उठती थी. मगर जनाब, अब तो न गुलाब है, न गुलाब लेडियां हैं. गोटे-पट्ठे ठंडे पड़ गये, लिपस्टिक की आमद में पन्ना की लाली मुरझायी, केले की सिल्क चली और दस्तकारी साफ. अब तो हाल यह है दादियों के मुंह से उस जमाने की गढ़तें सुनते हैं; कभी-कभी बूढ़े की

Funding: Tattva Heritage and

इस बीच में जनाब, दरवाजे की पीछे फिरोजाबाद की कारगरी झुनझुना उठी. पहले एक आवाज ने होश फना किये, फिर एक गोरे-से हाथ ने निकलकर मेरे दिल की हरकत बंद की. हाथ में एक खत था, जो मुझे पढ़कर सुनाने के लिए दिया गया. खत जो पढ़ने लगा तो दिमाग की बातें झनझना उठीं. धीरे-धीरे . . . क्या अर्ज करूं. . . !—कोठों के संदर्भ में पलपतो जीवन की विसंगतियों को उजागर करती व्यंग्य-रचना . . . .

खुराक के लिए पुराने बेल-फूलों के बचे-खुचे ठप्पे निकालते हैं तो वाजिद-अली शाह के जमाने के 'धुन' सन् सत्तावन के गदर की याद कर बिल-बिलाते हुए चूल्हे के जोशो-जज्बात से दूर भागते हैं. . ."

"बताइए फिर भला छुन्नन हमारे पास क्यों कर आती?". . .

"एक बार सुना कि संवलिया नबाव की बारहदरी में छुन्नन छूम-छनन करेगी. धक्के खाये, गले में हाथ पड़े; वो प्यारी-प्यारी आवाज नसीब कहां, दरबान की गालियां अलबत्ता सुनीं. मगर वाह रे हम, किसी का एक भी मर्रा न चला. वहीं दीवार में दुबककर बैठे रहे. वो चिल्ले की रात फकत मजलिसी-रईसों के कीमती गर्म कपड़ों का ध्यान करके काट दी. बीच-बीच में छुन्नन के सुरीले गले की दाद जब दी जाती तो हम जी उठते. तबीयत इस तरह बाग-बाग हो उठती, कि हम गोया अपनी खास बीवी की ही तारीफ सुन रहे हों. . ."

"तारों ने झपकी ली और महफिल उठी. रईस रुखसत हुए और हमारी आंखें बी छुन्नन के इंतजार में छिप गयीं. चिड़ियों ने चहकना शुरू किया. नबाव छुन्नन को डोले तक खुद पहुंचाने तशरीफ लाये. हमने झुककर सलाम किया. नबाव समझे, हमने उनकी इज्जत बढ़ायी. उन्होंने जवाब दिया. बी छुन्नन ने तभी एक बार हमसे भी नजरें मिलायी थीं. . ."

"वो दिन है और आज का रोज. . . कलेजे में जो तीर धंसा तो अब निकलता ही नहीं. अब ये खबर जो सुनी तो क्या नाम है कि उस्ताद के कलाम का निचोड़, कि मौत तो किसी न किसी दिन आ ही मिलेगी मगर रात की नींद तो हमारे लिए छुन्नन हो गयी!"

"गम किसी तरह भी गलत ही न हो. इरादा किया, जाकर आखिरी बार की झांकी लें, मगर सुना कि लाश कोठे पर उठ गयी. बात सुनने के लिए जो सिर उठाया था सो उठाये ही रहे. फिर एक बात दिमाग में आयी तो खुद उठे. गिड़गिड़ाते हुए जाकर बेगम से कहा, 'एक चवन्नी दे दो.' बेगम खुदा जाने क्यों, उस दिन मुझ पर मिहरबान थीं या क्या. . . बहर-हाल बात-बात में चहकी पड़ती थीं! गमककर उठीं. पहले पान की दो बीड़ियां लगाकर खिलायीं, फिर कमर से बटुआ निकालकर चार चेहरेशाही पकड़ा दिये. . ."

"अजी, जिंदगी में न कभी देखी न सुनी. ऐसी सखावत कि राजा करन भी मात. अब साहब गम को तो किया जेरे-पाकिट और चमक के पूछता हूं; "बेगम, मुझे. . .?"

'मुस्करा के बोलीं, हां.'

"अब हम हैं कि कलेजा थामे खड़े हैं और लक-लक बेगम के चेहरे पर आंखें चिपकी हैं."

"और कैसे अर्ज करूं कि अपने मुंह से कहते शर्म आती है. आप कहेंगे कि अपने माल की आप तारीफ की. मगर असलियत यह है कि अगर तवायफ होती तो हिंदुस्तान के नौजवान कट मरते और शाहजादी होती तो अब तक दुनिया के शहंशाह कब्रों में आराम फरमाते होते. मगर किस्मत तो हमारी खुलने की थी कि अगर आज इससे शादी न होती या इसका ऐसा इखलाक न होता तो हजरत, आज हमको कब्रिस्तान की जमीन नापे बरसों गुजर गये होते. कुछ उसी की किस्मत है कि इज्जत की दो रोटियां मिलती हैं. कभी गुनगुना देती है तो राग-रागनियां हाथ बांध-कर खड़ी हो जाती हैं. जब हंसती है तो यकीन मानें बिजली झेंपकर रह जाती है. खानदान इतना ऊंचा कि बड़े-बड़े नवाब उसके रिश्तेदार. . . कोई चचाजाद तो कोई बुआजाद भाई. रोज ही कहीं न कहीं जाना-आना. हम गरीब हैं इसलिए बहुत से नवाब छिपकर हमारे यहां आते हैं. कुछ न कुछ अपनी बहन को दे-ले जाते हैं. यह जनाब उसका इखलाक है कि बड़े-बड़ों को घसीट लाता है. समझे कि नवाब छुट्टन और नवाब बच्छन और नवाब अच्छन और छोटे नवाब और कल्लन नवाब और बड़े-बड़े खांबहादुर और डिप्टी कलक्टर गर्जे कि कच्चे धागे में चले आते हैं सरकार बंधे. सलीके और फैशन की तो यह हालत है कि जब कभी दिल खुश करने के लिए ऊंची एड़ी का जूता पहन, घर में छाता तानकर खड़ी हो जाती है तो बड़ी-बड़ी लेडियां उसके आगे पानी भरें. वैसे देखने में कुछ नहीं, एक फकत जरा-सी जुलाब की गोली-सी है. कोई देखे तो कहे, ज्यादा से ज्यादा साढ़े बारह बरस की होगी. मगर हमारा दिल तो छुन्नन के छपके में बिंधा है भाईजान, बेगम की तरफ कुछ खयाल ही कम जाता है". . .

"तो जनाब, जो उसने चोर रुपये मुझे टिकाये तो मैं हक्का-बक्का हो पूछ बैठा, "बेगम, आज इतनी इनायत क्यों?"

"बोलीं, वो कलमुंही छुन्नन सुना कोठे से गिरी और कालामुंह कर गयी. अब गुल्लन भाईजान के सिर की बला टली. मैं खुश हूं."

"मैं समझा. नवाब गुल्लन साहब भी बेगम के मामूजाद भाई हैं. छुन्नन पर जी-जान से फिदा. उनकी तमाम दौलत मेरी जान के कोठे में खिसकी जाती थी. इसे कुछ न कुछ मिलता था. इसी से बेगम छुन्नन से कटती थीं. मेरे दिल पर चोट तो लगी, मगर चुप रहा. . ."

पूरे दो घंटे बाद मियां की ट्रेन रुकी. यह कोई एक हफ्ते पहले की बात है. कंपनी बाग में कोने की बेंच पर बैठा एक मजमून लिख रहा था. अचानक यह महीन-से मियां तशरीफ लाये. पहले कुछ तकुल्लुफ किया. बेमौके आ टपकने की मुआफी मांगी. मगर मजबूरी जाहिर की—दिमाग परेशान होने की वजह से वह भी सन्नाटे की जगह बैठकर ठंडे होना चाहते थे. बेंच के एक कोने में बैठने की इजाजत मांगी. फिर किस्से शुरू किये और फिर धीरे-से इस आशिक-बयानी पर उतर आये.

थोड़े ही में कह दूं, हजरत मुझसे फिर इस कदर खुश हुए कि उसी वक्त अपने घर चलने के लिए मजबूर किया. कहने लगे, "अगर आप तशरीफ न ले चले तो मैं समझूंगा कि गरीबों का दुनिया में कोई नहीं."

लिहाजा साहब, मैं गरीबों का सब कुछ बन उनके दौलतखाने पर गया. गली, मकान सब कुछ वाजिब ही वाजिब था. मगर हम थे कि कुछ तकल्लुफ में बैठे बातें कर रहे थे. एकाएक हजरत दो मिनट की इजाजत लेकर कहीं बाहर गये.

इसी बीच में जनाब, दरवाजे के पीछे फिरोजाबाद की कारीगरी झुनझुना उठी. पहले एक आवाज ने होश फना किये; फिर एक गोरे-से हाथ ने निकलकर मेरे दिल की हरकत बंद की. हाथ में एक खत था, जो मुझे पढ़कर सुनाने के लिए दिया गया. खत जो पढने लगा तो दिमाग की बातें झनझना उठीं.

. . . धीरे-धीरे. . . क्या अर्ज करूं. बस, यही समझ लें कि अब मैं भी मियां की बेगम के रिश्तेदारों में हूं. हफ्ते-भर में तीन बार तो अपनी इस खालाजाद बहन से मिल आया हूं. रिश्तेदारी दिन-ब-दिन रंग पकड़ रही है जनाब! □

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मेरा कलाकार नागरजी का ही दिया हुआ है...

विजय बोस

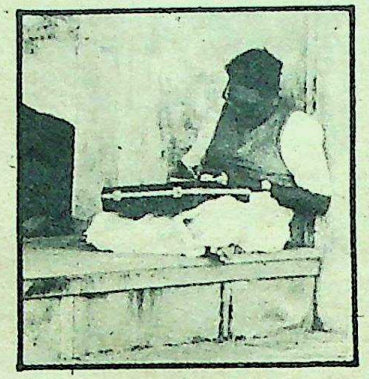
हिंदी में टाइप किया हुआ आपका पत्र मेरे सामने है... और नागरजी मेरे दिमाग में हैं. सच, मैं नागरजी को तबसे जानता हूं—जब हिंदी टाइपराइटर नहीं निकला था. सन् पचास के बाद की पीढ़ी यह तो जानती है कि नागरजी कथाकार, उपन्यासकार और नाटककार हैं, लेकिन यह नहीं जानती होगी कि वह कुशल अभिनेता और निर्देशक भी हैं. यह कहना बड़ा मुश्किल है कि नागरजी लेखक के रूप में अच्छे हैं कि अभिनेता या निर्देशक या इंसान के रूप में अच्छे हैं. दरअसल, ये सारे रंग इंद्रधनुष के हैं.

मैं सन् 1947 में आकाशवाणी लखनऊ में कैजुअल ड्रामा आर्टिस्ट चुन लिया गया था. अवस्था रही होगी यही कोई 19 वर्ष. बिना किसी सिफारिश के मैंने ध्वनि परीक्षा पास कर ली तो हौसला बढ़ गया. अक्सर किसी न किसी नाटक में भाग लेने का बुलावा आने लगा. तभी एक दिन मुझे पता चला कि मुझे अमृतलाल नागर के नाटक में भाग लेना है, और नाटक का निर्देशन नागरजी स्वयं करेंगे. तब तक नागरजी के बारे में मैंने सुना ही सुना था, उन्हें देखा नहीं था. हां, उनकी रचनाएं खूब पढ़ी थीं. इसलिए मन में मिलने की उत्कंठा थी.

वह घड़ी भी आयी. पहली रिहर्सल के लिए नागरजी पधारे. कलाकारों से उनका परिचय कराया गया. मैं उनके लिए बिल्कुल नया था. मेरा नाम सुनकर पहले वह बुदबुदाये—विजय बोस. फिर मुस्कुराये और मेरी ओर देखकर बोले, "कलकत्ते के तो नहीं हैं?" मैंने कहा, "जी नहीं, उत्तरप्रदेश-वाला हूं... शिक्षा-दीक्षा लखनऊ में ही हुई है." नागरजी बोले, "तब ठीक है. प्रवासी बंगाली तो अशोक कुमार भी हैं. एस. एन. बैनर्जी भी हैं. क्या सलीके की हिंदी बोलते हैं." फिर ढेरों बातें दोनों फिल्मी कलाकारों के बारे में बतायीं. दोनो की प्रशंसा की.

रिहर्सल शरू हुई. पहले उन्होंने नाटक की रीडिंग करायी. फिर स्क्रिप्ट ठीक करायी. हम लोग पेंसिल द्वारा कार्बन लगाकर कापी करने में जुट गये. जब तक मैं कार्बन-कापी करता रहा, बराबर यह महसूस करता रहा कि घूम-फिरकर नागरजी मेरे ही पन्नों को निहार रहे हैं. बाद में यह बात खुल भी गयी, जब उन्होंने यह कहा कि भाई मैं सोच रहा था कि बोलने में तो आप शुद्ध-शुद्ध बोल लेते हैं, लेकिन क्या लिखने में भी शुद्ध हिंदी लिख लेते हैं. सचमुच, मुझे आपकी लिखावट से काफी संतोष मिला.

मेरे पात्र की वायस-ऐज थी लगभग 20 और 25 वर्ष के बीच के युवक की. रेडियो नाटक के कलाकार की वास्तविक उम्र चाहे जो कुछ भी हो पर आवाज पात्र के अनुरूप होनी चाहिए. जब मेरा नंबर आया तो मैंने अपने-आपको बिल्कुल गीली मिट्टी के रूप में नागरजी के सामने प्रस्तुत किया, इस आशा और विश्वास के साथ कि मुझे गढ़ो और ढालो अपने वास्तविक चरित्र के सांचे में. एक बार नागरजी ने मेरा रोल स्वयं किया फिर अपने साथ-साथ वही रोल मुझसे कराया और तीसरी बार मैंने रोल स्वयं अकेले किया. नागरजी ने मेरी पीठ थपथपायी, "शाबाश... बहुत अच्छे!" उन दिनों नाटक सजीव यानी लाइव ही प्रसारित हुआ करते थे. वह नाटक भी सजीव ही प्रसारित हुआ. पूरी टीम ने अच्छा काम किया था. मेरे आश्चर्य का ठिकाना नहीं था कि अकेले एक आदमी में इतने सारे चरित्रों का समावेश कैसे हो गया है—क्योंकि हर चरित्र की वास्तविक भूमिका करके नागरजी ने हम सबको अभिभूत कर दिया था. उस दिन मुझे यह विश्वास हो गया कि सचमुच नागरजी अपने-आप में एक रंगमंच हैं. पता नहीं, क्यों उस नाटक से मैं नागरजी को इतना भा गया कि उसके बाद और भी दो नाटक नागरजी ने प्रस्तुत किये और उन दोनों में ही मुझे रखा. इसके बाद मैं फरवरी 1949 में, आकाशवाणी इलाहाबाद में विभागीय



कलाकार (ड्रामा वायस) के रूप में नियुक्त हो गया. नागरजी का संग-साथ छूट गया. हालांकि इलाहाबाद शहर भी उन दिनों साहित्यिक-सांस्कृतिक हलचल का मुख्य केंद्र बना हुआ था, फिर भी नागरजी की कमी मुझे खटकती थी... लेकिन तुलसी दास ने जो लिखा है—'जेहि पर जाकर सत्य नेहू, मिलहिं सो तेहि कछु संदेहू.' वही हुआ.

सितंबर सन्, 1955 में महादेवी वर्मा, उमा राव, स्व. सी. बी राव और इलाहाबाद के अनेकानेक साहित्यकारों ने मिलकर एक नाट्य संस्था को जन्म दिया. नाम रखा 'रंगवाणी'. संस्था की ओर से पहला नाटक भारतेंदु बाबू हरिश्चंद्र की जन्मशती के उपलक्ष में खेलने की बात तय हुई. यह भी तय हुआ कि यह नाटक भारतेंदुजी के जीवन पर आधारित होगा. इसके लेखन और निर्देशन का भार सौंपा गया नागरजी को. निश्चित समय पर नागरजी नाटक सहित इलाहाबाद पधारे. छह-सात वर्षों के अंतराल के बाद भी नागरजी के दिल-दिमाग मे मेरा नाम था. उन्होंने आते ही 'विजय बोस' को यानी मुझे बुलवाया. नागरजी से मिलते समय मुझे लगा, मैं अपने पैतृक स्थान, जिसे छोड़ आया हूं, लखनऊ से मिल रहा हूं. बहुत देर तक बातें होती रहीं... और बात ही बात में नागरजी ने मुझे भारतेंदु हरिश्चंद्र का रोल दे दिया.

नाटक के लिए नागरजी ने जितनी मेहनत की वह इलाहबाद के रंगकर्मी आज भी नहीं भूले हैं. और यह रिकार्ड अभी भी कायम है. तब इलाहाबाद में हिंदी रंगमंच इतना विकसित नहीं हुआ था, लेकिन केवल अपनी सूझ बूझ और मेहनत की बदौलत नागरजी ने चार चांद लगा दिये कि बरबस लोगों की आंखें खुली की खुली रह गयीं. कई दर्शकों ने तो यहां तक कहा कि नागरजी लखनऊ के हो ही नहीं सकते. बनारस के बारे में इतनी बारीक जानकारी रखने का मतलब है कि नागरजी बनारस से जुड़े हैं. मगर बहुत कम लोगों को यह पता होगा कि जब भारतेंदु बाबू पर नाटक लिखने का प्रस्ताव नागरजी के पास गया तो स्वीकृति तो उन्होंने तुरंत दे दी, लेकिन दूसरे ही दिन बिस्तर-बंद बांधकर बनारस रवाना हो गये... सिर्फ यह जानने और समझने के लिए कि बनारस है क्या! उसकी आत्मा कैसी है, उसकी वास्तविक पहचान क्या है और भारतेंदुजी ने कैसे जिया बनारस को? अव्यवसायिक मंच की उन तमाम कठिनाइयों को, जिनसे ज्यादातर लोग भाग खड़े होते हैं, नागरजी ने हंसते-हंसते सुलझा दिया. बनारस के बाजार का सीन जिस भांति उन्होंने जाली के पर्दे पर चित्रित करवाकर, उचित प्रकाश व्यवस्था से प्रस्तुत कर दिया कि लोग दांतों तले उंगली दबाये रह गये.

सच पूछिए, तो मेरा 'कलाकार' नागरजी का ही दिया हुआ है. मैं 'विजय बोस' तो दुनिया के लिए हूं, लेकिन मेरा कलाकार 'विजय बोस' केवल नागरजी का आशीर्वाद है. नागरजी शतायु हों, यही मेरी मंगल कामना है. □

Funding: Tattva Heritage

अमृतलाल नागर की व्यंग्य-रचनाएं : तीन

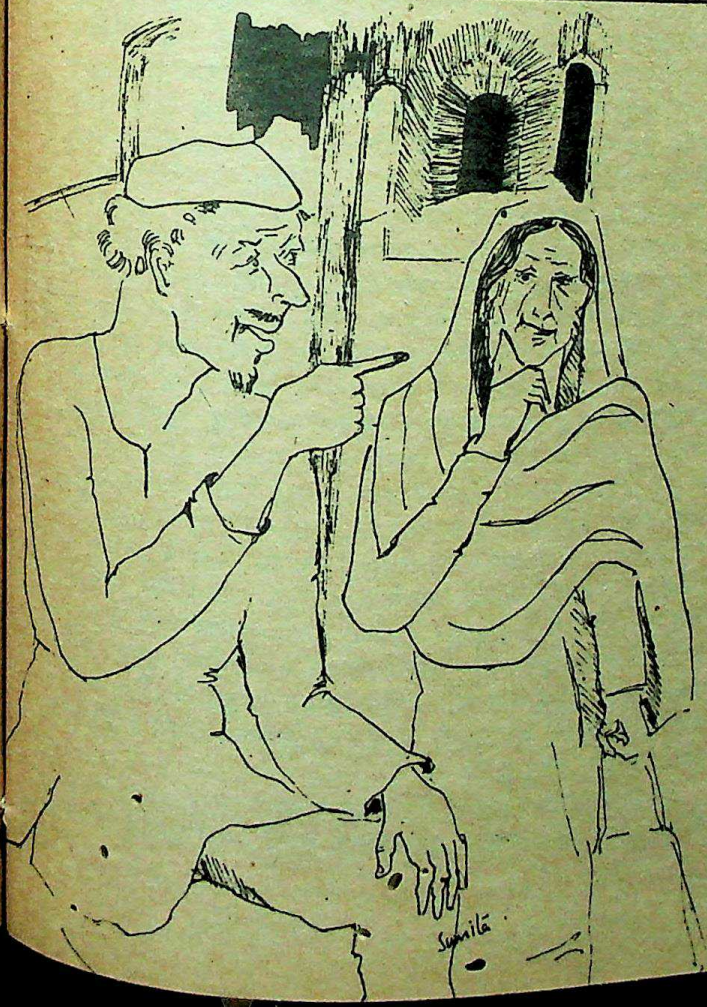
नजीर मियां

"न कोई आल, न औलाद, न जोरू न जांता, न कोई शौक. क्या कहें, पचास हजार की जायदाद है और यह दिल... हम हथेली पे लिये घूमते हैं. मगर कोई दिल का नाज उठाने-वाली ही न मिली. यों माल हड़पने के लिए चोंचले सब दिखाती हैं."—व्यंग्यात्मक रूप से लिखा गया व्यक्तिचित्र जिसे पढ़ते-पढ़ते लगता है कि नजीर मियां तो मानो हमारे आसपास ही रहते हैं...

पहले तस्लीम करता हूं उस रब्बुल-आलमीन अलख-निरंजन को कि जिसके पास अब तलक रूसी-अमरीकी राकेट नहीं पहुंच पाये. हजार बार अनगिनत सिजदे उस साई सिरजनहार के नाम पर कि जिसने जगमग सितारों-जड़ा अनोखी आब व आनवाला ये अचंभे के बच्चे-सा खल्क रचा; उसमें हिंद जैसा मुल्क सरजा, उसमें माशूक की कनखियों जैसी आड़े–तिरछे छिलनेवाली बड़ी नाजो–अदावाली चंचल, शोख पतली कमर बल खाय कि तस्वीर खेंचती हुई जलपरी-सी गोमती नदी बनायी, उसके किनारे शहर लखनऊ बसाया, उसमें बाजार नखास आबाद किया और नखास में नजीर मियां को बेलगाम छोड़ दिया कि जिनका सिन सत्तर की ढैया छू रहा है और दिल अब भी सत्रह की अंगनाई में ही गिल्ली-डंडा खेलता है.

आज तक किसी ने न तो नजीर मियां की बोलती बंद होती देखी है और न ही पैर थमते देखा है. इनका अपना कोई नहीं मगर ये सबके हैं. जिंदगी बीत गयी. अपना कोई काम नहीं किया मगर गली के आठ-दस घरों के बड़े मियां हैं. किसी दुलहन, किसी बेटी ने बुलवाया कि नजीर मियां ये ला दीजिए और वो ला दीजिए, तो चौक, अमीना-बाद दौड़े जा रहे हैं, पुराने माशूकों के आटा-दाल, गेहूं-गोश्त ला रहे हैं. सब जनी कसमें दिला-दिला के कहती हैं कि नजीर मियां जल्दी लौट आइयेगा. सबको ये भी कसमें खा-खाकर यकीन दिलाते हैं कि जल्दी लौट आऊंगा, मगर गली-सड़क में आते ही बातों का ऐसा नशा चढ़ता है कि वक्त का ध्यान किस मरदूद को रहता है! गली से बाहर आते ही दाहिनी ओर वाली बाजार की पांच दूकानों के ये नवाब-मुल्क हैं. वहां पचास काम निकल पड़ते हैं, पचास रोकने-टोकने-वाले मिल जाते हैं. फिर दुलहनें, बेटियां और माशूकाएं इनके नाम पर मले झीखा करें, घड़ी देखा करें, कोसें, झुंझलायें, मगर नजीर मियां बेचारे बेबस हो जाते हैं. क्या करें?

अभी पारसाल की बात है. करामात हुसैन की लड़कियों ने अमीनाबाद से कोर्स की किताबें लाने को कहा. 'हां, अभी लाता हूं.' में चार दिन टल गये. अजरा ने इन्हें घेरकर आंखों में आंसू भरकर कहा कि बड़े मियां, आज जरूर ले आइयेगा, वरना कल स्कूल में मेरी बड़ी किरकिरी होगी. नजीर मियां कसद करके निकले कि आज लेके ही लौटूंगा. लोगों से आमना-सामना बचाने की गरज से ही पिछवाड़े-वाली गली से ही होकर टाट-पट्टी यहियागंज नापते हुए, नादानमहल रोड से बस पर सवार हुए. इस तरह अमीनाबाद पहुंचकर तसल्ली हुई कि चलो, अब किताबें खरीदते क्या देर लगती है. किताबों की दूकान पर भीड़ में लाइन लगाकर खड़े हुए. पीछे एक जज साहब के अर्दली यारअली भी आ खड़े हुए. विल्ले-चपरासवाले हमउम्र से नजीर मियां बातें किये बगैर भला क्योंकर रह सकते थे? थोड़ी देर में सब



कुछ पूछ डाला. मालूम हुआ यारअली का एक लड़का तो सेक्रेटेरियट में चपरासी है मगर दूसरे का कहीं डौल नहीं बैठा. वो बड़ा हुनरमंद है. उसने एक ऐसा खास जरूरत का नायाब साबुन बनाया है कि चमड़ी जलती नहीं और असर जादू का-सा होता है. कई चीजें बनायी हैं. यारअली ने इस धंधे में फायदा देखकर पांच सौ रुपया लगाया मगर अब वो फंसा है. क्योंकि लड़का बेचने का हुनर नहीं जानता. नजीर मियां छूटते ही बोले, "मैं बेच दूंगा, परसों इतवार है. नखास में मेला लगता है. सौ टिकियां तो उसी दिन बेच दूंगा. तुम बस सैंनबोट बनवा दो मुझे.....तबीयत का."

"मगर सैंनबोट बनवाने में भी मियां कुछ वक्त तो आखिर लगेगा ही और इतवार तो परसों है."

नजीर मियां हंसकर बोले, "अजी, आपने भी क्या फिक्र पाली है. मैं कहता हूं, बिरादर, कि जरूरत के हिसाब से थैलियों का डांस पुरोगाम करवाते रहिए तो बारह घंटे में मैं चांद को धरती पर उतार लाऊंगा. ये सैंनबोट क्या चीज है! रुपये पच्चीस खर्च होंगे आपके. आर्ट कालिज के डिजैन पर एक हसीना की फोटू बनेगी उसमें. माशूक छाप साबुन की खातिर किसी माशूक की फोटू भी होनी चाहिए. मैं बनवा दूंगा. इतवार की सुबह आप उसे सिकंदर आफ इंडिया की दूकान पर टंगा पायेंगे. पच्चीस रुपये ये और दस-पांच रुपये पन्नी कागज वगैरा....."

"अजी पैकिंग-वैकिंग सब बड़ी सुपर फैन किसिम की हुई है, पांच सौ टिकियां बनी रक्खी हैं. मक्खीमार पौडर भी तैयार है."

"अजी, तब तो जनाब यारअली साहब, आप नज़ीर मियां हुसैन को चुनौती दे रहे हैं. माशूक छाप साबुन और मक्खीमार पौडर बना के आपका लड़का बेकार रहे और वो भी इस खाकसार के रहते! अजी खुदा चाहेगा तो परसों ही आपके हाथ में सौ नहीं तो पिछत्तर

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

रुपये जरूर रख दूंगा. जो मुनासिब कमीशन हो वह दे दीजिएगा. चलिए अल्ला-अल्ला, खैर-सल्ला. और यह तो एक दिन की बात हुई जनाबेमन, खुदा झूठ न बुलवाये, एक महीने में इनकम-टैक्सवाला तुम्हारे पीछे-पीछे न दौड़ने लगे तो कहना. तुमने अभी हमें पहचाना नहीं है, अजीजमन !"

दुबले-पतले मुनहने—से नजीर मियां हैं मगर उनके बदन में बिजली दौड़ती है. जो बात कहते हैं वह उनकी आंखों में, चेहरे पर हाथ-पैर में अजो-अजो में तस्वीर बनकर फड़क उठती है. होंठों की दोनों कोरों पर नीचे की ओर झुकती हुई कत्थे की दो लकीरें मानो पैदाइशी निशान-सी ही चेहरे का एक अंग बन गयी हैं. उनका पान से सदा फूला रहने-वाला गाल और होंठो की ये लकीरें इनकम-टैक्सवाली बात कहते हुए अपनी शान जताकर इतमीनान दिलाने की अदा में कुछ यों उचकीं-बिचकीं कि यारअली को हंसी आ गयी. वे बोले, "तुम खूब मिले उस्ताद. अमां रहते कहां हो ?"

"नखास में. वहां जिससे चाहें पूछ लीजिए. आपको हर कोई मेरी हिस्ट्री बतला देगा. जनाब आबिद हुसैन साहब मरहूम, डिप्टी कलक्टर खुदा जन्नत में भी सदा उनका रुतबा बुलंद करे, मेरे वालिद थे. वालिदा मेरी यहां की मशहूर डेरेदार थीं. उन्हीं डिप्टी साहब ने एक मकान बनवा दिया था. उसी में सड़क की तरफ दो दूकानें भी हैं. घर की एक कोठरी में पड़ा रहता हूं. बाकी मकान किराये पर उठा दिया है. दूकानों से भी किराया आता है. अकेले दम के लिए बहुत काफी है. मैं तो कहता हूं हुजूरेवाला, ऊपरवाले का शुकर है, आज तलक किसी के आगे हाथ नहीं फैलाया. इसीलिए कहता हूं, भाईजान, जहां पांच सौ फंसे हैं वहां पच्चीस-तीस और फंसा दो. न उबरें तो बीच चौराहे पर मेरा हाथ पकड़ लेना. मगर उसकी आपको जरूरत ही न पड़ेगी. अल्लाह चाहेगा तो परसों करिश्मा दिखला दूंगा."

यारअली सोचने लगे, फिर दाढ़ी पर हाथ फेरते हुए कहा, "आप मेरे घर पर तशरीफ ले चलिए. तकलीफ तो होगी मियां, मगर वहां दोनों लड़के होंगे. सारा हेसनेस हो जायेगा."

नजीर मियां ने जोश में आकर कदम बढ़ा दिया. किताबों के लिए यारअली ने यह कहकर टाला कि इस वक्त भीड़ बहुत है, कल सुबह आकर ले जाऊंगा, तो नजीर मियां को भी शह मिल गयी. मन में अजरा का आंसू-भरा चेहरा और बार-बार आज ही ला देने का इसरार तस्वीर की गूंज बुनकर समाया, चुभन भी हुई मगर नजीर मियां ने फौरन ही अपने तईं तसल्ली दी कि बस अभी लौटकर आता हूं. बातें करने में भला कितनी देर लगतीं है. ये गया और वो आया.

यारअली के घर में बातें करते और हुक्का-चाय पीते हुए वक्त गुजर गया. वहां से यारअली के दूसरे लड़के को साथ लेकर नखास में नवाबन के बेटे मुन्नेखां के घर पहुंचे. और कहा, "बरखुरदार, आज तुम्हारी सआदतमंदी का इम्तिहान है. मेरी तकदीर का सितारा परसों आसमान से उतरकर नखास में आ खड़ा हो जायेगा. लोग उसका करिश्मा देखेंगे. तू बस जरी मेरे सितारे के उतरने के वास्ते सीढ़ी बना दे."

मुन्नेखां 'मगर चचा, अजी चचा, सुनिए तो' करते ही रह गये, पर नजीर मियां से पार न पा सके. बोले, "ऐसी माशूक की फोटू बना दे बेटे, कि 'नाजो-अंदाजो अदा गम्जाओ, शोखी ओ हया. . . . . (औ') यक तरन्नुम के सिवा सब तेरी तस्वीर में' हो. तरन्नुम की कमी मैं पूरी कर दूंगा. न हो तो नन्हो की लौंडिया को सामने बुलवाके खड़ी कर ले. उसका एक हाथ कमर पर और दूसरे में माशूक छाप साबुन हो. आंखों में प्यासे प्याले दरसन्ना औ' होंठो की मुस्कराहट में दो बोतलों का नशा उंडेल देना, समझे मियां ? औ' ओढ़नी हवा में बड़े माई डियर किसिम से फरफराये बरखुरदार, समझे ? बस, मेरा काम बन जायेगा. दो टिकिया साबुन की तुझे मुफ्त दिलवा दूंगा. अपनी ओर से नन्हो की लौंडिया को पेजेंट कर देना."

यारअली के लड़के से दस रुपये एडवांस दिलवाये. पांच का नोट अपनी तरफ से मौज करने के लिए दिया. नन्हो की लौंडिया बुलवायी गयी. नजीर मियां ने आप खड़े होके तमाम हाव-भाव, नैन-सैन बतलाये. बहरहाल, सनीचर की शाम को माशूक छाप साबुन का साइनबोर्ड बनकर तैयार हो गया. नीचे 'स्टाकिटस्ट, कलंदर सिकंदर आफ इंडिया, लखनऊ' भी लिखवा दिया गया.

कलंदर सिकंदर की दुकान इनका खास अड्डा है. वे इन्हीं के किराये-दार हैं. कलंदर सिकंदर चार भाई थे. मुल्क के बंटवारे दो पाकिस्तान चले गये तो नजीर मियां ने इनके नाम के आगे 'आफ इंडिया' जोड़ दिया. तब से उनकी पंसारी की दूकान का नाम भी यही पड़ गया है. उनकी दूकान क्या है मानो रंग-बिरंगे साइनबोर्डों की नुमाइशगाह है. तीन दर की दुकान पर छोटे-बड़े सब मेल के करीब पंद्रह-सोलह साइन-बोर्ड लटक रहे हैं. छोटे भाई सिकंदर मियां को इसका खब्त है, माल उसी कंपनी का बेचते हैं जो उन्हें तस्वीरोंवाला साइनबोर्ड देता है. पार्शिंग शो सिगरेट का टोपदार साहब, पहलवान छाप बीड़ी का पहलवान , लाइफबाय साबुन लगाकर नल के नीचे नहाता-मुस्कराता लौंडा, एक सौ इकतीस नंबर की बीड़ी फूंकती और आंख मारती हुई हसीना, लंगूर छाप खिजाब का लंगूर, गरज कि आर्ट के नयाब नमूने वहां लटके हुए हैं. इतवार की सुबह सात बजे सब साइनबोर्डों के ऊपर माशूक छाप साइनबोर्ड भी चढ़ गया.

इतवार का रोज अल्लाह मियां की तरफ से खासतौर पर नखास के लिए ही मुकर्रर किया गया है. उस दिन लखनऊ के तमाम अकलमंद लोग, क्यूरियों-डीलर, गरीब शौकीन और देहाती लोग—लुगाइयां नखास में इस तरह अटाटूट भर जाते हैं गोया नखास दिल हो और उसमें वे अरमानों की भीड़ बनकर समाये हुए हों.

सुबह आठ बजे से ही भीड़ बढ़ने लगी, रौलचौल शुरू हुई. फुटपाथ की दूकान पर बिकनेवाले मुर्गे अपनी पुरानी साथिनों से आखिरी रोमांस लड़ाने लगे. कबूतरों की गुटरगूं और तोते, मैनों, तीतरों, लालों, बटेरों और चकोरों—तरह-तरह के पंछियों की रंगारंग चहचहाहट ने धरती के उस टुकड़े का आसमान सिर पर उठा लिया और जब नन्हें परिंदों से इतना बोझ संभल न सका तो नजीर मियां ने लाउडस्पीकर हाथ में लेकर माशूक छाप का नारा बुलंद किया. भीड़ उनकी तरफ खिंचने लगी. सिकंदर की दूकान के आगे टीन की कुर्सी पर खड़े होकर नजीर मियां चहकने लगे, "अहा-हा-हा-हा ! हाजरीन शायकीन,गुलदाम, गुलबदन जानेजहां कत्ताले आलम आशिकोमाशूक ! चले आइए, चले आइए. . . . ए हजरात, यह वो नखास है जहां कभी घोड़े बिकते थे लेकिन अब लोगों का नसीबा बिकता है. जो खुशनसीब हैं वही नखास में आते हैं, सैकड़ों का माल टके-टके में ले जाते हैं. हजरात, ये वो नखास है कि जिसकी शान में फिरदौसी तक कह गया है कि 'अगर फिरदौस, बररूये जमींअस्त, नखासअस्तो, नखासअस्तो, नखासअस्त.' देहली के बादशाह से जब लखनऊ की यह रौनक देखी न गयी तो देहली के लाल किले में नखास की टक्कर का दीवाने खास बनवाया और फिरदौसी के शेर में थोड़ा-सा फेर-फारकर वहां लिखवा दिया. मगर हजरात, जमाना जानता है, अजी मैं कहता हूं कि हिस्ट्री-तवारीख गवाह है कि दीवाने-खास सूना हो गया मगर नखास में अब तक रौनक है. अजी लोग टके-टके में अनमोल किताबें यहां से ले जाते हैं. पालने और खाने के लिए मुर्गे और बकरे, चहकाने के लिए लालो बुलबुलो-बटेर, रिझाने के लिए लहंगा-ओढ़नी, टिकनी-बिंदी और रीझने के लिए माशूक छाप साबुन तक सब कुछ यहां सस्ते दामों में मिलता है. यहां जो चीज बिकने आती है वह खुदाई मेहर होती है और जो खरीददार आते हैं उन पर खुदा मेहरबान होता है."

गरज कि दोपहर होते न होते नजीर मियां ने माशूक छाप साबुन की धूम मचा दी. दाइयां मुगलानियां आतीं, बुर्कवालियां नकाब

Funding: Tattva Heritage

साध अब पूरी हुई...!

सारिका के सितंबर, 1962 के अंक में अपनी आकांक्षा व्यक्त करते हुए अमृतलाल नागर ने लिखा था—

'मेरी एक तमन्ना जरूर है, एक दिन अपनी किताबों की रॉयलटी पर ही निर्वाह करने लायक बन जाऊं. जी चाहने पर किताबें खरीद सकूं, घूम सकूं.'

'सारिका' में तेइस वर्ष पहले छपी इस साध के बारे में नागरजी से पूछना नेक खयाल ही था, सो पूछ ही लिया. अब जो जवाब आया, आपके सामने हाजिर है—

'तेईस वर्ष पहले मैंने 'सारिका' में जो इच्छा व्यक्त की थी, वह ईश्वर की कृपा से पूरी हुई. मैं अपनी रॉयल्टी की आमदनी से ही अपना जीवन-यापन कर रहा हूं.'

मैंने पढ़ने-लिखने के अतिरिक्त जीविकार्थ कोई अन्य काम नहीं किया. रॉयल्टी की आय से ही यथाशक्ति कुछ किताबें भी खरीद लेता हूं और आवश्यकता पड़ने पर यात्रा भी कर लेता हूं. यह बात दूसरी है कि कोठी या कार आदि नहीं खरीद सका. फिर भी संतुष्ट और मन से सुखी भी हूं. 'सत्य श्रमाभ्याम् सफलार्थ सिद्धिः'

—विश्वंभर 'अरुण' को लिखे गये पत्र से

उठाये या गिराये हुए गुजरतीं, देहातिनों के रेले आते और उन्हें देखते ही नजीर मियां वो फबतियां कसते कि भीड़ में ठहाके उमड़ पड़ते, सुननेवालों का जी लहालोट हो जाता. ढाई बजे तक नजीर मियां ने निन्नानवे टिकियां बेंच डालीं, एक बी हैदरी के लिए बचा ली. इकन्नीवाले मक्खीमार पाउडर के ग्यारह दर्जन पैकेट बेचे. जब पैसे दिये तो यारअली का लड़का पांव पकड़ने लगा. यारअली के लड़के को चौकस हिसाब दे और अपना कमीशन लेकर नजीर मियां पलभर भी न रुके, अजरा की किताबें लाने के वास्ते अमीनाबाद की ओर लपके. किताबों के साथ पांच रुपये के रसगुल्ले अपनी तरफ से ले गये. लड़कियों को मना लिया.

इन्हीं गलियों और इसी सड़क पर नजीर मियां बच्चे से बड़े मियां हुए हैं. नब्बू पानवाला और सिकंदर कलंदर तो इन्हीं के किरायेदार हैं. उनका भला तो ये चाहते ही हैं. पड़ोस के हबीब चायवाले, यूसुफ हलवाई और सिरीकिशन साइकिलवाले के भी ये खास सगे हैं. यों इनका अड्डा सिकंदर कलंदर की दूकान है मगर 'हबीब रेस्ट्रेंट' में भी बैठा करते हैं. सिकंदर की दूकान पर सौदा-सुलुफ लेने के लिए आनेवाली औरतों-महरियों से छेड़छाड़ किया करते हैं. सड़क से गुजरते इक्के-तांगों-रिक्शों पर जनानी सवारी देखी नहीं कि उधर ही ताकने लगे. अपने-आपको हुस्न का जौहरी कहते हैं. इसी आदत की बदौलत दो-एक बार पिटे भी हैं.

नजीर मियां माशूकों के पीछे सदा बदहवास घूमे मगर अक्ल के पीछे लाठी लेकर न पड़े. पहुंच के बाहर की औरतों को बेबसी में सराहते जरूर हैं पर जहां बराबर की जोड़ होती है वहीं बुढ़भस की लार टपकाते डोलते हैं. दिन-रात मजनूं की तरह वस्ल और हिज्र के गीत गाते हैं. मलाई के चप्पन, रबड़ी के दोने, साबुन, तेल, इत्र, गजरे लिये खुशामद में दौड़ते हैं. जहां दांव लग गया वहीं महीने-दो महीने दिलोजान निसार किया, बुझते दिये की तेज लौ के मानिंद अपनी हविसों का खिलवाड़ किया, मुनासिब पैसे भी खर्च किये मगर फिर कहीं और बहके.

फिलहाल छह महीने से गुलाबबाड़ी के अख्तर नवाब की एक बेवा महरी हैदरी का कलाम पढ़ रहे हैं. खुद ही कहते हैं कि हैदरी जादूगरनी है वरना इतने दिनों तक कोई उन्हें बांध नहीं सका. ये उसकी खिदमत में लगे रहते हैं और वह इनकी. हैदरी से भी पहली मुलाकात यहीं कलंदर सिकंदर की दूकान पर ही हुई थी. पचास-पचपन का सिन मगर नाक-नक्शा ऐसा सुडौल कि हुस्न के जौहरी नजीर मियां चुप न रह सके. धीरे-धीरे दूकान की पटरी पर उसके पास आकर बैठ गये और प्यासी नजरों से निहारते हुए आशिकों की गुटरगूं बोली में पूछा, "बी महरी, रहती कहां हो ?"

बी महरी भी कम रंगीन न थीं. इनकी नजरों का भाव ताका और मुस्कराकर कहा, "इसी जमाने में, और कहां रहूंगी ?"

नजीर मियां फड़क उठे, बोले, "तुम्हारा जमाना तो इंशा अल्लाह अब आयेगा. नजरबद्दूर अभी तो खिलती कली हो."

"ऐ वाह मियां, नजर बड़ी तेज है. दूर की देखते हो. जरा कबर लटकते अपने पांवों को भी निहार लो."

"अमां वहां तो तुम्हें देखने के पहले देखते ही थे मगर अब तुम इन्हें सुबू-शाम कुचए-जानां में गश्त लगाते देखोगी. लाओ, मैं पहुंचा दूंगा. मेरे रहते भला तुम बोझा उठाओगी ?" कहते हुए गठरी उठा ली और आगे बढ़े. बी महरी तेज हुई, तेजी से लपकीं, गठरी छीनने लगीं. उधर से हबीब ने तालियां बजायीं, "चचा ले भागे." आसपास लोगों के ठहाके पड़े. बी महरी के अधेड़ चेहरे पर शर्म की लहर यों दौड़ी मानो तेज हवा में झोंके से पके धान का खेत लहराया हो. बड़े मियां उस अदा पर रीझ-रीझ उठे. प्यासी नजरों से देखते, हाथ से सामान देते बी महरी का हाथ छूकर खोयी हुई मुस्कराहट के साथ बोले, "ये सामनेवाला मकान तुम्हारा ही है !"

बी महरी बढ़ चली, नजीर मियां साथ-साथ बातें करते चले, "जब से इटायेवाली गुलशब्बो इसमें रहने लगी है तब से पिछत्तर मकान के आते हैं, बीस कलंदरवाली दूकान के आते हैं और दस नब्बन देता है. एक सौ पांच किराये के और बीस-पचीस और पीट लेता हूं. न कोई आल, न औलाद, न जोरू, न जांता, न कोई शौक. क्या कहें, पचास हजार की जायदाद है और ये दिल है—हम हथेली पे लिये-लिये घूमते हैं. मगर कोई दिल का नाज उठानेवाली ही न मिली. यों माल हड़पने के लिए चोंचले सब दिखाती हैं. अब तुम्हीं इंसाफ करो बी महरी कि हम क्या कोई गौरवे हैं. अरे, अब लौंडपन भी नहीं रहा कि धोखा खाते फिरें. बकौल कैस 'उन्हें भी जोशे उल्फत हो तो लुत्फ उठे मुहब्बत का, हमीं दिन-रात भर तड़पे तो फिर इसमें मजा क्या है ?"

यों ही अपनी सुनाते हुए बी महरी के साथ-साथ उनके मालिक की ड्योढ़ी तक पहुंच गये. देखते ही बोले, "अल्लाह, नवाब अख्तर साहब की कोठी में काम करती हो. अमां, तब तो तुम अपने घर की ही निकलीं. अरे-अरे, सुनो तो बी महरी, नवाब साहब अगर दीवानखाने में तशरीफ रखते हों तो जई मेरे आने की इत्तिला करना, कहना नखासवाले नजीर मियां आये हैं. अमां, पूरी बात तो सुन लो. तुम तो खुदा की कसम दिल तो उड़ाती ही हो मगर आप भी उड़ती हो."

"ए तो क्या करें, तुम तो हो नाठे निगोड़े ओ' यहां पचासों काम पड़े हैं."

नजीर मियां ने एक सर्द आह खींची, कहने लगे, "ठहरे हैं हम तो मुजरिम टुक प्यार करके तुमको; तुमसे भी कोई पूछे तुम क्यों हुए पियारे!... जरी अपना नाम तो बतला दो, तुम्हें हमारी जान कसमें!"

इसके बाद मलाई के चप्पन, इतर फुलेल, कंघी-आईना, यहां तक कि माशूक छाप साबुन की सौवीं टिकिया भी बी हैदरी की खिदमत में पहुंची. बारे महीना पचीस रोज के चक्करों ने बी हैदरी के बूढ़े दिल में भी इश्क की लहरें उठा दीं. तब से वही उनकी इश्किया जिंदगी का इकलौता सहारा है. ऐसे बस में हुए हैं कि जान सौंप दी पर माल नहीं सौंपा. हां, लालच बढ़ाते हैं. एकाध जेवर दे भी दिया है. कभी-कभी यह इरादा भी जाहिर करते हैं कि हैदरी अगर नौकरी छोड़ दे तो वह उसे अपने घर में डाल लेंगे और आखिरी वक्त में जेवर-जायदाद भी उसी के नाम लिख जायेंगे. मगर यों तो नजीर मियां पहले भी कई बार सोच चुके हैं. बी हैदरी के बाद आगे कब और किस-किसके लिए फिर ये नेक इरादे जागेंगे, इसे सिर्फ ऊपरवाला ही जानता है. □

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अमृतलाल नागर के संस्मरण : एक

आज के बिछुड़े न जाने कब मिलेंगे...

श्रीमती प्रतिभा नागर (1921) : एक दुर्लभ चित्र

28 मई को मंगलवार था, जेठ का चौथा मंगल. रात भर कोरी आंखों ही बितायी थी. प्रतिभा अस्पताल में थीं. फिर नींद क्योंकर आती. यों प्रकट चेतना में निराशा का अंधेरा क्या, धुंधलका भी नहीं था, लेकिन अचेतन मन बार-बार डूब जाता था! सुबह चार बजे ही नहा-धोकर तैयार हो गया. सोचा, पांच बजे अस्पताल पहुंच जाऊंगा. एक बार अपनी 'पंबुड्ढन लाल' को देखकर महाबीरजी के दर्शन करने जाऊंगा. फिर लौटकर जब उनके कपाल पर महाबीरी सिंदूर की बिंदी लगाऊंगा तो मेरी प्रतिभा स्वस्थ होने लगेगी. चाय पी, तब तक अस्पताल से चि. अवधेश (छोटे पुत्र चि. शरद का सहकारी) आ गया. उसे देखकर मन एकदम डूब गया. इतनी जल्दी आया है तो लगता है शायद खेल खत्म हो गया. फिर भी पूछा, "बा कैसी हैं?"

"पहले से थोड़ा सुधार तो हुआ है, लेकिन..."

आगे की बात मेरी आशा के ज्वार में बह गयी. अच्छी हो जायेंगी. जोश में आकर कहा, "चाय पी लो, फिर मैं हास्पिटल जाऊं. तुम अपने घर चले जाना. रातभर के थके-मांदे हो."

अवधेश कुछ न बोला. उसने चाय पी. हम चल दिये. रिक्शा बाहर खड़ा था. मैंने कहा, "तुम इस पर अपने घर जाओ. मैं दूसरा रिक्शा ले लूंगा."

"नहीं, आपके साथ ही चल रहा हूं." रास्ते में कोई बात न हुई. मन के तराजू का पलड़ा न 'हां' की तरफ झुका, न 'ना' की तरफ. कांटे तोल चुप्पी. गुरु की डाली आदत से खाली, मन खाली नहीं रहता, मगर इस समय शब्द भी चुप हैं. दस कदम पैदल का रास्ता रिक्शे पर भी काले-कोसों दूर लगा. रिक्शा मेडिकल वार्ड के फाटक पर रुका. बब्बन (चि. कुमुद) बाहर खड़ा था. रिक्शे से उतरकर उसके पास आया. उसने मेरे कंधे पर हाथ रखकर कहा, "बा नहीं रहीं."

सारी गुत्थियां ढीली पड़ गयीं. मन का डर अब अस्लियत बनकर सावधान हो गया था. पूछा, "कितनी देर हुई?"

"पांच मिनट पहले."

बेटा सम्हाल रहा है कि बाप कहीं लड़-खड़ा न जाये, परंतु मैं पूरी तरह से अपने काबू में हूं. ऊपर 'इंटेंसिव केयर यूनिट' में प्रतिभा सामने ही शांतनिद्रा में हैं. न धौंकनी-सी चलने वाली सांस, न नाक में आक्सिजन की नली, न बांह में घंसी ग्लूकोज सैलाइन की सुई. सब कुछ नॉर्मल. कपाल छुआ, गाल पर हाथ रखा. शरीर अभी गर्म है. बस सांस ही नहीं है. मेरे पंडित बुड्ढन लाल, मेरी लाला बुढ़िया मल, मेरी ओल्डी, बा, मेरी प्रतिभा मृत्यु में भी जीवन की सारी सुंदरता समेटे शांत सो रही हैं. परसों दिन में बीमार लगती थीं. चेहरा स्याह पड़ गया था, लेकिन इस समय... नजर न लगे, बड़ी सुंदर लग रही हैं. इधर कुछ बरसों से उन्हें नींद न आने की बीमारी लग गयी थी. बब्बन रात में उन्हें 'कांपोज' की गोली दे देता तो देर तक सोती रहतीं. मैं जल्दी उठता हूं. नहा-धोकर लिखने के कमरे में जाने से पहले उनके पलंग के पास जाता, उनकी निद्रामग्न सुंदरता को निहारकर उनके बालों को सहलाता और बड़ी कुंकुम बिंदी लगे कपाल को चूमकर कहता, "मन्नू, जागो, सबेरा हो गया."

प्रतिभा एक बड़ी सांस लेकर कुनमुनातीं और आंखें खोलकर मेरी बांह पर अपनी बांह रखकर 'राम-राम' कहतीं. फिर आंखें मींच लेतीं. जानता हूं, आज सांस लेकर नहीं कुनमनायेंगी, मुझे देखकर राम-राम नहीं कहेंगी और फिर आंखें नहीं मीचेंगी. ये मुंदी हुईं अब सदा मुंदी ही रहेंगी. पहली बार दिल जोर से उमड़ा, आंखें भरीं, पर दबा गया. कुमद, शरद की बहुएं आंखों में झलझले भरे थके उदास चेहरे लिये खड़ी हैं. दोनों ही इस तरह से देख रही हैं मानो कह रही हों, हम बा को बचा न सके. मैं बाहर आ जाता हूं. बेटे चुप, मैं भी चुप. हम एक-दूसरे को देखते हैं. इससे पहले कि कोई बेटा मुझसे कुछ कहे, मैं कहता हूं, "लाश की गाड़ी मंगा लो. मैं घर जाकर तुम्हारी मां के स्वागत की तैयारी करता हूं." तब तक बड़ी बहू सूर्यबाला बाहर आयी, बोली, "बाबूजी, मैं आपके साथ चलती हूं. बा का कमरा खाली करना है."

चौक की गलियों में तारबर्की की तरह खबर फैल गयी है. स्त्री-पुरुषों के झुंड आने लगे हैं—"बा जी चली गयीं." उनके संबंध में प्रशंसा भरे उद्‌गार फूट रहे हैं. शव के अस्पताल से घर आने तक बा की अंतिम झलक देखने के लिए स्त्री-पुरुष निकट आने लगे हैं. चौक में प्रतिभा, नागरजी की पत्नी से अधिक बा के नाम से ही सरनाम थीं. उनका अपना व्यक्तित्व था. वर्ष में तीन-चार गरीब लड़कियां

Funding: Tattva Heritage

इस रूढ़िग्रस्त समाज में पति से अलग पत्नी का कोई स्वतंत्र व्यक्तित्व नहीं होता, लेकिन नागरजी की जीवनसंगिनी प्रतिभा नागर का अपना एक अलग व्यक्तित्व था, जिसने नागरजी की जिंदगी को अपने ढंग से सजाया और संवारा. प्रस्तुत है उनकी मृत्यु के बाद की खामोशी और निस्तब्धता में जिया और लिखा गया नागरजी का अंतरंग और आत्मीय संस्मरण! एक ऐसा संस्मरण, जो अपनी ईमानदारी, तटस्थता और सच्चाई के साहसिक उद्घाटन के कारण हिंदी के संस्मरण साहित्य में एक अप्रतिम ऊंचाई हासिल करेगा...

श्रीमती प्रतिभा नागर और नागरजी (1976)

कन्यादान कराने का उन्हें नशा था. पहले अपने ग्यारह रुपये निकालेंगी, फिर आठ-दस संपन्न सहेलियों से रुपये-कपड़े बटोरकर कन्या के माता-पिता को दे आयेंगी. बर्तनवालों की पंचायत कुछ शकुन के बर्तन ऐसे कामों के लिए दान करती है. बाजी उनसे बर्तन भी लाकर देतीं. ऐसे उपकृत घरों की स्त्रियों की भीड़ भी आ गयी है. सब रो रही हैं. मेरे आंसू उमड़ते हैं. फिर मन कहता है, ऐसी बहादुर समाज सेविका के लिए आंसू ठीक नहीं, पर अब मैं बात-बेबात किस पर झुंझलाऊंगा. दुनिया में एक अकेली वही तो थीं, जिनसे लड़ता था. वह भी अपनी झुंझलाहट मुझ पर ही उतारा करती थीं. जैसे हम लोगों में समझौता हो, किसी और से तो लड़ नहीं सकते. फिर आपस ही में झांव-झांव क्यों न कर लें. घर-गृहस्थी के किसी काम की चिंता मैंने नहीं की. बैंक, हाट-बाजार, इन्कमटैक्स की अदायगी, सब वही करती थीं. अपनी जेब में एक भी पैसा रखना मुझे भारी लगता था. कभी चिढ़कर कहतीं, "कैसे आदमी हो, दो-चार रुपये अपने पास भी रखा करो. हरदम मेरे आगे हाथ फैलाते तुम्हें शर्म नहीं आती." मैं दोनों हाथ संडसी की तरह उनके गले में डालकर कहता, "साऊली, संन्यासी को माया-मोह में फंसाना चाहती है, तेरा गला दबा दूंगा." अपनी गर्दन झटककर मेरे हाथ हटाते हुए वह कहतीं, "दबा दो तो सदा के लिए छुट्टी पा जाऊं." मैं उनके गाल पर एक मीठी चपत जड़कर कहता, "इतनी जल्दी छुट्टी कैसे दे सकता हूं. अभी तो मुझे बड़ा काम करना है भाई."

यादें, यादें, यादें पांचवें वर्ष से लेकर अपनी आयु के इस सत्तरवें वर्ष तक समुद्र की लहरों-सी अनंत यादें, जो स्मृति तट पर आकर बिछ जाती हैं.

सन 22 या 23 में मौसी के विवाह में आगरे गया था. ननिहाली घर की रंगाई-पुताई हुई थी. विवाह पूर्व की होनेवाली किसी रस्म में बिरादरी की स्त्रियां आयी थीं. तीन-चार वर्ष की एक गुड़िया-सी गोरी सुंदर लड़की अकेले में रो रही थी. मुझे दया आ गयी. जब कई बार प्यार से पूछा, तब उसने अपनी हथेली फैला दी. किवाड़ों पर लगे ताजे कोलतार की रगड़ से उसकी हथेली में काला दाग पड़ गया था. मैं कहीं से साबुन लाकर उस गुड़िया की हथेली में लगी कालिख छुड़ाने लगा. हम दोनों की आयु में केवल एक वर्ष आठ महीनों का अंतर था, "रो मत, अभी साफ हो जायेगा." एक छोटा लड़का बड़े प्यार से छोटी-सी लड़की को समझा रहा है. किसी स्त्री ने यह दृश्य देखा. वह अन्य स्त्रियों को भी बुला लायी. मेरी मां, एक नामी, मेरी होनेवाली सास, ददिया सास— सभी ने यह दृश्य देखा. उस गुड़िया-सी लगने वाली लड़की की दादी ऐसी रीझी कि अंततोगत्वा हम दोनों का सगाई-संबंध हो ही गया.

उस गुड़िया को, जो तब बिट्टो कही जाती थी, अब अपनी निरी बेहोशी के जमाने में भावी पत्नी मानकर दिल में गुदगुदी भी होने लगी. पति-पत्नी क्या होते हैं, यह समझ तब तक उमरी न थी, पर वह गुड़िया-सी सुंदर बिट्टो दिल में ऐसी समा गयी कि अकेले में वह मन के भीतर से बाहर आ जाती. कहीं भी किसी भी समवयस्का सुंदर लड़की को देखता तो अपनी बिट्टो की याद आने लगती. बड़े लोगों में कोई छेड़ता कि 'तेरी बहू है तो शर्मा जाता, पर मन ही मन खुश भी होता था. यों गलियों में खेलने या अकेले आने-जाने की इजाजत मुझे लखनऊ में कभी नहीं मिलती थी, पर अपने गौख (गवाक्ष) में खड़ी 'अपनी बहू' को देखने की ललक में गोकुलपुरे की उस गली में अक्सर चक्कर लगाता था. ननिहाल और ससुराल के घर लगभग दो सौ कदम दूर आमने-सामने ही थे. बिट्टो मुझे गली में देखते ही आवाजें देती तो बुरा लगता. मैं आंखें तरेरने लगता. मैं उसे चुपचाप देखना चाहता था, मगर उसके पुकारते ही किसी छजली पर बैठा कोई गली-वाला या बिरादरीवाला छेड़कर मुझसे कहता, "भैयो, तेरी बहू बुला रही है." इससे झेंप लगती थी.

जो हो, मेरा होश आगु के साथ ज्यों-ज्यों बालिग होता गया, त्यों-त्यों बिट्टो भी उस बलागत में अपना महत्व अधिक से अधिक बढ़ाती गयी, पुरानी कहानियों में वही हर राज-कुमारी के रूप में आती, उपन्यास, कहानियां पढ़ता तो हर प्रेम करनेवाली नायिका में मुझे अपनी बिट्टो ही मिलती. नायक-नायिका या नायिका और उसकी सहेलियों के बीच होने-वाली छेड़छाड़भरी मधुर बातों में हर जगह 'जिधर देखता हूं, उधर तू ही तू है' वाली

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

कैफियत थी. आज कह सकता हूं कि इस बिट्टो नामक जंजीर ने मुझे इस तरह से जकड़ दिया था कि नौजवानी के शुरू के दिनों में मेरा मन बिखरने न पाया, लेकिन विवाह और जल्द हो जानेवाले गौने के बाद इसी जकड़न के कठिन कसाव से तंग आकर कभी-कभी बिखराव भी आने लगा.

मेरी स्वर्गीय बुआजी ने मुझे मेरा नाम दिया था. विवाह के बाद उन्होंने ही बिट्टो को प्रतिभा कहकर पुकारना शुरू किया था. तब सबके सामने पत्नी का नाम लेकर पुकारने का चलन तो नहीं था, पर मैं अकेले में अपनी बिट्टो को प्रतिभा कहकर ही संबोधित करता था. प्रतिभा भी मुझे बेहद चाहती थी. कभी-कभी इतनी रीझ जाती कि मुझे देखते-देखते सहसा अपने दोनों हाथों से मेरे गालों को दबाकर अपनी टकटकी बंधी आंखों को मेरे चेहरे के पास लाकर बड़ी भरी-भरी आवाज में कहती, "शिवजी को रोज 108 चावल चढ़ाकर तुम्हें पाया है."

पुराने दिनों में विवाह संबंधों में मनमुटाव पैदा करवाकर संबंध तुड़वानेवाली खुर्राट बूढ़ी-बूढ़ियां बहुत होती थीं. हमारे घर में शिकायतें आतीं कि किशनी की पोती को तो थाली में नमक तक परोसने का शऊर नहीं है. वह तो लाड़ में इतनी बिगड़ गयी है कि मां और दादी तक से जबान लड़ाती है. उनके घर में शिकायतें जातीं कि लड़का बिल्कुल भोंदू है. उन लोगों की हैसियत तुम्हारे घर से मेल नहीं खाती. किशनी जीजी तुमने अपनी पोती का संबंध भला क्या देखकर किया है. फलाने घरवाले और ढिमाके घरवाले तो अपने लड़कों से इसका संबंध करने के लिए उधार खाये बैठे हैं, किशनी जीजी, तुम कहो तो हम बात चलायें.

इस तरह की बातें सुन-सुनकर प्रतिभा अकेले में खूब रोतीं. उनका खाना-पीना छूट गया था. दादी कृष्णाजी बड़ी दबंग औरत थीं. छोटी ही आयु में विधवा हो गयी थीं और अपने पिता के संरक्षण में रहती थीं. वह उरई में शायद ओवरसियर थे. विधुर थे. अंग्रेजों की नकल में एक बंगला बनवा लिया, चारों ओर बड़ा भारी बाग, जिसमें खेती करवाते थे. सत्तर-अस्सी हजार रुपया भी जमा कर लिया था. बादशाह तबीयत आदमी ने अपनी बेटी को भी हिसाब-किताब में थोड़ा-बहुत दक्ष कर लिया था. वह भी जल्द ही परलोक सिधारे. कृष्णाबाई रकम और काफी माल मता समेटकर अपने चाचा के पास आगरा चली आयीं. चाचा के घर आश्रित होकर रहना उन्हें रुचिकर न लगा. चाचा भी बार-बार मतीजी से कहते कि रुपया-पैसा मुझे दे दे तो ब्याज पर लगा दूं, परंतु श्रीमती कृष्णाबाई इतनी घामड़ न थीं, अपने चाचा को उत्तर देतीं कि मेरे पास तो कुछ गहने भर हैं, रुपये-पैसों का पता नहीं कि पिता ने कहां लगाया. कागजों के बारे में पूछते तो भी भोले-भाले जवाब दे देतीं और रोने लगतीं. उनके पिता का एक पुराना नौकर था, दुर्गई, स्वामिभक्त और विश्वासपात्र. उसके द्वारा उन्होंने अपने चाचा के घर के पास ही चुपचाप एक जमीन खरीद ली और बड़ी तेजी से अपने लिए एक घर बनवाना शुरू किया. चाचाजी को तब पता चला कि मतीजी कितने पानी में हैं. किशनी जीजी अपने घर में रहने लगीं. उनकी अपनी संतान नहीं थी, इसलिए चाचा अपनी पसंद के एक लड़के को गोद लेने के लिए जोर देने लगे. उरई जाने का बहाना करके किशनी जीजी (वह इसी नाम से प्रसिद्ध थीं) दुर्गई को साथ लेकर गुजरात गयीं. खोज-बीन करके वालम गांव से अपनी बिरादरी के एक भुखमरे संतान समृद्ध परिवार से आठ-दस बरस का एक लड़का गोद ले आयीं. आगरे आकर विधिवत् गोद की रस्म संपन्न की, गोद-नामे पर गवाहों में अपने चाचा के भी हस्ताक्षर कराये. लड़का पढ़ने लगा. थोड़े दिनों के बाद नूरी दरवाजे महल्ले में एक बड़ी जायदाद भी खरीद ली, जिससे किराये की आमदनी होने लगी. चौदह-पंद्रह वर्ष की आयु में लड़के शंभुनाथ का विवाह भी बनारस में कर दिया. दुर्गई पहले तो नमकहलाल था, किंतु बाद में उसके भी पर निकलने लगे थे. किशनी जीजी ने उसे भी धता किया और शंभुनाथजी से ही जायदाद की देखभाल कराने लगीं. हिसाब-किताब रखने के लिए बिरादरी के ही एक अनुभवी वृद्ध को मुनीम बना लिया. किशनी जीजी अपने गोद लिये बेटे और उसकी बाल-बधू को वस्तुतः अपने जरखरीद गुलाम ही समझतीं और वैसा ही बर्ताव भी करती रहीं. शंभुनाथजी नवें या दसवें दर्जे में पढ़ रहे थे, उनकी पत्नी गर्भवती थीं. सन् 18 के प्लेग में वह अचानक तीन ही दिनों में चटपट हो गये. प्रतिभा ने अपने पिता की मृत्यु के उन्नीस दिनों बाद 7 अप्रैल, 18 को जन्म पाया था. सद्यःविधवा और हतभागिनी मेरी सत्रह वर्षीया सास श्रीमती जानकी बाई को कन्या को जन्म देने के कारण ही सास के बोल-कुबोल सुनने और सहने पड़े, परंतु कन्या बहुत सुंदर थी. सौभाग्य से किसी ज्योतिषी ने यह बतला दिया था कि जीजी, यह तेरे कुल का नाम बढ़ायेगी. कन्या क्रमशः दादी की लड़ैती बन गयी, पर उसकी मां और भी अधिक तिरस्कृता. परंतु मेरी सास बड़ी ही सहनशील और समझदार स्त्री थीं, नागरी लिखना-पढ़ना और गुजराती अक्षर बांच लेना उन्होंने अपने स्वर्गीय पति से सीख लिया था. उनकी लिखत बहुत सुंदर थी, कुछ समझ आने पर बिट्टो अपनी मां का पक्ष लेकर दादी से झगड़ भी लिया करती थी. एक बार दादी ने गुस्सा कर कह दिया, "कान पकड़कर अभी तुम मां-बेटी को बाहर निकाल दूंगी. गली-गली भीख मांगती फिरोगी." रोते-रोते भी बिट्टो सतेज स्वर में बोली, "निकाल के देख लो, मैं अपनी मामी (मां) को भीख नहीं मांगने दूंगी. आप ही घर-घर भीख मांगने जाऊंगी और सब से तुम्हारी बदनामी करूंगी. चलो मामी, अभी छोड़ो इनका घर, मैं यहां नहीं रहूंगी."

किशनी जीजी अपनी चार-पांच वर्ष की तेजस्विनी पोती से दब गयीं. उसे घसीटकर अपनी छाती से चिपटा लिया और फूट-फूटकर रोने लगीं. उसके बाद मेरी ददिया सास ने मेरी सास से कभी कटु वचन नहीं कहे. हां, उनकी दबंगियत और रोब वैसा ही कायम रहा. पोती के तेज से दब तो अवश्य गयीं, लेकिन उसे भी नीति से अपने दबाव में रखा. सिलाई-बुनाई-कढ़ाई के शौकों की जो वस्तु चाहिए, तुरंत मंगवा देतीं. ग्रामोफ़ोन, हारमोनियम, गाना सिखलानेवाली—मुंह से निकलते ही बिट्टो की हर मांग दादी पूरी करतीं, मगर उनके ऊपर अपना डर-दबाव भी बनाये रखतीं. मैं समझता हूं, इसी डर-दबाव की नीतिवश ही किशनी जीजी अपनी पोती से यह भी कहती रहतीं कि तेरा ब्याह दूसरे लड़के से कर दूंगी, परंतु इसके साथ ही साथ किसी हद तक विश्वास के साथ यह भी कह सकता हूं कि वह अपनी बिट्टो का विवाह शीघ्र करके नत-दामाद जल्द से जल्द लाने की उतावली में थीं. हमारे यहां उनके पत्र आते, 'ब्याह करो, ब्याह करो.' मेरे पिता चाहते थे कि दसवां दर्जा पास कर लूं, तभी मेरा विवाह करें. इन्हीं खींचतान के दिनों में बिट्टो ने शिवजी की एक सौ आठ चावलों से पूजा करनी शुरू की थी. यह नहीं कह सकता कि उन्होंने यह मंत्र किससे पाया था. एक बार बिट्टो की दादी का मेरी दादी के नाम पत्र आया कि मेरे जीवन का भरोसा नहीं है, इसलिए मेरी ओर से आप राजाराम जी (मेरे पिता) से कहिए कि हमारी प्रार्थना मान लें. मेरी दादी का आग्रह टालना मेरे बाबूजी के लिए संभव नहीं था. इसलिए दसवें दर्जे में पढ़ते समय ही 31 जनवरी, सन 31 को हमारा विवाह धूमधाम से संपन्न हो गया. बिट्टो प्रतिभा बन गयीं और अपनी इस इच्छा-पूर्ति को वह भोले शंकर पर चढ़ाये 108 चावलों की जीत ही मानती थीं, "मैंने तुम्हें पाया है. जो मैं चाहूंगी, वही तुम करोगे."

प्रतिभा का यह अदम्य हठ ही मेरे और उनके बीच में क्रमशः झगड़े का कारण भी बना, जिसके जादू में बंधकर मैं अब तक उन बुराइयों से बचा रहा था, जो मेरे अन्य समवयस्कों में आने लगी थीं, उसी के प्रबल बंधन से घुटकर मन बहलाव के लिए अन्य आकर्षणों की तरफ भी बढ़ने लगा. इस कारण से हमारे बीच में अक्सर तनाव भी आ जाता था, पर हमारा यह आपसी तनाव अधिक टिक नहीं पाता था.

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हम दोनों को भी एक दूसरे के खयालों में बंधे हुए अब बरसों हो चुके थे. गौने के बाद कुछ महीनों साथ रह लेने के कारण बीच-बीच में उभरते तनावों के बावजूद हमारा यह पारस्परिक आकर्षण और भी तीव्र हो चुका था. जो हो, मेरी कुछ रोमानी कमजोरियां इन्हीं दिनों में पनपी थीं. सन 35 में पिताजी के स्वर्गवास के बाद कुछ और छूट मिली. बहका अवश्य, पर यह भी कह सकता हूं कि बहककर भी अधिक बहक न पाया. मेरी रंगीन चाहतों की पतंग ऊंचे आसमानों में उड़ी, पर डोर प्रतिमा की चुटकी में ही रही. प्रतिमा और साहित्य के प्रति मेरी लगन बराबर बढ़ती ही रही. साहित्यिकों की संगत ने, देश-काल से प्राप्त वैचारिक स्फूर्तियों ने मेरे कुछ-कुछ उभरे हुए वाजिदअली शाही मिजाज को अधिक उभरने से बचा लिया था। दूसरे प्रतिमा की दो विशेषताओं ने मुझे और भी मोह लिया था. मैं अपने अनुजों रतन और मदन के प्रति अत्यधिक ममतालु था. मेरे पिताजी के देहांत के बाद मेरे इस रुख की उन्होंने बड़ी रक्षा की. मुन्नी भाभी और देवरों में गहरा आपसी लगाव था. मा को हम लोग भाभी कहते थे, इसलिए देवरों ने उन्हें मुन्नी भाभी कहा. बाद में हकीम जी कहने लगे. कहानियों के साथ छापे के अक्षरों में मेरा नाम देखकर वह बहुत खुश होती थीं और मुझे बराबर लिखने के लिए प्रेरित करती थीं.

सन 35 और 40 के बीच में दो बेटों कुमुद, शरद और एक बेटी अचला का पिता, साप्ताहिक 'चकल्लस' का संपादक-प्रकाशक और दो अनुवादों तथा तीन कहानी संग्रहों का रचयिता बनकर मैं धन कमाने के लिए बंबई चला गया. सन 42 के मार्च या अप्रैल महीने में अपने मंझले भाई रतनलाल को फिल्म्स का कैमरामैन बनाने की इच्छा से मैंने बंबई बुलाया, तीन बरस की बेटी अचला और प्रतिमा भी साथ आयीं. बंबई में हमारी गृहस्थी जमी. आगरे के गोकुलपुरे या लखनऊ के चौक की तंग दुनिया से वह पहली बार बंबई जैसे बड़े शहर में आयी थीं, मगर मैं यह देखकर मुग्ध हो गया कि आने के तीन ही चार दिनों में उन्होंने अपने आप को नये वातावरण में पूरी तरह से दूध में चीनी की तरह आत्मसात कर लिया. पहले ही दिन स्व. किशोर साहू की माताजी का मन उन्होंने इस तरह से जीत लिया कि लगता था, बरसों से साथ रही हैं. सेरा विला बिल्डिंग में ऊपर रहनेवाली श्रीमती सौ. मजुमदार भी उनकी परिचित हो गयीं. मेरे सहकारी श्री गजाजन सदाशिव पोतदार बड़े कुशल घरकर्ता थे. इन लोगों के आने से एक दिन पहले ही वह सप्ताह भर की भोजन सामग्री, अचार, मसाले से लेकर सिगड़ी, कोयले, मिट्टी का तेल, दियासलाई, बटन और सुई तागा तक

निःशुल्क पाठशाला में बच्चों को पढ़ाती हुई श्रीमती प्रतिमा नागर (जनवरी, 1949)

ले आये थे. बड़ी खुश हुईं, कहा, 'पातेदारजी, हमारे लिए कल के वास्ते कुछ शाक-भाजी ले आइए.'

"अरे भाभीजी, एकाध दिन आराम कीजिए. सबेरे डिब्बे में होटल से खाना ले आऊंगा."

"नहीं, होटल का खाना यह बहुत दिन खा चुके. कल आप भी मेरे यहां भोजन कीजिए. फिर हम लोग बाजार चलेंगे. पूजा के लिए ठाकुरजी दिला दीजिएगा."

"तब फिर कल भोजन नहीं करूंगा. परसों सबेरे आ जाऊंगा, विग्रहों की प्राण प्रतिष्ठा और हवन कराऊंगा. फिर आपका प्रसाद ग्रहण करूंगा."

पहली शाम मेरे परम मित्र श्री किशोर साहू के यहां ही हम सबका भोजन था. प्रतिभा ने मेहमान की तरह नहीं, बल्कि बहू की तरह खाना आदि परोसने में मां की सहायता करनी शुरू कर दी. तब तक कुमारी प्रीत पांडे श्रीमती प्रीति साहू बनकर घर में नहीं आयी थीं. वह शांतिनिकेतन में ही पढ़ती थीं और किशोर की पहली तलाकशुदा अभिनेत्री पत्नी के व्यवहार से सारे परिवार ने बड़ा दुःख पाया था. इसलिए मां को प्रतिभा बहुत प्रिय हो गयी. किशोर की तीनों बहनें इंदुबाई, रजनी और लतिका भी बहुत प्रसन्न थीं. इसलिए बंबई आने के पहले दिन से ही प्रतिभा ने अपना अंतरंग संबंध स्थापित कर लिया. उनका पर्दा मैंने सन् 34 में ही हटवा दिया था. मेरे स्व. पिता भी घर में अपनी बहू से पर्दा नहीं करवाते थे, इसलिए दूसरे ही दिन श्रीमती मुजुमदार जब 'शॉपिंग' करने के लिए जाने लगीं तो प्रतिमा भी उनके साथ हो लीं. मैं सोचता था कि प्रतिमा कुछ दिनों बंबई में अटपटापन अनुभव करेंगी, पर वाह री प्रतिभा, हफ्ते भर में ही वह बंबई, जहां निकट पड़ोसी भी अपने आस-पास के लोगों से बरसों तक अपरिचित ही रह जाते हैं, वहां उन्होंने अपनी जगह बना ली. बनारस में उनकी ननिहाल थी, इसलिए मरीठी भाषा से नितांत अपरिचित नहीं थीं, गुजराती हमारे पूर्वजों की मातृभाषा है. और हम लोग घर में भले ही 'मेड इन उत्तर प्रदेश' सही, गुजराती ही बोलते भी हैं. इसलिए पास-पड़ोस के मराठी-गुजराती परिवारों से खूब हेलमेल स्थापित कर लिया. मेरे मित्र और पड़ोसी मराठी के सुख्यात कवि स्व. राजा बढ़े की बहनें भी उनसे दिन-रात भाभीजी-भाभीजी करती लगी रहती थीं. शिवाजी पार्क की महाराष्ट्रीय महिलाओं की संस्था 'वनिता समाज' की सदस्या भी बना ली गयीं. वहां की वृद्धा अध्यक्षा ने उनसे अपने समाज की इच्छुक सदस्याओं को हिंदी पढ़ाने का आग्रह भी किया. एक महीने के भीतर ही प्रतिभा नागर अपने आस-पास के मराठी-गुजराती महिला समाज में सुप्रतिष्ठित हो गयीं. रात में मुझे अपनी दिन भर की एवरेस्ट विजयों के हाल सुनातीं. मैं कहता, "मुन्नूलाल, तुम खुद तो ओनामासी

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घम् ही पढ़ी हो, मगर औरों को हिंदी कैसे पढ़ा लेती हो?'

अकड़कर जवाब दिया, "तुम मुझे समझते क्या हो. चाहने पर सब कुछ कर सकती हूं. उनका आत्मविश्वास अदम्य था. वह सचमुच जो चाहती थीं, उसे पाकर ही दम लेती थीं. मेरा हिसाब-किताब सब वही रखने लगीं. कहें, "कल को बच्चे बड़े होंगे, अभी तो हमें जग जीतना है." पैसे बचाये, अपने देवर से हिसाब लिखवायें. तुम तो भोलानाथ हो, यह पैसा तुम्हारे बहाने से भगवान मुझे दे रहा है." मैं उनकी इन सब इच्छाओं के प्रति पूरी तरह से समर्पित हो गया. बस, एक ही जगह हम दोनों की पटरी नहीं बैठती थी. वह मुझ पर शक करती थीं और मैं चिढ़ता था. यह सच है कि मेरे मिजाज में रंगीनी थी, मगर यह भी सच है कि मेरी बेहोशी में वह रंगीनी बिट्टो (प्रतिभा) में से होकर होश के दिन आते-आते तक एक नयी शक्ति बन गयी थी. मेरे सौभाग्य से सगाई की तरह ही वह शक्ति छापे के अक्षरों से दोस्ती में बदलकर एक नया रूप धारण करने लगी थी. मेरा दूसरा सौभाग्य यह था कि बचपन और नौजवानी के दिन राष्ट्रीय और सामाजिक आंदोलनों के जोशीले विचारों और भावनाओं से आंदोलित हुए थे. आरंभ में बंधुवर ज्ञानचंद जैन और स्व. गोविंद बिहारी खरे का साथ और बाद में निरालाजी की कृपा से पढ़ने के लिए लखनऊ आये हुए ओजस्वी नवयुवक रामविलासजी शर्मा, मुख्य रूप से तथा और भी कई छोटे-बड़े समान विचार-धारा के हिंदी, उर्दू लेखकों ने लेखक कार्य को ही मेरा सर्वोच्च जीवन मूल्य बना दिया. लेकिन प्रतिभा का यह मुहल्लेशाही औरतों का विश्वास कि मर्द किसी एक स्त्री से बंधकर रह ही नहीं सकता और इसीलिए मर्द की बातों का विश्वास कभी नहीं करना चाहिए' मेरे और प्रतिभा दोनों के लिए ही अभिशाप बन गया. बड़ी लज्जा के साथ आज सार्वजनिक रूप से यह स्वीकार करता हूं कि पिता के मरने के बाद मैंने एक बार उन पर हाथ भी चला दिया था. बाद में हम दोनों लिपटकर खूब रोये थे. मगर शक का यह कीड़ा उनके कलेजे को सदा काटता ही रहा और प्रतिक्रियावश मैं न फिसलना चाहते हुए भी फिसल ही गया.

इस बार छोटा-मोटा नहीं, गहरा और कारी घाव लगा था. मैंने बड़ी पीड़ा और गहरे आत्म निरीक्षण के दिन बिताये. अब यह भी मुझे विचित्र संयोग ही लगता है कि जिस भय की आशंका से वह अब तक बराबर चौंकती रही थी, उस भय का क्षण जब सचमुच आया, तब वह बंबई से दूर अपने मैके में थीं. उन्हें प्रकट रूप में मृत्युपर्यंत थाह न लग पायी, यद्यपि मुझे यह भी अक्सर लगा कि उन्हें उस घटना का आभास भी कहीं न कहीं अवश्य हो गया था. बंधुवर नरेंद्र शर्मा जी के विवाह के अवसर पर वह आगरे से बंबई आयीं, तब मेरा उदास और गंभीर चेहरा देखकर भी उन्हें शक हुआ था, पर तब तक मेरा मन अपनी थाह पा चुका था. मैं यह जान चुका था कि मेरे लिए प्रतिभा और उनसे प्राप्त बच्चे ही सर्वाधिक मूल्वान हैं. 'दूसरा प्रभाव' कितना ही तीव्र और शक्तिशाली क्यों न हो, परंतु मेरे मन की उस लक्ष्मणलीक में प्रवेश नहीं पा सका, जहां प्रतिभा अटल छत्रधारिणी होकर विराजमान हैं. प्रतिभा का प्रभाव अंगद के पांव की तरह अडिग था. यह भी एक दैवी संयोग ही रहा होगा कि तब तक मेरे जीवन में दो पारलौकिक शक्तियों के महापुरुष भी आ चुके थे. एक थे शांकर मत के सुख्यात दार्शनिक और तंत्रशास्त्र के अगम पंडित पुणे निवासी महात्मा न्याय रत्न डॉ. धुंढ़िराज गोविंद विनोदजी और दूसरे जौनपुर जिले के मूल निवासी हठ-योगी कर्मयोगी बाबा रामजी महाराज. पूज्य विनोदजी मेरे 'बीज-मंत्र दाता गुरु थे. वह प्रतिभा और उनकी माताजी के पुराने परिचित भी थे. मैंने पुणे जाकर उनके सामने अपना जी खोल दिया था. महात्मा विनोद हंसे, बोले, "तुम दोनों का अभिशाप ही तुम्हारे लिए वरदान भी सिद्ध हो सकता है. पंक से पंकज उत्पन्न करो. तुम्हारी कठिन परीक्षा की घड़ी में केवल इतना ही संकेत दे सकता हूं." बाबा रामजी का प्रभाव मुझ पर और बाद में प्रतिभा पर भी गहरा और स्थायी पड़ा, यद्यपि बाद में लखनऊ आने पर.

इन सब बातों के बाद मेरा मन फिल्मी लेखन से हटकर सच्चा लेखकीय जीवन बिताने के लिए आतुर हो उठा. भारत स्वतंत्र हो चुका था. मेरा रुख देखकर प्रतिभा मुझसे बार-बार कहने लगीं, "तुम्हारा जी यहां नहीं लगता है तो लखनऊ चलो. कम आमदनी में भी हमारी गुजर-बसर हो जायेगी. तुम लिखो और खूब लिखो, बस, यही मैं चाहती हूं."

मेरे बंबई छोड़ने के निर्णय में पत्नी के अतिरिक्त मेरे स्वर्गीय मंझले अनुज रतन ने भी काफी हौसला दिखाया.

लखनऊ लौट आने पर हमारा जीवन फिर नये सिरे से आरंभ हुआ. काफी तंगदस्ती से हमारी गृहस्थी आरंभ हुई. हम पति-पत्नी ने मिलकर जूठे बर्तन मांजे, कपड़ों की धुलाई और घर की सफाई आदि भी स्वयं ही की. बंबई में पड़ी हुई आदतें प्रतिभा ने यहां भी न छोड़ीं. तरकारी-भाजी और दूसरा आवश्यक सौदा-सुलुफ वह स्वयं ही खरीदने जाती थीं. सन् 48 का चौक आज के चौक से भिन्न था. पर्दे की प्रथा पहले की अपेक्षा यद्यपि काफी हद तक उठ चुकी थी. फिर भी भले घरों की महिलाएं तब तक बाजार-हाट के काम कम ही करती थीं. प्रतिभा की देखा-देखी मुहल्ले की अन्य स्त्रियों का हियाव भी खुलने लगा. मैं सुबह से गली-मुहल्लों में घूम-घूमकर पुराने लोगों से पुरानी बातें और विभिन्न जातियों के रीति-रिवाज इकट्ठा करने लगा. लेख, कहानियां, रेडियो नाटक आदि लिखकर कमाई के डौल बिठाने लगा. छोटा भाई स्व. मदन भी थोड़ी-बहुत कमाई करने लगा था. दिन में चौके-पानी से छुट्टी पाकर प्रतिभा मुहल्ले के बच्चों की फ्री-पाठशाला चलाने लगीं. जो बच्चे स्कूल के नाम से रोते और फैल मचाते थे, वह भी वा के 'स्कूल' में खुशी-खुशी आते थे. गरीबों के बच्चे तो आते ही थे, धनी घरों के कुछ बच्चे भी आने लगे. बा के यहां जाने से बच्चों के अंदर से स्कूल का भय समाप्त हो जाता था. प्रतिभा के बेटी-बेटे चूंकि अपनी मां को बा कहते थे, इसलिए दूसरे बच्चे भी उन्हें यही कहकर पुकारने लगे. देखते-देखते ही प्रतिभा चौक की 'जगत-बा' बन गयीं. इन्हीं दिनों सन् 49 में हम दोनों स्वेच्छा से एक नयी संतान के जनक-जननी बने. अचला और आरती में दस वर्षों का अंतर है. आरती हम दोनों के पारस्परिक पूर्ण समर्पण की निशानी है.

हमारे सौभाग्य से इन्ही दिनों बाबा रामजी भी लखनऊ आकर जम गये. गोमती तट पर एक खाली बारहदरी में मैंने उनका निष्काम पागल-खाना खुलवा दिया. गली-सड़कों में डोलते पागलों को वह पकड़ लाते और उनका मानसिक उपचार करते. बाबा रामजी ने हमारे आर्थिक संकट के दिनों में हमें बहुत बल दिया. सच पूछा जाये तो हम दोनों के आध्यात्मिक संस्कारों को उन्होंने ही सही ढंग से संवारा और बढ़ाया. उनकी आध्यात्मिकता हमें जीवन से पलायन करना नहीं सिखाती थी. मेरी पत्नी से कहते, "जीवन से जूझेगी नहीं तो तुम्हें रामजी कैसे दिखलाई पड़ेंगे." एक बार मुझसे कहा, "हजार हथौड़न की चोट खाय के पाथर संकरजी बनत है, तब पूजा जात है." उनके उपकारों को न तो प्रतिभा ही जीते जी भूलीं और न मैं ही भूल पाऊंगा. अपनी व्यक्तिगत चिंताओं के दायरे से निकलकर दूसरों की चिंताओं से जूझते हुए ही हमने अपने लिए स्फूर्ति पायी और इस तरह हमने एक दूसरे को भी दिनों-दिन अधिकाधिक पाया. बिना कोई यौगिक या चमत्कारिक 'ट्रिक' किये हुए हम अक्सर एक दूसरे के मन की बातों को पहचान लेते थे. हम दोनों दिनोंदिन एक दूसरे के गहरे दोस्त बनते गये. इतना एका हमने पहले कभी अनुभव नहीं किया था.

सन '52 या '53 में कुछ पारिवारिक कारणों से मुझे प्रतिभा की पाठशाला बंद करवानी पड़ी. प्रतिभा इससे बहुत दुखी हुई. उनके मन बहलाव का एकमात्र सहारा मैंने उनसे छीन लिया था. इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि 'बा के स्कूल' और बाबा रामजी के पागलखाने से मेरे उपन्यासकार को बहुत अनुभव और ज्ञान प्राप्त हुआ. बाबाजी 'रमते जोगी बहता पानी' ठहरे,

Funding: Tattva Heritage

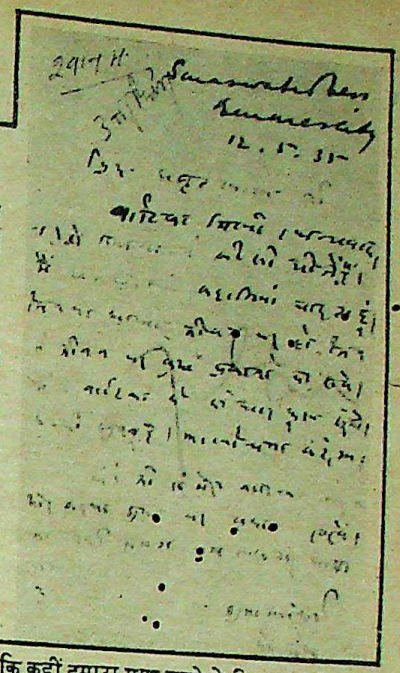
कहीं चले गये. आठ नौ महीनों तक गायब रहे. स्कूल बंद होने से प्रतिभा को अपना निकम्मापन बेहद खलता था. अपनी झुंझलाहट मुझ पर उतारतीं, "तुम तो नाटक-वाटक कराके, लेक्चरबाजी करके अपना मन लगा लेते हो, मैं अपना जी कैसे लगाऊं." मेरे पास कोई सुझाव नहीं था.

उन्हीं दिनों चौक में होने वाले गीता-सत्संग के बहाने से एक स्वामी प्रकाशचंदजी आये. संस्कृत के विद्वान थे और उच्च कोटि के साधक. प्रतिभा उनसे बहुत प्रभावित हुई. मन्ना सोंधी के ठाकुरद्वारे में उनके प्रवचन सुनने के लिए जाने लगीं. वहीं स्त्रियों की मंडली में एक विधवा युवती से उनकी भेंट हुई. वह बहुत दुःखी थी. अक्सर इनके पास आने लगी. एक दिन उसने अपना मन उद्घाटित किया. दरिद्रता के कारण उसकी विधवा मां उसे भी परपुरुष सेवा करके जीविका अर्जित करने के लिए प्रेरित करने लगी थी. वह लड़की इस धंधे से घृणा करती थी. मां कहती, "हमरे घर ते निकरि जाओ. हम तुम्हार खरचा नाहीं चलाय सकित हयि." "हम कहां जाई बा, का करी." अपनी तंगहाली में भी बा ने उसकी कुछ सहायता की और रात में मुझे उसकी कहानी बतलाते हुए फूट-फूटकर रो पड़ीं. उन्हें दिलासा देते हुए मैंने यह सुझाव दिया, "ऐसी निराश्रिताओं को सिलाई-बुनाई-कढ़ाई आदि के काम सिखलाओ."

यह बात उन्हें जम गयी. अपने घर की सिलाई मशीन निकाली, तीन समृद्ध सहेलियों से तीन मशीनें और पायीं. चंदे की सहायता भी पायी. तीस रुपये मासिक पर एक घर किराये पर लिया और 'महिला उद्योग केंद्र' चल पड़ा. कुछ दिनों तक एक सद्गृहस्थ सहेली इनके पास सिलाई-बुनाई आदि की निष्काम अध्यापिका बनी रही. लड़कियां फिर जुटने लगीं, स्कूल चल पड़ा. एक चेली इनके साथ लग गयी. प्रतिभा के भीतर जोश का तूफान उमड़ पड़ा. रिक्शे में बैठकर दिनभर घरों से चवन्नी-चवन्नी वसूल करतीं. स्कूल जोरों से चल पड़ा. निष्काम अध्यापिकाओं की समाज सेवा का जोश जल्द ही समाप्त हो जाता. वैतनिक अध्यापिका रखीं. दिन भर की चंदा वसूली की दौड़-धूप से ऊबकर उस चेली ने सुझाव दिया कि "बा, आप नागरजी से कह के सरकारी 'एड' ले लें. फिर यह दौड़-धूप का काम हल्का पड़ जायेगा."

प्रतिभा रोज मेरा सिर खाने लगीं. मैंने कहा, "जिस दिन तुम्हें सरकारी सहायता मिलने लगेगी, उसी दिन से तुम्हारे केंद्र में प्रपंच फैलने लगेंगे. इससे तो यह अच्छा होगा कि किसी 'रेडीमेड' कपड़ों के दूकानदार से बात करके ठेका ले लो और सीखी हुई लड़कियों से काम करवाओ. उनकी जीविका भी चलेगी और तुम्हारे केंद्र में रुपया आने लगेगा."

प्रेमचंद का पत्र अ. ला. नागर के नाम



बनारस सिटी
12-5-35

प्रिय अमृतलाल जी,
वाटिका मिली. धन्यवाद!

यह तो गद्यकाव्य की सी चीजें हैं. मैं रियलिस्टिक कहानियां चाहता हूं. जिनका आधार जीवन पर हो, जिनसे जीवन पर कुछ प्रकाश पड़ सके. मैंने वाटिका के दो-चार फूल सूंघे. अच्छी खुश्बू है. आलोचना करूंगा.

पांडेजी से मेरा नमस्कार कहना और कहना, मुझ पर कृपा रखें. कह नहीं सकता, कब लखनऊ आना होगा.

शुभाकांक्षी
प्रेमचंद

प्रतिभा और उनकी चेली को यह प्रस्ताव तो पसंद आया, पर सरकारी सहायता की बात पर अड़ी रहीं. खैर, केंद्र का विधिवत रजिस्ट्रेशन हुआ. कुछ सहायता मिलने लगी. अगले वर्ष सहायता की राशि और बढ़ी. चंदे की उगाही कम अवश्य हुई, पर उसके बिना खर्च पूरा नहीं पड़ता था.

अब वह हुआ, जिसकी मुझे आशंका थी. चेली इधर-उधर यह फैलाने लगी कि बा फलाने और ढिमाके के यहां से चंदा तो पांच रुपये लेती हैं और दो लिखवाती हैं. प्रतिभा का ब्रह्मतेज भड़कने लगा, "चलो पूछो, वहां से मैं क्या लाती हूं?"

दो-तीन बार ऐसी घटनाएं हुईं. बा बड़ी उत्तेजित होकर घर लौटतीं. एक दिन ऐसे ही आने पर मैंने कहा, "मुन्नूलालजी, यदि आप किसी ब्लैक मार्केटियर की पत्नी होतीं तो यह मिथ्या कलंक आपके माथे पर मुकुट मणि बनकर शोभित होता. दुर्भाग्य से चप्पल चटकाऊ लेखक की पत्नी हैं. दस बार बोला गया झूठ सच साबित किया जाने लगेगा. लोग कहेंगे, "साला, बीवी से चंदा बटुरवाकर बड़ा लेखक बनता है. आप यह काम छोड़ दीजिए."

बहुत दुःखी हुईं, रोयीं, मगर त्यागपत्र भेज दिया. तब से मृत्यु के डेढ़ वर्ष पहले तक गरीब कन्याओं के कन्यादानों का सिलसिला जारी रहा.

सन '81 में पहला हृदयाघात लगा, हल्का था. सन '83 में रिक्शा उलट जाने से बहुत चोट लगी. दो-ढाई महीने बिस्तर पर पड़ी रहीं. सन '84 का साल कुछ पारिवारिक कारणों से बहुत बुरा बीता. 28 अक्तूबर को अनुज मदन का स्वर्गवास हुआ. तब से क्रमशः स्वास्थ्य गिरने लगा. अक्सर कहने लगीं, "सबको राजी-खुशी छोड़कर तुम्हारे सामने चली जाऊं, बस यही चाहती हूं."

इधर तीन-चार महीनों से हम दोनों को अपनी-अपनी तरह से यह आभास होने लगा था कि कहीं हमारा साथ छूटने के दिन पास तो नहीं आ गये. जनवरी '85 में एक दिन पूछा, "तुम्हारा उपन्यास कब पूरा होगा?"

"बस, अब किनारा आ लगा है."

फरवरी में फिर पूछा. मार्च में पूरा हुआ तो संतोष की सांस ली. मैंने कहा, "बेटी-दामाद बड़े आग्रह से पठानकोट बुला रहे हैं. चलो वहां चलें."

"मेरी तबीयत ठीक नहीं. हिम्मत नहीं पड़ रही है." परीक्षा के बाद मेरी पोतियां बहुत आग्रह कर रही थीं कि दादाजी छोटी बुआ के यहां चलिए. मैंने कहा, "मैं ही इनको लेकर चला जाऊं."

"नहीं, तुम भी नहीं जाओगे." पठानकोट तो दूर, मुझे बड़े बेटे चि. कुमुद के बनवाये घर तक नहीं जाने दिया. आधे अप्रैल मास से उपन्यास की टंकित पांडुलिपि शुद्ध करने के बाद दिन भर उन्हीं के पास बैठा रहता था. नयी-पुरानी बातें होतीं. सौ. अचला का पोता और सौ. दौहित्र वधू लखनऊ आ गये थे. पड़पोते के साथ उनका मन खूब बहला. 15 मई को वह लोग मथुरा गये. बहुत उदास हुईं. मैंने कहा, "दिसंबर में जब अनिल, आरती और बच्चे आयेंगे, तब इन्हें भी बुला लेंगे." मेरा हाथ दबाकर बोलीं, "देखो."

मेरा मन तभी ठनक गया था. 26 मई की रात घर से अस्पताल के लिए विदा हुईं और 28 मई को सुबह उनकी निर्जीव काया घर से सदा के लिए विदा होने को फिर आयी. बड़ी शान-सम्मान के साथ मेरी जीवन-संगिनी ने अपनी जिंदगी पूरी की. प्रतिभा गयीं, अच्छा हुआ; पर मैं अकेला हो गया. अकेले में कवि नरेंद्र की पंक्ति मन ही मन गुनगुना रहा हूं—
"आज के बिछुड़े न जाने कब मिलेंगे." नयी देहों में कब मिलेंगे हम? अभी तो एक-दूसरे से न मेरा ही जी भरा है, न प्रतिभा का. □

— पठानकोट प्रवास,
28 जून, 1985

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

अमृतलाल नागर के उपन्यास : तीन

अमृत और विष

साठ; साठ; साठ; हर भाषण में मेरी आयु के साठ वर्षों पर जोर दिया जा रहा है. आखिर इन साठ वर्षों में मैंने पाया क्या? दिया क्या? देने के नाम पर छोटी-बड़ी अड़तीस किताबें हैं—पहले भावों की उछालों में लिखी थीं, फिर नाम की महत्वाकांक्षाएं, बाद में अपने परिवार की भरण-पोषण की समस्या हल करने के लिए. मुझे फुरसत ही कहां मिली जो अपने से उबरकर दूसरों के लिए सोचता. मैं अपने इकतालीस वर्षों के अनुभव से यह कह सकता हूं कि मैंने कभी अपने सुख-दुख के संबंध में कुछ नहीं सोचा . . . पर क्या यह पराजय भरा समर्पण, सच्चा समर्पण कहा जा सकता है? यह क्या ठीक वही माथ है, जो माया ने मुझे दिया है?

मेरा मस्तिष्क उत्तेजित, खीझ भरा, थका-हारा था. अपने सम्मान में होनेवाले इस सार्वजनिक समारोह की प्रतिक्रिया मुझ पर स्वस्थ न हो सकी थी; ये राज्यपाल, मुख्यमंत्री आदि मेरे लिए थोड़े ही आये हैं. इस सभा का आयोजन, मैं जानता हूं, नगर कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष ने अपने चार खुशामदी साहित्यिकारों को घेरकर कराया है.

मेरे भाषण का प्रभाव सरकारी नेताओं पर अच्छा न पड़ा. डिनर से घर लौटा तो मेरे साथ उपहारों के कुछ बंडल और सभा तथा प्रीतिभोज के अवसर पर प्राप्त फूलमालाओं का भारी बोझ था. पड़ोसी श्याम बाबू का नौकर पंद्रह तारों के लिफाफे दे गया, बधाई तारों के रंगीन लिफाफे.

सबेरे देर से उठा. ताजा और आनंदमय था. माया चाय-नाश्ता लेकर यथासमय आ गयीं. उनका चेहरा मुझे अपार शोकमग्न लगा.

"बात क्या है?" फिर वही जड़ मौन, जो मेरे तिबारा पूछने से पहले ही घुटन भरी निःश्वास में परिणत हुआ; फिर स्वर फूटा, "उमेश घर छोड़कर चला गया."

'कहां' शब्द मन ही मन उछलकर रह गया. मेरे कल के भाषण के प्रति सरकारी रोष से वह अपने आपको बचाना चाहता होगा. आई. ए. एस. के इंटरव्यू में अपनी सफलता को निश्चित करने के लिए, सरकार विरोधी पिता से अलग होने का निश्चय करने के लिए उसे शायद एक पल भी न लगा होगा. मुझे लगा कि मेरी अनंत कुंठाओं को समाप्त करने का केवल एक ही उपाय है, वही जो मेरे पिता ने किया था—आत्महत्या.

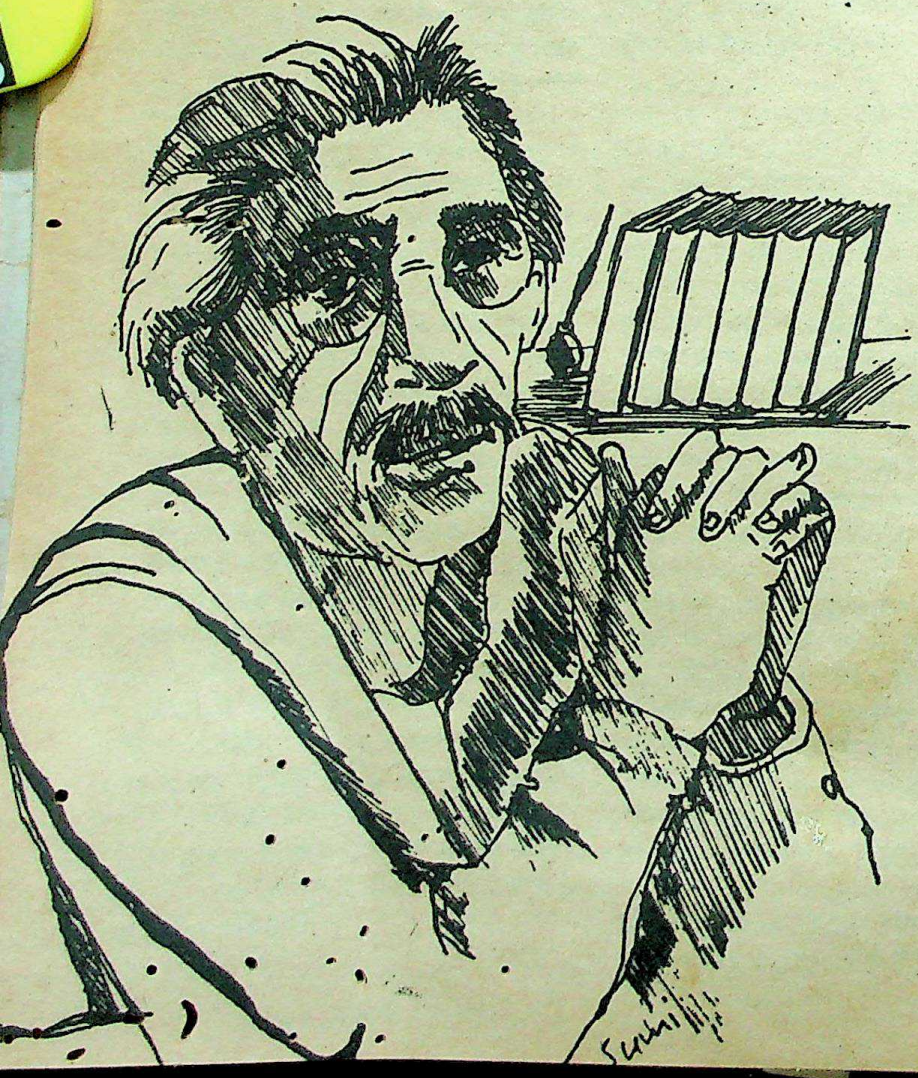
इस उदासी और मुर्दनी में मन कुछ खो जाता है. एक पालदार नाव तैरती हुई; झलकती, ओझलाती, फिर झलकती मेरे दृष्टि तट की ओर बढ़ रही है . . . हेमिंग्वे का 'बूढ़ा मछेरा और समुद्र' . . . ध्यान का 'शून्य', जादू सा आलोप. मेरी बहिर्चेतना में अब उपन्यास का नायक बूढ़ा मछेरा स्पष्ट रूप से विद्यमान था. स्फूर्ति ने सारी मानसिक गिरावट चमत्कारी रूप से संभाल ली. बरातियों और समधियों से प्राप्त अपमानों के तीर स्मृति के तरकस से निकल और कार्य संकल्प के धनुष से छूटकर मेरी कल्पना में बिंध गये. स्फूर्ति ने शब्दों का रूप ले लिया—उपन्यास चल पड़ा.

पुत्ती गुरु की लड़की का ब्याह है. ब्याह-बरात के दृश्य पूरे हुए. कथा का जो सूत्र लेकर मेरा उपन्यास आगे बढ़ा था, वह चुक गया. अंतर्जातीय विवाह, और वह भी विधवा विवाह—दो क्रांतिकारी पहलू सामने आ गये. प्रेम ने दो अज्ञानों को एक रिश्ते की पहचान करा दी. . . और इस तरह मेरे उपन्यासकार ने मेरे व्यक्ति को निजी अनुभव की कचोट दे दी. उपन्यास का नायक रमेश मेरी आनुमानिक आयु के अनुसार तेइस-चौबीस वर्ष का है. और मेरा बेटा भवानी अब अट्ठाइसवें में चल रहा है. उसका पहला प्रेम कांड पांच वर्ष पहले हुआ था—ठीक इसी तरह अरुणा की शादी पर. महल्लों के संस्कारों से घिरा हुआ मेरा भवानी जब अपना कैरियर चौपट हो जाने के बाद प्रेम से अघा गया तो अपनी पत्नी (उषा) को, ब्राह्मत्व को बात-बात में तुच्छ बताने लगा. मैंने एक दिन उसे समझाने की कोशिश की. मैंने कहा "... उस समय जब मैं तुम्हें समझाता था, तब तुम्हें उषा में गुण ही गुण दिखलाई देते थे."

"वह इंफैचुएशन था."

"खैर . . . तुम अपने जीव कर्म की चिंता करो." और रास्ता उन्होंने उम्दा खोज निकाला. अपने गुरु, अंग्रेजी के एक सम्मानित भूतपूर्व प्रोफेसर की एक लेक्चरर लड़की के रखैल बन गये. भवानी ने एक तीर से दो शिकार किये . . . सास-ससुर पर यह एहसान लादा कि उनसे उनका बेटी-दोहता मिला दिया और मां-बाप पर यह कि दो टका खर्चा कम करवा दिया . . . भवानी के दूसरे पुत्र अनंत का जन्म अपने ननिहाल में ही हुआ . . .

नन्ही (वरुणा) डाक लेकर आयीं. उसके चेहरे पर खुशी की बिजलियां कौंध रही थीं . . . उल्लसित स्वर में बोली, "पिताजी, मेरे उमेश भैया आई.ए.एस. हो गये . . . घड़ी तो आपको प्रॉमिस करनी ही होगी . . . माता जी से तो मैंने अंगूठी और टॉप्स का प्रॉमिस झटक लिया है . . . और उमेश भैया से सर्दियों में ओवरकोट का वादा कराऊंगी. और, और अभी तो मेरी बी.एस-सी. का रिजल्ट आने पर एक ड्यू



Funding: Tattva Heritage

आप लोगों पर और चढ़ेगा. उसके लिए तो मैं बड़े मैया और बिट्टी बहन जी से भी ले मरूंगी."

इस यक्ष्माग्रस्त बेटी को मैं बड़ी कठिनाई से यम पाश से छुड़ा पाया हूं. और इस समय अपनी खुशी में हल्की-सी चुभन भी नहीं चाहता.

पिछले चार दिनों से बराबर लिख ही रहा हूं . . . कल सुबह चार बजे जब हिदायत ने मुझे झिंझोड़कर जगाया तो बुरा लगा . . . हिदायत अली मेरा स्कूली साथी तो है ही, सन् 21 के जमाने का जेलिया साथी भी है. इसने मेरा नाम बिगाड़कर 'अरबी शक्कर' रख दिया तो मैं भी उसे हजामत अली कहकर पुकारने लगा. हिदायत बारह-तेरह वर्षों से एकदम अकेला है. अधिकतर अपने गांव में रहता है. इसका एक अपना छोटा-मोटा फार्म है. खैर. . .तो ठीक सवा चार बजे हिदायत मुझसे और माया से विदा लेकर चला गया.

भवानी के बच्चे आ गये. मन में अपने उपन्यास की युगल जोड़ी रानी और रमेश की कल्पना जाग उठी. अपने उपन्यास का नया परिच्छेद लिखने की इच्छा भी जाग उठी. कलम उठा ही रहा था कि नन्हीं अपने छोटे भतीजे अनंतू को गोद में लेकर आ गयी, "बाबूजी, अम्मा आपको बुला रही है."

ऊपर जाकर देखा तो रसोई के सामनेवाले दालान में साड़ियों का मंडप बनाकर उसमें मेरे जयंत को पीतांबर, फूलों के गहने, फूलों के मुकुट, मुरली आदि से सजाकर बैठाया गया था. देखकर मैं मुग्ध हो गया . . . कौन जाने, ये मेरा जयंत भी भगवान ही हो. ये धरती पर कोई बड़ा काम करने के लिए जन्मा हो.

बहुत चाहने पर भी इधर अपने उपन्यास को मैं तनिक भी आगे न बढ़ा सका. इस समय बड़कू (बड़े बेटे चि. विनय शंकर) की याद सता रही है. बीवी और अफसर, ये दो ही उसके खुदा हैं. संयोग से तीन वर्ष पहले नसीब की सीढ़ियां फलांगकर वह अपने विभाग का बड़ा बाबू भी बन गया. है. . . उमेशो मसूरी में प्रशासन की शिक्षा पा रहा है. उसने अपनी मां को लिखा है कि दिल्ली सरकार के एक बड़े आई.ए.एस. अफसर श्री पुरी उससे बहुत खुश हो गये हैं . . . अपनी छोटी बेटी से उसका विवाह करना चाहते हैं . . . मैं जानता हूं, उमेश राजी हो जायेगा. होगा, मुझे क्या? खुश रहे, बस.

आजकल नगर में गोमती की बाढ़ आयी हुई है . . . उमेश—नहीं, रमेश मान लो, इस बाढ़ में फंसे. . .मगर कैसे? पुत्ती गुरू फंसे और रमेश उन्हें बाढ़ मुक्त करा के लाये . . चलो, यहीं से आरंभ करता हूं नया अध्याय . . .

अपने पिता और बचान महाराज को बाढ़ग्रस्त क्षेत्र से निकाल लाने पर रमेश अपने क्षेत्र का हीरो बन गया . . . पूरे अठारह घंटों तक अनवरत रूप से काम करते रहने के बाद रमेश जब अपने साथियों के द्वारा आराम करने के लिए जबर्दस्ती घर भेजा गया, तब शरीर से थका हुआ होने पर भी वह ताजा था . . . मन ही मन वह अपनी लीडरी के नशे में मखमूर था. इस नशे में रानी का खयाल चार चांद लगा गया. और उस ताजगी में उसके पांव खन्ना साहब के घर की ओर तेजी से बढ़ चले. रानी इस समय वहीं मिल सकती थी.

रमेश आज पहली बार रानी का अंतरंग परिचय पा रहा था . . . रमेश के मन में एक बलुआ बवंडर नाच गया. मन को उस अनुभूति से खींचकर बचाते हुए बोला, "बाई द वे, तुम्हारी वो शादी . . ."

"नयी अम्मा के आने के ढाई-पौने तीन साल पहले मेरी मदर के सामने ही हुई थी. तेरह बरस की उमर थी मेरी . . . आठ जनवरी को मेरी शादी हुई, पंद्रह फरवरी को लड़का टाइफाइड में मर गया. और उस गम में आठ दिन के बाद मेरी अम्मा भी मर गयी . . ."

रमेश ने स्वर में हल्का पैनापन लाकर पूछा, "तुमने अपने हस्बेंड को देखा था?"

रानी का सारा मुखमंडल ही सुहाग-बिंदी सा चमक उठा. मुस्कराकर

रचना कालक्रम के अनुसार 'अमृत और विष' नागरजी का पांचवां उपन्यास है, १९६६ में प्रकाशित इस उपन्यास ने नागर जी को १९६७ में साहित्य अकादमी पुरस्कार तथा १९७० मे सोवियत लैंड नेहरू पुरस्कार से सम्मानित करवाया. इस उपन्यास के मलयालम और कन्नड़ भाषाओं में अनुवाद भी प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं. प्रस्तुत ह इसका संक्षिप्त रूपांतर.

आंखों से आंखें मिलाकर, भावमग्न होते हुए भी हल्की शोखी की अदा में बोली, "अपने हस्बेंड को तो देखा है, उस लड़के को नहीं देखा था."

रमेश उल्लास में अपना आपा खोकर उसके पास बढ़ गया और उसके चेहरे को दोनों हाथों से बांधकर चार आंखों की एक लय में बंधे हुए रसांदोलन की सौंदर्य भरी उत्तेजना के साथ बोला, "तुम देवी हो—एंजिल—माई बिलवेड एंजिल."

इधर तो मेरा उपन्यास डर्बी के घोड़े की तरह दौड़ा है. ये बाढ़ के दृश्य यदि मुझे—मेरी सारी चेतना को—बांधे न रखते तो जो अपमान और आघात मुझे (और माया को) उन दिनों सहना पड़ा है, वह मन में तड़पाकर-तड़पाकर मुझे दीवाना बना देता.

आज छह दिन हुए, सुबह की डाक से एक निमंत्रण पत्र मिला. . . मैं धक्क से रह गया. उमेश ने अपने दो-एक पत्रों में पुरी साहब की कृपा और उनके घरवालों के प्रेम-व्यवहार का चर्चा तो किया था, पर यह नहीं लिखा था कि वह उनकी लड़की से विवाह करने वाला है. बड़ा चालाक निकला पट्ठा. . . लड़के का ब्याह था और मां उदास थी. . . .मैं जानता हूं, मन से उसने यह अवश्य चाहा होगा कि ऐसे शुभ अवसर पर हम सब उसके साथ हों. मगर ससुर साहब ने उत्सव की कोई योजना निश्चित कर दी होगी. (और उसमें हम लोग कहीं समाये न होंगे) तब उसका यह हिसाब ही न पड़ा होगा कि उसमें कुछ सुधार करवा सके. . .

आओ अरविंद, दुनिया के चक्कर छोड़ो. . . चेतना अंतर्मुखी होते ही सचमुच दैवी शक्ति हो जाती है. आओ, लिखो नया अध्याय. . .

एम. ए. की छात्र टोली में इस समय अल्पविराम हो रहा है. बीड़ी दागकर, एक कश खींचकर कम्मी बोला, "नवंबर-दिसंबर की स्ट्राइक अब साली खोपड़ी पर बोल रही है; समझ में नहीं आता, कोर्स कैसे पूरा होगा!"

"तो वर्मा यों ही कब कोर्स कंप्लीट कराते हैं. . . लड़के फेल हों या पास हों. . ."

रमेश बोला, "होगा यार, हटाओ इस चकल्लस को. एक बार चाय बन जाये."

तभी छैलू दौड़ता हुआ, "रमेश, हमारी बारादरी गयी हाथ से."

सुनकर छोटे-बड़े सभी लड़कों में समान रूप से कौतूहल जागा. . . रमेश क्रोध में भरा था. उसके अंदर अपने पिता के विरुद्ध ज्वाला भड़क उठी थी. . . बड़ों में चाय का दौर अभी चल ही रहा था कि फाटक से कुछ व्यक्तियों के ऊपर आने की आहट और बातों के अस्फुट स्वर सुनाई पड़ने लगे. सभी का ध्यान उस ओर गया. महल्ले के सबसे बड़े धनी, लाला रूपचंद, रमेश के पिता पुत्ती महाराज, लाला मिट्ठन लाल बैंक वाले, बाबू हरविलास वकील तथा दो-एक सज्जन और भी सीढ़ियां चढ़कर अहाते में आ खड़े हुए, बातें होने लगीं.

. . . रमेश बोला, "रुप्पन चाचा, हमारा काम वहां नहीं चल सकता, आपके साधु-संत तो सब किशोरी लाल के ठाकुरद्वारे में कीर्तन कर ही लेते हैं, फिर यहां क्या जरूरत है?"

रमेश के पिता पुत्ती गुरू गुर्राये. . . रमेश सहसा आपे से बाहर हो गया, बोला, "बनवाइए भला आप लोग मंदिर, हम साले में रोज आग लगायेंगे."

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

"कुलंगार, मंदिर में आग लगायेगा! मैं तेरे प्राण ले लूंगा."

लोग 'हैं हैं' करते बीच-बचाव के लिए झपटे... बड़ों के जाने के बाद बड़े लड़कों की सभा फिर जुटी... रमेश का मन पिता से वाक्युद्ध हो जाने के कारण खिन्न था. वह अभी घर जाने से हठात् जी चुरा रहा था.

दूसरे दिन सबेरे ही सेठ रूपचंद ने बारहदरी में अपना एक लठैत बिठा दिया... रमेश के अनशन की खबर रानी के लिए एक और नयी चिंता ले आयी... सारी रात इधर के महल्लों में जगार रही. गली-महल्लों के बीच में लगी हुई आठ-दस जगहों की आग बुझाने में फायर ब्रिगेडवालों के छक्के छूट गये. इतने धर्म-स्थानों का जलाया जाना शहर की सबसे बड़ी चर्चा का विषय बन गया. जिसे देखो वही लड़कों की नास्तिकता की बुराई कर रहा था. थोड़ी देर में हथियारबंद पुलिस और घुड़सवारों के दस्ते टिड्डीदल से गली-गली में दिखाई देने लगे. भीड़ें छितराकर सन्नाटा बढ़ाया जाने लगा. लाला रूपचंद अब प्रबल क्रोध में तमाम लड़कों से बदला लेने पर तुल गये.

यूसुफ की कल्पना के पीछे कहीं मेरा बालमित्र हिदायत तो नहीं? कैसे आ जाते हैं ये चरित्र?

रानी-रमेश के विवाह की सूचना ने रमेश की मित्र मंडली में एक नयी उमंग उठा दी थी. खन्ना साहब के यहां से उनका विवाह होने वाला था, जिसमें स्वयं डाक्टर आत्माराम आने वाले थे.

पुत्ती गुरू चार दिनों तक घर से बाहर न निकले.. कई संबंधियों पड़ोसियों की स्त्रियां दौड़ी-दौड़ी आयीं. कुछ से उनकी मुठभेड़ हुई; "हाय रानी, ई का सुन रहे हैंगे. रमेश उस ठाकुर कीं रांड बिटिया...'

इस शब्द से रमेश की मां के इत्ते-पित्ते भड़क उठे, हाथों की उंगलियां और आंखें नचाकर बोलीं, "वो काहे की रांड. कहै वाली होयगी रांड. अब तो जैसी भी है मेरी होनेवाली बहू हैगी. उसे कोई एक कहेगा तो मैं हजार सुनाऊंगी—"

रमेश की मां में भीड़ से सामना करके खुलाव आ गया था. पहले का अवसाद अपनी नयी जोशीली मान्यता से हल्का पड़ा था. पर अपने पति की चिंता उन्हें थी. हठी हैं, जाने कुछ कर ही बैठें. गम का धक्का गहरा बैठ जाये?

पूरे चार दिन में—उनका ये दुःख राम-राम करके समाप्त हुआ. नहा-धोकर रामजी की पूजा करने उतरे. पूजावाले कोठे की दहलीज पर पांव रखते ही उन्हें सहसा ऐसा लगा कि सवा फिटिया हनुमान जी की मूर्ति सहसा अतिविशाल होकर सिंहासन वाली सीढ़ियों से गदा ताने हुए झपटकर उनकी ओर बढ़ रही है. घबराहट में गुरू के हाथ-पैर सनसना उठे... आंसू भरी आंखों से जगदंबा ही में निहारते हुए, 'मैया पाहिमाम्' कहते हुए धड़ाम से सीढ़ियों के सिंहासन पर अपना मत्था टेक दिया... आंखों को खोलकर सीता जी की मूर्ति की ओर देखा. ऐसा लगा कि मैया प्रसन्न हैं; फिर रामजी की मूर्ति की ओर... सब ओर अमन चैन था... बहरहाल थोड़ी ही देर में पुत्ती गुरू भगवान श्री रामचंद्रजी से अपना समध्याना नाता जोड़ने लगे... राम की इच्छा के बिना तो पत्ता तक नहीं डोलता और फिर ब्राह्मण को तो चारों वर्ण की कन्याओं से विवाह करने का अधिकार प्राप्त है... "बोल सियावर राम चंद्र की जय, शरणम."

रमेश चंद्र गौड़ और रानी बाला का विवाह समारोह अलक्ष्य में राजनीति में जुड़कर नगर के उद्योगपतियों, कुछ अफसरों, मंत्रियों, महापालिका के सभासदों, और कुछ राजनीतिक व्यक्तियों के लिए खासा महत्वपूर्ण हो गया था.

"साढ़े नौ-दस बजे खन्ना साहब का नौकर यह खबर लेकर आया कि पुत्ती गुरू सबेरे महल्ले के कुंए में, चबूतरे पर बैठे लोगों से यह कहके कूद पड़े थे कि उनके लड़के बहू हुसैनाबाद में मुसलमान बनने के लिए गये हैं और वो जान दे देंगे. खैर, बचा लिये गये हैं..." रमेश ताव खा गया, उसे अपने पिता से बेहद घृणा हो आयी.

शाम को साढ़े तीन चार बजे के लगभग दफ्तर के चपरासी आकर रमेश खन्ना को साहब का 'सलाम' बोला. उनके कमरे में रमेश ने देखा कि हाजी नबीबख्श के वैद्य बेटे नादिर बख्श भी बैठे हुए थे. खन्ना ने रमेश को बैठने का आदेश दिया, फिर मेज पर पेंसिल से ठकठक करते हुए बोले, "रमेश, मेरा खयाल है कि तुम लाल कुंवर बहादुर और वहीदा बेगम को जानते हो... बात ये है रमेश की कल तुम लोगों के बाद लाल साहब और वहीदन..."

"जी हां, यह भी अपने फादर इन लॉ (ससुर) से आज सवेरे सुन चुका हूं."

"मगर शायद तुम यह नहीं जानते वहीदन आज से घर से निकाल दी गयी है..."

सुनकर रमेश को अनायास ही धक्का-सा लगा, "लाल साहब ने निकाल दिया?"

"नहीं, लाल साहब तो आज सुबह कानपुर गये हैं. उनके बड़े लड़के ने निकाला है..." खन्ना साहब ने इसके बाद में संक्षेप में बतलाया कि एक जायदाद, जिसे लड़कों के बालिग हो जाने के बाद उन्हें बेचने का कोई हक नहीं था, बेचकर लाल साहब ने वहीदन को कोठी और जेवर और दिलाये थे. परसों ही लाल साहब के लड़कों और पत्नी को यह बात मालूम हुई. कल लाल साहब के घर में काफी उपद्रव हुआ था... इधर चार पुलिसवालों को रिश्वत के डंडे से हांककर त्रिवेनी सहाय ने अचानक वहीदन का घर घेर लिया, उसे लूट लिया, फर्नीचर और सामान ट्रकों पर लादकर ले गये. एक भी कमरा या कोठी इस काबिल नहीं रखी कि उसमें कोई बैठ तक सके. मगर वहीदन वहीं बैठी है. खन्ना साहब ने कहा, "मैं यह चाहता हूं कि तुम वहीदन बेगम के पास जाओ और उन्हें किसी प्रकार मनाकर ले आओ."

रमेश एक साथी की साइकिल पर तुरंत रवाना हो गया. वह कोठी जहां उसने अपने जीवन का सबसे अधिक भीषण और भयानक अनुभव पाया था; इस समय टूटी, खुदी और मलबे से भरी हुई थी. रमेश को वह बाढ़ के दृश्य से भी अधिक भयानक लगा. सारी जगह ढूंढा, वहीदन कहीं न मिली. निराश रमेश दफ्तर लौटा. खन्ना साहब ने कहा, "लाल साहब यहां जगह न पाकर शायद अपने ही घर जायेंगे. तुम एक बार उनसे मिलकर हो सके तो बात की थाह लो."

सुबह से लाल साहब कानपुर गये हैं. और उनकी सौभाग्यवती हिंडोले वाली के कमरे में लड़के और वकील बैठे हैं. और बाहर एक मेहमान, एक कॉलम लेखक, रमेश और एक शरीफ इक्केवाला खड़ा है.

'दूर से रामनाम सत्य है,' की आवाजें आने लगीं. उसके साथ ही कार का हार्न भी सुनाई दिया. 'रामनाम सत्य' की आवाजें डूब गयीं. इक्के को देखकर नयी स्टूडीबेकर गाड़ी फाटक के पास रुकी... मियां लपककर दरवाजे से जा लगे और दोनों हाथों से सलामें झुकानी शुरू कर दीं.

तनजेब का कलीदार कुर्ता, जिसमें हीरे के बटन चमक रहे थे, दोनों बाहों पर बारीक चुन्नटें पड़ी हुई..... दोहरा बदन, ऊंची पेशानी, ऊभरी हुई पतली ठोड़ी, रूआबदार मूंछें——हाथ में नाजुक-सी छड़ी लिये बैठे हुए लाल साहब ने सब पर नजर डाली. "चेहरा कुछ भला, कुछ पहचाना सा लगा. फिर एक दम से याद आ गया, "कैसे आये?"

"जी, बात ऐसी कुछ नहीं थी, मैं दरअसल आज शाम को वहीदन बेगम से संगीत संबंधी एक खास इंटरव्यू बंबई के एक पत्र के वास्ते लेने गया था."

"खैर, अपने अखबार में मत लिखना ये सब. वहीदन को तुम्हारे ही इलाके में फिलहाल छोड़ आया हूं. एक मकान के ऊपरी हिस्से में लाला बैजनाथ जो तुम्हारे यहां हैं, उनकी वजह से जगह मिल गयी. खैर, इस वक्त तुम्हारा मंशा पूरा न हो सकेगा. अजीजमन, वहीदन मिल न सकेगी. इसदम."

"खैर न सही. इस बहाने आपके दर्शन हो गये. अब आज्ञा दीजिए."

Funding: Tattva Heritage

रमेश ने उठते हुए कहा.

यह धर्म-भेद, रंग-भेद, आदि झूठी आस्थाएं आखिर कब और कैसे टूटेंगी? सच्ची आस्थाओं को आने से टूटेंगी. इसलिए काम किये जाओ अरविंद. ये भावुक चिंताएं छोड़ो. देखो, तुम्हारा रमेश इस दिशा में क्या कर सकता है...

लच्छू सुबह उठकर झटपट तैयार हो गया. दोस्तों के उपहार जेब में रखे और बगैर चाय पिये ही घर से निकल पड़ा. लच्छू को पाकर हर मित्र मगन था और लच्छू अब रमेश की सूरत देखने के लिए बेताब हो रहा था. पांचों मित्र रिक्शों पर सवार होकर नौशेरवां मंजिल के लिए रवाना हो गये...

दो घंटे बड़ी मौज-बहार के बीते. घड़ी पाकर रानी बेहद मगन थी. लच्छू यहां के हाल जानने को उत्सुक था और यार लोग रूस के. छैलू का गायब हो जाना लच्छू के बहाने नये सिरे से सबके लिए दुखदायी हो उठा. गोडबोले को जाना था. उसे अमरीका की छात्रवृत्ति मिल चुकी है...कम्मी अपना खानदानी बजाजे का धंधा नहीं करना चाहता. नौकरी, और वह भी अफसरी चाहता है. आजकल कांग्रेसियों की खुशामद में लगा है... हर्रो इधर-उधर कई अर्जियां लगाने के बाद भी सूनी आंखें लिये डोल रहा है. उसे शिकायत है कि उसके मौसा श्री आनंद मोहन खन्ना और मौसी बहनजी ने उसके लिए—अपने रिश्तेदार के लिए—कुछ भी नहीं किया. रमेश की नौकरी लगा दी, शादी करा दी. लच्छू को रूस रिटर्न बना दिया. उसे मित्रों से भी शिकायत है... किसी ने उसे एक भी प्रेमिका नहीं दिलवायी. अब सभी के सपने और कार्यक्षेत्र अलग-अलग हो गये हैं.

शामराव गोडबोले चला गया. जयकिशोर और कम्मी भी उसके साथ ही चले गये. लच्छे के आग्रह से रमेश ने छुट्टी लेने का निश्चय कर लिया. हर्रो को चपतियाकर रोका गया. रानी तीनों के लिए पूड़ी, तरकारी और हलवा बनाकर, आप खाकर कालेज के लिए चली. घड़ीवाला कड़ा उसकी कलाई पर चढ़ा था.

सहनची में खटका हुआ, फिर खांसी फिर 'रमेश साब, रानी बहन हैं घर में. जरा उन्हें भेज दीजिए.'

... रमेश लच्छू से, 'मकान मालिक की नवासी हैं...' पर्दे के उस पार बानो की आकर्षण भरी जादुई आंखें थीं. दोनों रसोईघर वाले कैनवस के पार्टीशन की ओर बढ़ गये.

"कई दिनों से आपकी मदद चाहती हूं. बड़े भरोसे से आयी हूं. मेरा भरोसा चकनाचूर तो न कीजिएगा." बानो गंभीर हुई, रुकी और फिर गले को हल्की खंखार देकर कुछ कहते-कहते रुककर मुस्करायी, "कहो, साफ कहूं या बनाके?"

"मैं समझता हूं साफ ही कहना चाहिए?" बानो की मुस्कराती आंखें भिखारी हो गयीं, "मैं चाहती हूं कि आप मुझे मेरे लवर से मिला दें."

रमेश के मन को फिर खरोंच लगी, बानो का प्रेमी कोई और है?

"जिनकी वजह से मुझे घर से भागना पड़ा था. (रमेश अनवर नबाव से सुन चुका है, फिर भी अलम गंभीरता का लबादा ओढ़े सुन रहा है) इस वक्त तो एक बड़े मिल मालिक के दामाद हैं. मगर यह मजबूरी की शादी है... वो लखनऊ आये हैं, यह खत भेजा है और मेरा जबाव मांगा है."

"आप उनकी, माफ कीजिए, क्या रखैल बनेंगी?" रमेश के मन में नफरत और क्रोध का तीखापन आ गया था. बानो उतनी ही भोली और दर्दभरी मुस्कराहट के साथ उतने ही सहज ढंग से बोली, "रखैल का ख्याल पुराना है. मैं आजाद रहूंगी, पढ़ूंगी, आगे कुछ नौकरी वगैरह तलाश करके अपनी जिंदगी का नक्शा आप बनाऊंगी... क्या मैंने कुछ गलत कहा?"

तीसरे दिन सुबह उठते ही सुना कि बानो घर से भाग गयी.

नये वर्ष का पहला दिन. शीत लहरी मैदानों में पहाड़ जमा रही थी. धूप का नाम नहीं. आज शहर के समाजवादी करोड़पति, इलाही-बख्श बावर्ची के बेटे, अब हाजी सेठ नबीबख्श पुराने सर्राफे बाजार से होकर उद्योगपुरी जाने वाली नयी सड़क के निर्माण कार्य का उद्घाटन करने जा रहे थे. अबुल हसन खां, छोटी बेगम के लख्ते-जिगर, नादिर बख्श, हाजी नबीबख्श की शादी-शुदा औरत के बेटे, नूरबख्श उर्फ खोखा मियां ढाके की एक बंगालिन तवायफ के बेटे, तीनों ही अपने अब्बा की बारात निकाल रहे थे.

हाजी नबीबख्श की सबसे बड़ी जीत यह है कि उन्होंने अपने हर काम में मजदूरों को भी हिस्सेदार बना रखा है. राबे रमन से उनकी अहंता की लड़त चूंकि आजादी के आते ही पड़ गयी थी, इसलिए मन अब हर-दम उनकी चाल-अपनी चाल के गुंताड़े ही में पड़ा रहता है. राबे रमन का हाजी-विरोधी प्रचार अपने अतिरेक के कारण सांप्रदायिकता की दुर्गंध फैलाने लगा. जो सदस्य दोनों ओर के रुपयों की मार से अनिश्चय में पड़े हुए थे, अब सोचने लगे कि लड़ाई बेकार है, वे हाजी के पक्ष में होने लगे...बात बनाने का अंतिम यश लच्छू को अयाचित ही मिल गया.

मुहर्रम के दिन शहर में दंगा हो गया. रमेश उस समय लोहा मंडी में था. उसे रेलवे से चुराये गये लोहे के सामान के एक बहुत बड़े गुप्त गोदाम का पता दिया गया था. ससुर और बीच-बीच में लाल से भी दंगे का रहस्य जानकर रमेश उत्तेजना से एकाएक तप गया. बात की तह में रुप्पन का छोटा लड़का मुलायम, खोखा मियां की बड़ा लड़का रफअत और एक लड़की निकली.

रमेश के मन-प्राण यह सुनकर विद्रोह कर उठे. पैसेवालों की ऐयाशी के पीछे निर्दोष व्यक्तियों की जानें जायें, माल लूटे, नुकसान हो, दंगा दबाने के लिए सरकारी मशीन को चलाने का खर्च अधिक बढ़े और सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह है कि धर्मों में वैमनस्य बढ़े और यह सब कुछ व्यक्तित्व अहंता के विषाक्त विस्फोटों के निमित्त हो, रमेश इसे बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पा रहा था.

खन्ना साहब के दफ्तर के कमरे में रात के साढ़े ग्यारह बजे भी सुप्रतिष्ठितों का मजमा लगा हुआ था. हाजी साहब नबीबख्श, लाला बैजू, लाला रूप चंद और डा अशरफ के अलावा स्टाफ के दो-तीन व्यक्ति इन बैठे हुए संभ्रांतों की जी हुजूरी में लगे थे. खन्नाजी बोले, "हाजी साहब, अकेले आप ही नहीं, आपका साथ देने को और भी कई आदमी शहर में निकल आयेंगे... और आपकी इस बात पर सोचता हूं कि कल सुबह से सारे शहर में एक शांति मिशन का दौरा जरूर होना चाहिए..."

दूसरे दिन सुबह खन्ना साहब के शांति मिशन पर निकलने से पहले ही रमेश और रानी दफ्तरी गाड़ी पर अपने घर हुसेनाबाद चले आये. कर्फ्यू के कारण दोनों ही की छुट्टी थी.

सचमुच अनवर नबाब इन दोनों की ओर से चिंतित थे. बाबादीन से खबर पाते ही लकड़ी टेकते हुए आये, क्षण-दो क्षण रमेश को इस तरह देखते रहे, मानो प्यासा पानी पी रहा हो. फिर आगे बढ़कर उसके

अपने पात्र कैसे चुनते हैं?

अपने पात्र कैसे चुनते हैं, इस पर बताया, "बाबा सीताराम की की चर्चा, मई में रायबरेली जिले के गांवों में घूमने का विचार, किसान आंदोलन वाले उपन्यास के लिए सामग्री बटोरेंगे. शिया मुसलमानों के रीति-रिवाज पर मसाला, ढोलक के गीत इकट्ठे किये. उनके डॉयलॉग नोट कर लेते हैं. परिवेश की सामग्री के बीच उन्हें फिट करते हैं. सेठ बांकेमल के चौबे इनके नाना हैं, बांकेमल सुरौंमर हैं." (अध्यापक) मुरालीलाल उपेति ने पूछा, "सुरौंमल नाम क्यों नहीं रखा?" अमृत, "तब अपने नाना का नाम भी देना पड़ता. 'बूंद और समुद्र' की ताई में तीन पात्रों की मिलावट है. बिल्लयोंवाली घटना मेरे ही घर की है."

संदर्भ : डा. रामविलास शर्मा की पुस्तक 'पंचरत्न'

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कंधे पर हाथ रखकर कहा, "गौड़ साहब, आपसे मेरी एक दरखास्त है..."

"हुक्म दीजिए नवाब साहब."

"साल, दो साल, छै महीने, जितने दिन भी मैं और जीऊं, आप मेरा घर छोड़कर न जाइए." रमेश भावाविभूत हो गया.

अलीगढ़ में दशहरे पर हिंदू-मुस्लिम दंगा. . . .दूसरी खबर थी कि मुरादाबाद में मुहर्रम पर शिया-सुन्नी का दंगा हो गया. और ये दोनों ही समाचार आज से एक सौ नौ वर्ष पहले की हिंदी साप्ताहिक 'बुद्धि प्रकाश' के 26-10-1853 के अंक में मैंने आज दिन में पुस्तकालय में पढ़े थे यानी दंगे उस जमाने में भी होते थे.

. . . मैं क्या करूं, मेरी नन्ही मुक्ति बंधन की ओर जा रही है. नन्ही गर्भवती है और उसका गर्भदाता एक मुसलमान है. आज सबेरे मां-बेटी में गहरी कुहा-सुनी हो गयी थी.

लड़की ने प्रेम किया, उसे स्वीकार करने को मैं तैयार था. उसने मुसलमान से प्रेम किया, इसे स्वीकार करने में हिचक थी. वह बिन ब्याहे मां बन रही है—इसे स्वीकार करना तो असंभव ही था. . . यह क्या किया नन्ही ने?

"पर मैं मुसलमान से ब्याह नहीं होने देऊंगी अपनी बिटिया का!" सर्वसत्तामयी साम्राज्ञी का क्रोध तमतमा उठा. . . मैंने कहा, "कैसे रोक सकती हो? एक तो तुम्हारी लड़की बालिग है, दूसरे से उसके होनेवाले बच्चे का पिता अगर चाहे तो कचहरी चढ़ के तुमसे उसे ले जायेगा. . . "

मैं चुप हूं. क्रोध क्यों नहीं आता मुझे? क्या ज्ञान से विकसित चेतना मनुष्य को कायर बना देती हैं? नहीं, वह वैराग्य प्रदान करती है. . . लेकिन वैराग्य किसलिए? मैं जीवन को पाना चाहता था, न पा सका, क्या इसलिए?

अब मुझे नन्ही के हाथ के पीले कर ही देने होंगे. चार-पांच हजार रुपया उसके लिए भी चाहिए . . . राम न सही, काम का सहारा तो है. इसलिए काम कर, काम कर बावरे.

उपन्यास का नया अध्याय अब किस नायक के रूप को उघाड़ेगा? —लच्छू. नौजवान भारत का एक रूप.

लच्छू इन सब पैसेवालों से बदला लेना चाहता है. खोखा मियां से तो उसने किसी हद तक अपना बदला भी लिया और गोपी की हत्या का बदला भी. हर तरफ से सिमटकर लच्छू का मन अब डाक्टर आत्माराम की योजना पर ही केंद्रित हुआ. योजना भले ही उसे अभी पूरी न मालूम हो सकी हो, मगर इतना तो जान ही गया है कि नयी सड़क पर कुछ दूकानें और उद्योगपुरी में कुछ उद्योग छोटी पूंजी के लोगों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए आरंभ किये जायेंगे. भाग्य यों बनता है. भाग्य चाहे—बनाये से भी बनता है.

खोखा मियां ने नगर की जमींदोज दुनिया में प्रवेश किया. सब कुछ हुआ पर खोखा मियां को भद्र समाज में प्रतिष्ठा न मिल सकी. कैसे पायें? डाक्टर आत्माराम की नयी योजना उन दिनों बड़ी प्रतिष्ठा कमा रही थी. खोखा मियां ने डाक्टर आत्माराम को रिझा लिया. खोखा ने शहरों में सफेदपोशी और कस्बों-गांवों में बड़े-बड़े दुस्साहसिक डाकों के हल्ले मढ़ाये. अखबारों में शब्द सनसनाये; मगर उन्हीं अंकों में खोखा मियां की महत्ता पर यथाशब्द भी बरसे थे.

सबसे पहले जानकारी संयोग से रमेश ही को मिली. खोखा मियां की कुर्सी के पास एक छोटी डायरी पड़ी हुई थी. रमेश ने उठा ली. उस रात घर आकर खोखा मियां की डायरी पढ़नी शुरू की. वह फिर ऐसी उछाल मारकर पलंग से उठा है कि रानी अचानक नींद टूटने से घबरा उठी. रमेश सावधान होकर लाइट जलाने के बाद फिर पलंग पर आकर बैठ गया. रानी के कान में कहा, "मामला कहीं कुछ गड़बड़ है रानी... मेरा मन बोलता है कि 27 तारीख को हमारे 'इंडिपेंडेंट' को कुछ धोखा होने वाला है."

सत्ताईस अक्तूबर की रात. इंडिपेंडेंट कार्यालय के पीछे, उसी चहारदीवारी के अंदर संस्थापक निवास के ड्राइंग रूम में डाक्टर आत्माराम, श्री आनंदमोहन खन्ना, श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण उर्फ लच्छू. तीनों आदमी यों बैठे हैं मानों बोलते-बोलते बुत हो गये हों.

चौकीदार ने आके खबर दी कि प्रेस के पोर्टिको में खड़ी एक मोटर कार जल रही है. लच्छू बेहताशा बाहर भागा. खन्ना और डाक्टर भी निकले. पोर्टिको में लच्छू का एकमात्र वैभव, उसकी शान व इज्जत धू-धू जल रही थी. आग बुझाने के प्रयास चल रहे थे.

डाक्टर बोले, "खोखा मियां ने तुम्हें अपने साथ गद्दारी करने की ये सजा दी है.

"इस गद्दारी पर तो अभिमान भी कर सकता हूं डाकसाब, लेकिन आपके साथ गद्दारी करके मैं जीवन भर यों ही जलता रहता जैसे ये—मेरी मोटर जल रही है."

रद्दू सिंह ने अपने चचेरे भाई, शहर कोतवाल शत्रुघ्न सिंह को सारी बातें बतला दीं. खोखा की डायरी अब तक पुलिस के पास पहुंच चुकी थी. शत्रुघ्न सिंह को दूसरे ही दिन रद्दूसिंह से यह नयी सूचना मिली कि सत्ताइस अक्तूबर की रात ही हत्या के लिए भी चुनी गयी है. ड्यूटी से अपने नियमित मार्ग से रात में लौटते समय हाई कोर्टवाली सूनी सड़क पर मोटर दुर्घटना के नाटक के साथ रमेश का जीवन-नाटक समाप्त किया जायेगा. इसी सूचना के अनुसार पुलिस ने जाल बिछाया था. रमेश को ठीक समय पर मैंने लोगों की नजरों से हटा लिया... गोलीबाजी हुई पर पुलिस की प्रबलशक्ति के सामने गुंडों को आत्म समर्पण करना पड़ा, लाल ने आत्महत्या कर ली.

उस रात खन्नाजी के आदेश से रमेश और लच्छू दफ्तर की अतिथिशाला में सोये. पास-पास लेटे, सिगरेट पीते हुए रमेश बोला, "मैंने सपने में भी न सोचा था कि खोखा मियां की डायरी में इंडिपेंडेंट पर आक्रमण के साथ जुड़ा हुआ 'के' मेरा यह खन्ना होगा."

"वो खन्ना मोटर की शराब पिये हुए थे. उसका मुर्दा अब फुंक चुका. अब अपने लच्छू के जौहर देखना."

मित्र के जोश का समर्थन रमेश ने गर्मजोशी से उसका हाथ पकड़कर किया.

आठ उनतीस, रात्रि उपन्यास पूरा हुआ. . .चलो, एक काम और पूरा हुआ. हैमिंग्वे का अभागा औपन्यासिक नायक, बूढ़ा मछेरा अपनी ड्यूटी पूरी-पूरी बजाकर अब फुरसत पा रहा है.

एक माह छह दिन पहले लिखी हुई अपनी अंतिम पंक्ति पर नजर जाती है तो मेरा जी घुट-घुट के रह जाता है. तब जीने का हौसला जागा था, अब सिर्फ मरने ही की हौंस है . . . हमारा बेटा हमें दगा दे गया. उसने आत्म-हत्या कर ली . . .आज से ठीक एक मास पहले . . . इसी समय. क्या कहूं कैसे कहूं? . . .यश-अपयश मनुष्य के वश में नहीं है. फिर यह मरण क्या मेरे उमेशो के अपने हाथों से हुआ है—मार डाला मेरे बच्चे को उस रुपये की महत्ता ने, पैसे-ओहदेवालों और उनके बाल बच्चों की स्वकल्पित व्यक्ति-स्वातंत्र्य की मान्यता ने, मेरे बच्चे के गुलाम बनने के गुनाह ने. वे मोह और लोभ-लिप्साएं अब भी विद्यमान हैं, जिनके कारण मेरे बच्चे को अपनी जान गंवानी पड़ी. इन अज्ञात से प्रतीकों से जूझे बिना ही रह जाऊं? विश्राम करूं या मर जाऊं? तब तो मैं हैमिंग्वे के बूढ़े मछेरे से हार जाऊंगा. जड़-चेतनमय, विष-अमृतमय, अंधकार-प्रकाशमय जीवन में न्याय के लिए कर्म करना ही गति है. मुझे जीना ही होगा, कर्म करना ही होगा. यह बंधन ही मेरी मुक्ति भी है. इस समय भी मेरे दो जीवनाधार तो हैं ही. धुर बचपन से मुझे ढकेलकर अपने साथ दौड़ा ले चलने वाला मेरा अनन्य साथ बछड़ा और दूसरा यह औपन्यासिक नायक मछेरा.

उपन्यास का संक्षिप्त रूपांतर : सुरेंद्र अरोड़ा

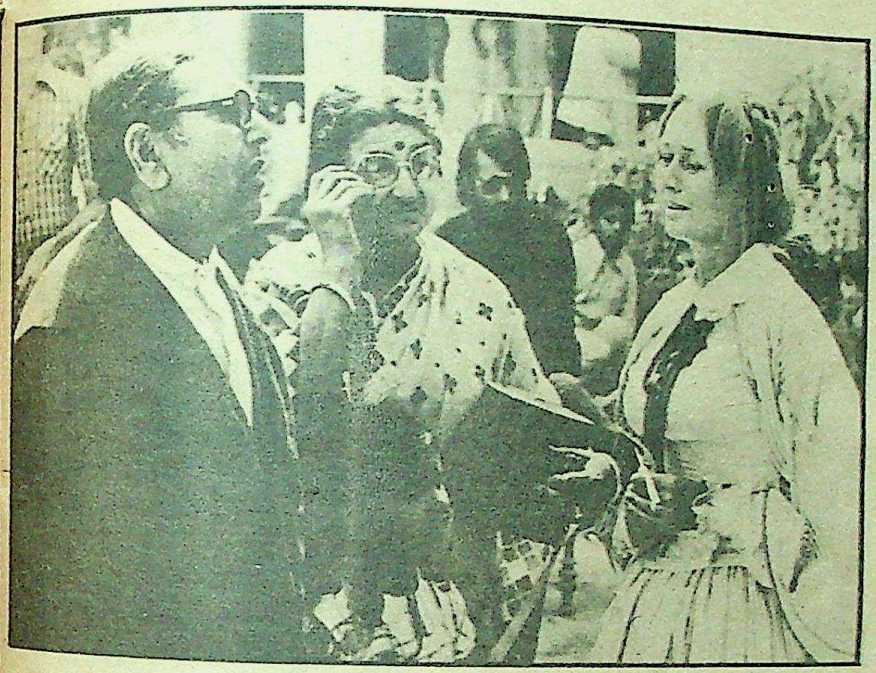
Funding: Tattva Heritage and ...

अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में : पांच

सदाबहार नागरजी

▣ प्रभाकर माचवे

नागरजी के व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व में एक विशेष मोहकता है जो उनसे मिलने वाले किसी भी व्यक्ति को आकृष्ट कर सकती है. . . प्रस्तुत है डा. प्रभाकर माचवे, बाला दुबे और इंदु प्रकाश पांडेय के विचार कि नागरजी ने उन्हें कहां, कब, और किस तरह प्रभावित किया. . .



'जुनून' की शूटिंग के दौरान बांये से—नागरजी, (स्व.) प्रतिभा नागर और श्रीमती जेनिफर कपूर

सन 1938, तब मैं आगरे में दर्शनशास्त्र एम. ए. (फाइनल) का विद्यार्थी था. राजा की मंडी में एक छोटे से गैरेज में रहता था. देखता क्या हूं एक दिन खरामा-खरामा चलते हुए दो मस्तमौला दुबले-पतले नौजवान, लौरेल-हार्डी की तरह, मुझे खोजते-खोजते मिलने आ गये. मुंह में पान रखा हुआ, कंधे पर पीला-सा रेशमी शाल, धोती-कुर्ता. बोले—मैं अमृतलाल हूं, और यह हैं नरोत्तम नागर. अमृतलाल तब भी मुक्त ठहाका लगाकर वैसे ही हंसते थे, जैसे आज भी. नरोत्तम के पतले होंठ व्यंग से वक्र होते थे. याद नहीं तब क्या—क्या बातें हुईं. पर तब वे लोग 'उच्छृंखल' पत्रिका निकालते थे, और जैनेंद्रजी पर 'भाभी-अंक' निकाल चुके थे. नरोत्तम ऋषभचरण जैन की एक दिल्ली से निकलने वाली सिनेमा की पत्रिका 'रंगभूमि' के संपादक थे. तब जाना कि नागर जी मूलत: गुजराती, आकर उत्तर भारत में बस गये. बाद में तो उन्होंने लखनऊ में 'उप-नागरिकाओं पर 'ये कोठेवालियां' पुस्तक लिख डाली. रसिक जीव नित्य विजया-सेवी.

फिर नागरजी से भेंट हुई बंबई में. प्रगतिशील लेखक संघ की बैठकों में, इप्टा में और अनेक बार शिवाजी नगर में. एक बार तो मुझे और पत्नी को नागरजी स्टूडियो में 'शूटिंग' कैसी होती है, यह दिखाने ले गये. तब 'लोक-युद्ध,' और 'नया साहित्य' के गत महायुद्ध के पी. सी. जोशीवाले दिन थे. बंबई में बहुत से प्रगतिवादी हिंदी लेखकों का जमावड़ा था. नरेंद्र शर्मा, डा. जगदीश चंद्र जैन, रमेश सिन्हा, शमशेर बहादुर सिंह, नेमिचंद्र जैन, बंशीधर, बलराज साहनी, अमृतलाल नागर आदि. तब राम विलास शर्मा, 'आगिया-बैताल' नाम से राजनीति व्यंग कविताएं लिखते थे. अमृतलाल नागर ने 'नया साहित्य' के शुरू के अंकों में 'सौमिआई' उपनाम से सिनेमा पर भी लिखा था, याद आता है. अब यह सब बातें इतिहास की वस्तुएं हो गयीं.

अमृतलाल नागर ने तब बंगाल के अकाल पर 'महाकाल' उपन्यास लिखा 1943 में. पर मुझे उनकी चुलबुली शैली में लिखे गये. 'नवाबी मसनद' और 'सेठ बांकेमल' सबसे अच्छी किताबें लगती हैं. उपन्यासेतर अन्य कामों में उनके दो बड़े महत्वपूर्ण अनुवाद हैं. मराठी से गोड़से-गुरुजी का 1857 में लिखे 'माझा प्रवास' का अनुवाद. और तमिल की 'शिलप्पा धिकारम्' पर आधारित (पहले रेडियो के लिए बाद में उपन्यास रूप में परिणत) 'सुहाग के नूपुर.'

व्यक्ति नागरजी से साहित्यिक नागरजी अलग किये ही नहीं जा सकते. यही उनकी विशेषता है.अब वह लिखने वालों की पीढ़ी कम होती जा रही है. जो मुक्त हृदय से मुक्त मन से जीवन जीती थी. जो जीवन में देखती-सुनती थी, वही प्रामाणिक ढंग से लिखती थी. सूरदास पर लिखने लगे जो ब्रज-भूमि से समरस हो गये. तुलसीदास पर लिखा तो अवध के जीवन के चप्पे-चप्पे को छान मारा. 'बूंद और समुद्र' में तो लखनऊ के चौक का 'सां एल्यूमिनेर' सामने आ गया. सब कुछ जीवंत छविमय, वही ध्वनियां, वही गंध, वही स्पर्श. नागर की महत्ता इसी 'भूमि स्पर्श मुद्रा' में है. इसी से वे भंगियों के बारे में लिखें या रंडियों के, कहीं भी खोटा सिक्का बजता नहीं, लगता सब कुछ एकदम सौ टका 'आथेंटिक' है.

इसका मूल रहस्य उनकी मंडलीबाजी में है. उनके घर में सदा सब तरह के लोगों का जमघट बना रहता था. उनके अतिथ्य का कोई जवाब नहीं. छोटे-बड़े सब तरह के लोग, पढ़े-लिखे विद्वान-अनपढ़ सब नागरजी की चौपाल में उनके कहकहों में शामिल. नागरजी भाषा इस तरह जनजीवन के निकट—संपर्क से सीखी. अंग्रेजी किताबें पढ़-पढ़कर और डिक्शनरियों से नहीं. वैसे कई बोलियों और भाषाओं पर अधिकार रखते हैं. जब मैं लखनऊ गया था, उनकी पत्नी चौकवाले घर में थीं. उन्होंने कहा अब तो, नागरजी, दूर कहीं मकान बना रहा है, वहां रहने चले गये हैं. आपको वहां पहुंचने में कष्ट होगा. पर मुझे मिलना जरूरी था. मैं खोजखाजकर वहां पहुंचा. वही पान की गिलौरी, वही मिठाई देते हुए बोले—देखिये, अब कान से भी कम सुनाई देता है. आंखें भी कमजोर हो गयी हैं. पर हौसला यह है कि एक वृहद उपन्यास 1857 से 1947 तक के भारत की पट-भूमि पर लिख रहे हैं, कई पीढ़ियों वाले पात्रों का. अद्भुत जीवट है अमृतलाल जी में. ऐसे अमृत लेखनी से सदाबहार व्यक्तित्व भारतेंदु के बाद हिंदी में बहुत थोड़े हुए हैं. जुग-जुग जियें अमृत लाल. . . . □

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

लापता होना नागरजी का . . .

▣ बाला दुबे

अप्रैल सन् 1981. इतना याद है कि पहली अप्रैल का दिन नहीं था.

सुबह के ग्यारह बजे गांधी शांति प्रतिष्ठान में नागरजी से जैराम जी की हुई और लगे हाथ भांग-ठंडाई का प्रोग्राम भी बन गया. यह कोई अजूबा बात नहीं थी. बल्कि एक सोशल कांट्रेक्ट था कि जब मैं नागरजी के पास लखनऊ जाता या वे मेरे शहर में आते तो सिल-लोढ़ी खटकने लगती. वैसे यह दिन बहुत ही शुभ और स्मरणीय था. नागरजी को 'पद्मविभूषण' बनने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था और इधर विश्वनाथजी ने इनकी पुस्तक 'खंजन नयन' की गोष्ठी भी रख दी थी. इस दिन नागरजी दिल्ली में दो चिड़ियों को एक ही तीर से मार रहे थे. और भी हर्ष की बात यह थी कि 'बा' भी आयी हुई थीं. मैंने नागरजी से पूछा, "खाना कैसा रहेगा. . . . मांस-मछली या घास-पात ?" मांस का नाम सुनते ही नागरजी हंसे, "पंडितों के साथ ऐसा मजाक ? आज तो कड़ी चावल बने तो आनंद आये." विजया का 'मीनू' तो पुराना था ही—बादाम, पिस्ते, मुनक्के, केसर और काली मिर्च . सिल-लोढ़ी बज उठी. लुढ़िया तो शंकर भगवान तसुब्बर करके उन पर विजया-भोग चढ़ाया गया. और फिर छककर पी गयी. कुछ देर तक 'वतन की गल' हुई, गाना उड़ा और फिर करीब तीन बजे मैं, बा और नागरजी को गांधी शांति प्रतिष्ठान छोड़ आया.

'बैंग फाइव थर्टी' पर हम गांधी प्रतिष्ठान के फाटक में घुसे, एक तो विजया भवानी की मंद-मंद कृपा और अंतरमन में हर्ष कि आज पद्मविभूषण अमृतलाल नागर की पुस्तक 'खंजन नयन' का 'पोस्टमार्टम' करने हिंदी साहित्य के दिग्गज 'सर्जन' भी अपनी अपनी छुरी-कैंची का प्रयोग करेंगे. देखते क्या हैं कि हाल के दरवाजे पर विश्वनाथजी, ईश्वर चंद्रजी, अचला नागर और कोई दस-बारह सज्जन हाथ में मालायें पकड़े खड़े हैं. मेरी कार देखते ही वे चिल्लाये, "आ गये, आ गये."

भंग के झोंके में पहले मुझे ऐसा आभास हुआ जैसे मैं ही नागरजी होऊं. फिर मैंने आंखें मिचमिचा कर देखा और सोचा 'या इलाही ये माजरा क्या है.' वे लोग बोले, "नागरजी कहां हैं?" मैं भौंचक.

"नागरजी ? नागरजी तो मेरे साथ आये नहीं हैं." अब ईश्वर चंद्रजी घबराये.

कुछ भाइयों को शक भी हुआ कि हो न हो इस पट्ठे ने नागरजी को 'किडनैप' कर लिया है. विश्वनाथ जी बगैर संतुलन खोये बोले, "तो क्या नागरजी आपके साथ दोपहर को नहीं गये थे ?"

मैंने कहा, "जरूर गये थे." उन्होंने मेरे साथ खाना खाया था. 'बा' साथ में थीं. मैं उन्हें यहां तीन बजे छोड़ गया था."

यह सुनते ही हड़ौआ मच गया.

"तो फिर नागरजी कहां लापता हो गये ?" सभी सोचने लगे. कोई भीतर भागा तो कोई बाहर. कुछ भाई लोग ऊपर चढ़ने लगे. मैं घबराया. हे राम, अगर नागरजी नहीं मिले तो मेरी खटिया खड़ी हो जायेगी. पद्मविभूषण को 'किडनैप' करने के शक पर कहीं ऊंच-नीच हो गया तो लेने के देने पड़ जायेंगे.

भंग की तरंग में दिल में दुगन लय से जल-तरंग बजने लगी. तभी अचला नागर चिल्लाती हुई आयीं, "मिल गये, मिल गये." नागरजी मजे से ऊपर कमरे में सो रहे थे. . . . साढ़े पांच बजे तक. □

नागरजी से मुझे बल मिलता है

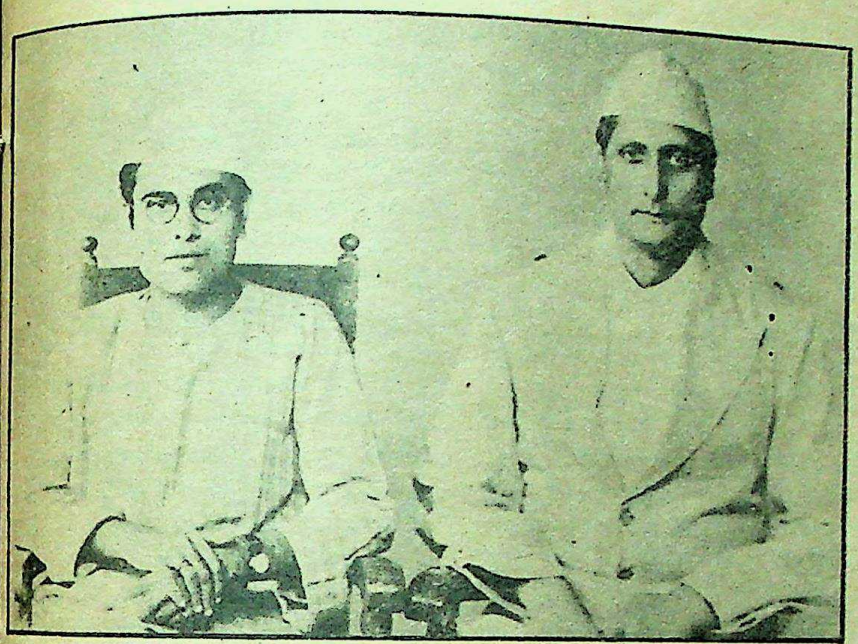
▣ इंदु प्रकाश पांडेय

मुझे सात हजार किलोमीटर की दूरी पर जर्मनी में रहते हुए भी, उनका स्नेहसिक्त अनुग्रह सतत प्राप्त है. मैं प्राय : अपने देश की सामाजिक और धार्मिक विसंगतियों को देखकर डरता रहता हूं और मन में ऐसा भाव बढ़ता जाता है कि यह सुसंस्कृत समाज शीर्घ्र ही विश्रृंखल हो जायेगा. नागरजी से मुझे बल मिलता है और मेरा भ्रम कुछ-कुछ दूर होने लगता है. वे बड़े ही आत्मविश्वास के साथ मुझसे कहते हैं, "1857 के बाद देश में जो स्थितियां आयीं और जिन से अनेक प्रकार के उखाड़-पछाड़ की श्रृंखला चली, आज तक चली आ रही हैं. अभी तक कोई स्पष्ट रूप नहीं बन पाया परंतु मेरा अटल विश्वास है कि भारतीय समाज कितना भी इधर-उधर भटके, वह अपनी मूल आस्था को नहीं छोड़ पायेगा." इतना आस्थापूर्ण आशावाद मैंने किसी अन्य कलाकार और चिंतक में नहीं पाया. पश्चिमी जर्मनी के लोग इस समय विकट आतंक में रह रहे हैं कि न जाने कब अणु युद्ध शुरू हो जाये और मानवीय सभ्यता का विनाश हो जाये. इनके साथ 18 साल से रहते हुए मेरे मन में भी अनेक प्रकार की आशंकाएं बैठ गयी हैं. अत : जब मेरा भयाकुल मन नागरजी का सामीप्य प्राप्त करता है, तो आश्वस्ति का अनुभव करता है. अपने देश को लेकर मेरे मन में और भी अधिक डर है कि कहीं और भी भयंकर विस्फोट न हों. तो उनसे यह सुनकर कि, "हम अंधकार से नकल कर प्रकाश में आ रहे हैं और प्रकाश की चकाचौंध हमें सहनी है." डर का कुछ हद तक शमन होता है. जब उन्हें लगता है कि उन की यह बात पूरी मेरे मन में स्थान नहीं पा रही है, तो वे विश्वास दिलाते हुए मुझसे कहते हैं, "मैं यह नहीं मान सकता कि प्रकाश गलत है. समाज पतन की ओर नहीं जा रहा. देश रसातल में जा रहा है यह मैं नहीं मानता. ये संक्राति काल की कठिनाइयां हैं, जिनसे मैं घबरा नहीं रहा हूं." दो प्रमुख विशेषताओं के कारण मैं उन पर मुग्ध हूं, निछावर हूं. एक तो स्वयं पर हंस सकने की उन की अद्‌भुत सामर्थ्य और दूसरी विशेषता है कि वे अन्य व्यक्ति को स्नेह और सम्मान देते हैं. बिना किसी लाग-लपेट या कुंठा के दूसरे को अपना लेते हैं और अपनी मूल पर हंस लेते हैं. एक बार वे मुझे बताने लगे कि प्रारंभ में उनकी भाषा पर प्रसाद और चंडी प्रसाद पांडेय की भाषा और शैली का बड़ा रंग चढ़ गया था. 'माधुरी' के संपादक पंडित रूपनारायण पांडेय ने तब एक बार उनसे कहा, "अब तो आप बहुत विद्वान हो गये हैं, अब तो आपकी कहानियों में फुटनोट लगाने पड़ेंगे." यह कहकर वे स्वयं काफी देर तक जोर से हंसते रहे. नागरजी से उनके उपन्यास 'बूंद और समुद्र' को लेकर मेरी बहुत बातें होतीं हैं. जब मैंने उन्हें बताया कि बाला के शुक्ल महिपाल का विवाह गेंगासों के परिवार की कल्याणी से करवा दिया है, तो संभव नहीं. तो बड़े अश्चर्य में पड़ गये. बड़ी चिंता के साथ पूछा, "काहे भैया?" मैंने बताया तो अपनी इस चोट पर बारबार सोचते और रह-रहकर हंसते, 'अभी मुझे कितना और जानना है.' मुझे पछतावा होने लगा. और अधिक से अधिक ज्ञानार्जन के लिए उन्होंने क्या कुछ नहीं किया, कोठों पर गये और कोठेवालियों से इंटरव्यू लिये, लखनऊ में कई खुराफातें करायीं. केवल हाई स्कूल उत्तीर्ण नागरजी अपने स्वाध्यय और अध्ययवसाय से न केवल हिंदी के महान कहानीकार और उपन्यास-लेखक बन गये, एक पुरातत्ववेत्ता, समाजशास्त्री एवं भाषाविद भी बन गये. अंग्रेजी, बंगला, गुजराती, मराठी, उर्दू तथा तमिल भाषाओं का अच्छा ज्ञान है. उनका इतिहास-ज्ञान तो उनके उपन्यासों में अपने पूर्ण रूप में प्रकट है. उन्हें को उनके साथ रखकर सोचने में मुझे बल मिलता है.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and

अमृतलाल नागर के संस्मरण : दो

गढ़कोला में पहली निराला जयंती



कहानी के भीतर कहानी की बात तो ठीक लगती है, लेकिन संस्मरण के अंदर संस्मरण की बात कुछ अजीब लग सकती है, लकिन निरालाजी के गांव में उनकी पहली जयंती पर लिखा नागरजी का यह संस्मरण कुछ ऐसा ही है, जो उनके किस्सागो पर भारी पड़ उन्हें बहुत बड़ा संस्मरणगो साबित करने के लिए पर्याप्त है. प्रस्तुत ह 'गढ़ा-कोला में पहली निराला जयंती' का संक्षिप्त रूपांतर—

एक बार फिर वसंत पंचमी आयी—निरालाजी के निधन के बाद पहली वसंत पंचमी. गढ़ाकोला ग्राम से निरालाजी के भतीजे श्री बिहारीलाल त्रिपाठी और उनके अन्य दो-चार सगे संबंधी मेरे यहां आये. वे लोग गढ़ाकोला में निराला जयंती मनाना चाहते थे.

तय हुआ कि मैं वसंत पंचमी के दिन सुबह पहली बस से पुरवा पहुंच जाऊं. वहां से वे लोग मुझे गढ़ाकोला ले जायेंगे.

सुबह साढ़े आठ-नौ तक बस पुरवा पहुंच गयी. हम बस से उतरे. वहां सब कुछ था, मगर गढ़ाकोला पार्टी के लोग कहीं नहीं दिखलाई पड़े. आध घंटे के बाद आखिर बिहारीलालजी दो अन्य व्यक्तियों के साथ साइकिलों पर आ पहुंचे. उन्हें देखकर जान में जान आयी. तभी एक दूसरी समस्या उपस्थित हुई. बिहारी-लालजी ने किसी से बैलगाड़ी का प्रबंध किया था. ऐन समय पर लड़ापंति ने लढ़ा देने से इन्कार कर दिया. पुरवा में दो-तीन इक्के तो अवश्य खड़े थे, पर वे चुनाव के दिनों में एक खादीधारी नेतानुमा व्यक्ति को गढ़ाकोला ले जाने के लिए पांच रुपये मांग रहे थे.

बिहारीलाल जी बड़े शशोपंज में पड़े. मैं स्वयं भी थोड़े रुपये लेकर ही घर से चला था. इसलिए एक ओर के पांच रुपये रेट पर राजी न हुआ.

अब क्या किया जाये. सामने तीन साइकिलें ही नजर आ रही थीं.

साइकिल चलाना मैं वाजिब ही वाजिब जानता हूं, लेकिन यहां साइकिल के अलावा और कोई साधन ही नजर न आया. सोचा कि बजरंगबली का नाम लेकर अब इसी पर चढ़ा जाये. जो होगा, सो देखा जायेगा.

एक जगह टांग उछालने भर का एक जरा ऊंचा-सा मिट्टी का ढूह था. उसके सहारे साइकिल पर सवार हो गया. कच्ची बलुहा सड़क पर नजर के किनारे-किनारे हम चल पड़े. राह चलते बातें होने लगीं. पता लगा कि शिवधारी त्रिपाठी के चार लड़के हुए : गयादीन, जोधा, रामसहाय और रामलाल. गयादीन के दो लड़कियां हुईं. जोधा के बदलू प्रसाद हुए. रामसहाय के सूर्यकुमार और राम लाल निःसंतान मरे. सूर्यकुमार बाद में अपना नाम बदलकर सूर्यकांत हो गये और कवि होने के कारण उन्होंने निराला उपनाम धारण कर लिया. बदलू प्रसाद के चार बेटे बिहारीलाल, रामगोपाल, केशवलाल और कालीचरण. सूर्यकांत के पुत्र रामकृष्ण और बेटी सरोज हुई. बिहारीलाल भाई ने मुझे बतलाया था कि भाइयों-भाइयों में कुछ कहा-सुनी हुई तो रामसहाय बाबा खेत में खुरपी गाड़ के गांव से चले गये. वे ऊंचे-पूरे व्यक्ति थे. कलकत्ता-पुलिस में उन्हें नौकरी मिल गयी. होते-करते जमादार हो गये. फिर हुवां लाट साहब के मन चढ़ गये और उनकी अरदली में चले गये. लाट साहेब हमेशा रामसहाय बाबा को अपने साथ-साथ रक्खें. तो एक बार महिसादल महराज के हियां लाट साहेब गये. महिसादल महराज ने रामसहाय बाबा को देखा तो लाट साहेब से कहा कि इन्हें हमें दे दीजिए, हमारे यहां ऐसा कोई जमादार नहीं है. लाट साहब ने उन्हें दे दिया. रामसहाय बाबा महिसादल में रहने लगे. फिर साल-भर बाद रामलाल बाबा भी वहीं चले गये.

सरसों स्वर्ग की लक्ष्मी की तरह खेतों में अंतरिक्ष से अंतरिक्ष तक छायी हुई थी. दायें-बायें जिधर भी दृष्टि घूमती, सरसों का पीला-पन मन को बांध लेता था.

हम लोग नहर के दाहिनी ओर मुड़े. पेड़ों के झुरमुट के पार मंदिर का कलश चमक रहा था. यही गढ़ाकोला था. मन में एक फुरफुरी-सी दौड़ गयी. ग्राम गढ़ा कोला, पोस्ट चमियानी, जिला उन्नाव को निरालाजी अपनी कहानी 'चतुरी चमार' में सदा के लिए अमर कर चुके हैं. सच तो यह है कि गढ़ा कोला मेरे मन में निरालाजी के गांव से अधिक चतुरी चमार के रूप में बना हुआ है. यहां आते ही 'कालिका नाउ' और 'चतुरी चमोर' की याद आने लगी. कलाकार

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

का बड़प्पन इसी में है कि उससे अधिक पाठकों को उसके पात्रों की याद आये.

खेत पृष्ठभूमि में छूट गये. बस्ती आने लगी. मिट्टी के कच्चे घर, उनमें भी अधिकांश खंडहर, गलियां बीच में धंसी और गड्ढों से भरी हुई. घरों के सामने कई जगह मच्छरों के गुच्छों से आच्छादित नाबदान. कहीं गायें, कहीं बैल और कुत्ते.

गलियों में चक्कर लगाते हुए हम एक मकान के सामने आ खड़े हुए. पुरानी नक्काशी वाले द्वार पर एक कागज चिपका था. उस पर लिखा था : 'महाप्राण निराला स्मारक भवन'. मैंने बिहारीलालजी से कहा, "घबराइएगा मत. आपका यह कागज संगमरमर से अधिक टिकाऊ सिद्ध होगा."

वह बेचारे कुछ समझे नहीं, झेंपकर बोले, "क्या करें पंडितजी, अपने मन का हौसला पूरा कर लिया. नहीं तो जौन आप संगमरमर के पत्थर की बात कर रहे हैं. वहै हमरेउ मन मां रही. आज तो निराला काका सबके हैं, पर एक दिन रहा, जब निराला काका हमरे हे हमरे रहे. इनफ्लुंइजा में हमारे बाप-महतारी मर गये. हम नान्ह-नान्ह रहे. निराला काका चक्की पीसें, हमका बनाय के खवावैं, हमका पालैं. रामकेसन होरे तौ डलमऊ मां रहत रहें नाना मियां के हियां, और निराला काका हमारे पास रहैं. काकी हमारी गुजर गयी रहें तो इन्हैं ब्याह के लिए बहुत लोग घेरैं, बहुत देखुआ आवैं. एक बाजपेईजी रहे. उइ आये और कहै लगे, महाराज, आपकी कुंडली मां दूसर विहाव लिखा है. काका कहिन, अरे, जब हमहैं न करब तो कहां ते होई.

अपनी जन्मपत्री के ग्रह-नक्षत्रों को निराला ही पछाड़ सकते थे. अनेक लोगों ने अनेक दफे उनकी कुंडली देखकर बताया है कि दूसरा विवाह लिखा है, पर जब निराजी ही नहीं करना चाहते थे, ग्रह-नक्षत्रों की हस्ती ही क्या थी, जो उनका विवाह करवा सकते.

घर के आगे दाहिनी ओर पर एक छोटी-सी खुली जमीन थी. वहां शामियाना लगा था, तखत पड़े थे. तखत पर एक चौकी पर एक लोहे की कुरसी रखी हुई थी. मैंने बिहारी लालजी से लखनऊ में कहा था कि निराला जी का चित्र ले आऊंगा. अनेक वर्षों पहले मेरे छोटे भाई प्रख्यात चित्रकार मदनलाल नागर ने प्रयाग जाकर निरालाजी का एक छोटा तेलचित्र बनाया था. उसके आधार पर फिर एक बड़ा तेलचित्र भी उसने बनाया, जो अब लखनऊ महापालिका के संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है.

छोटा चित्र अनेक वर्ष हुए, निराला जयंती के अवसर पर एक कवि महोदय मुझसे मांग ले गये थे. फिर उन्होंने उसे लौटाया ही नहीं. मैंने बिहारीलालजी को वही चित्र ला देने का वचन दिया था. कवि बंधु के यहां से चित्र तो खैर मैंने किसी तरह मंगवा लिया, पर राम जाने उन्होंने उसे सीलन पानी में डाल रखा था कि तस्वीर पूरी तौर पर नष्ट हो गयी थी.

बिहारीलालजी ने उसी चित्र की आशा में यह सिंहासन सजाकर रखा था, पर अब क्या हो. एक सज्जन बोले, "धर्मयुग में निरालाजी का चित्र है. उसे ही काटकर किसी लकड़ी के तख्ते पर चिपका दिया जाये."

'धर्मयुग' का अंक आया. किसी विद्यार्थी की पट्टी आयी. किसी ने किसी को लेई बनाने का हुकुम दिया. मैंने कहा, "उसकी आवश्यकता नहीं. धर्मयुग से चित्र को फाड़ने की आवश्यकता नहीं, डोरी ले आइए. सरसों के फूल ले आइए. काम बन जायेगा."

मैंने पट्टी पर धर्मयुग के पन्ने उलटकर वह चित्र बांधा, सरसों के फूल चारों ओर से इस तरह खोंसे कि उनका फ्रेम बन गया. गेंदे के फूल भी आ गये. उन्हें बीचोंबीच में सजाया. ऐसी शोभा आ गयी कि क्या कहूं.

बिहारी लालजी ने अपनी शक्ति-भर बड़ा आयोजन किया था. आसपास के गांवों में लोगों को न्यौता भिजवाया था. झंइयम-झंइयम बाजा भी मंगवाया था. ऐसा लगता था कि जैसे रामसहाय त्रिपाठी के घर आज ही सूर्यकुमार का जन्म हुआ हो.

शामियाने के नीचे, बल्कि यों कहूं कि उसके बाहर एक पुरुष बैठे थे. किसी ने बताया कि वे चतुरी के भतीजे भगवानदास हैं. उनकी आयु बकौल उनके पांच ऊपर सत्तर थी. मैंने पूछा, "पंडितजी जब पहली बार बंगाल से गांव आये तो उनकी क्या उमर थी?"

भगवानदास बोले, "कनिया मां रहे, तब दुई एक दांई आये रहें. बाकी त्यारा-चौदा बरस के रहे, तब उइ हिया आये. बारा-बारा 'ग्यांद' खेलें..." इस पर महावीर नाम के एक सज्जन बोले, "गोली दिन-दिन भर ख्यालैं. वे पांचों उंगलियों से अलग-अलग गोली मार लेते थे."

भगवानदासजी का भाव उमड़ रहा था. कहने लगे, "पंडितजी, हम पंचन का इतना मानत रहैं कि अपने परिवरहन न मानैं और फिर जब उइ बड़े हुइके हिया आवैं तौ हम पंचै उनका छाड़ि कै कौनौ काम नहीं किहिन. कुस्ती लड़ावैं का बहुत सौक रहा. सबका एक-एक लंगोट बनवाइ न."

राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में निरालाजी ने अपने गांव के जमींदार के अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध बहुत बड़ा आंदोलन चलाया. श्री गयाप्रसाद, श्री भगवानदास, श्री महावीर एक में एक बात जोड़कर सुनाने लगे, "मिटिन होत रहे. एक मीटिन निरालाजी कराइन, बालकृष्ण शर्मा 'नवीन' आये रहे, देबिन के पास तंबू गाड़ि के मीटिन मैं. बहु जमाने मां लगान अदाई तौ होति न रहे, तौन रैयतु मारी-पीठी जायें, वही जमाना मां दुई-चार पिटवायेगे, तौन निरालाजी रिसायगे, किसान संगठन कहाइन, पूरे गांव जमीनों का इस्तीफा कराय दिया— दुई-चार लोग चाहे न किहिन होय, बाकी सब किहिन. साल-भर जमीन परती पड़ी रही."

निरालाजी के आंदोलनकारी रूप की कल्पना तो मैं सहज ही कर सकता था. चतुरी चमार में उन्होंने उन दिनों का ब्यौरा दिया है. अन्याय के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज को उठाये बिना निरालाजी रह ही नहीं सकते थे.

अवधी के एक तरुण कवि सूरजप्रसाद द्विवेदी निरालाजी द्वारा बीघापुर स्टेशन पर लालमणिजी को थाल-भर बर्फी खिलाने का किस्सा सुनाने लगे. बोले, "यह बात मैंने लाल मणिजी से सुनी थी और इस पर मैंने एक कौवाली भी लिखी है." कव्वाली का नाम सुन हमें मजा आ गया. सुनाने के लिए कहा. सूरजप्रसादजी सुनाने लगे.

आज बर्फी मिले खाऊं तो मजा आ जाये,
और चाकू से छिलाऊं तो मजा आ जाये.
दोस्तो, सुन लो ये किस्सा बड़ा पुराना है,
महाकविराज निराला को जगत माना है.
गढ़ाकोला में जन्मभूमि काव्य माना है,
रहे प्रयाग तीर्थराज मन लुभाना है.
वहीं दृष्टांत सुनाऊं तो मजा आ जाये,
आज बर्फी मिले, खाऊं तो मजा आ जाये.
आ रही गाड़ी बरेली से चली बीघापुर,
खटाखट बांट रहे थे टिकट खड़े भाथुर.
प्लेट फारम में शोरगुल मचा जैसे बादुर,
दो युवक कर रहे थे बातचीत प्रेमातुर.
मित्रवर मन की बताऊं तो मजा आ जाये,
आज बर्फी जो मिले, खाऊं तो मजा आ जाये!
सुना तो निराला जी मुस्कराये हैं,
दबे पांवों ही वहां से तुरत सिधाये हैं.
उठा दूकान से बर्फी का थाल लाये हैं,
सामने लाके रखा मृदुवचन सुनाये हैं.
अजी बैठो मैं खिलाऊं तो मजा आ जाये,
आज बर्फी जो मिले, खाऊं तो मजा आ जाये!
देख लीला को निराला की वह लजाये है,
चकित होके चरन कमलों में सर झुकाये है.
ठान हठ थाल में ही बर्फियां खिलाये हैं,
थाल लौटाते हुए दाम जो चुकाये हैं.
कमल 'सूरज' जो बढ़ाऊं तो मजा आ जाये,
आज बर्फी जो मिले, खाऊं तो मजा आ जाये!

मगरायर के श्री रेवती शंकर शुक्ल ने निरालाजी के पहलवानी के किस्से सुनाये. उन्होंने बताया कि गढ़ाकोला में एक रहीस रहा करते थे. निरालाजी से उनकी बड़ी मैत्री थी. उन्हीं की प्रेरणा से डोरसिंघाजी ने मगरायर में वीणापाणि पुस्तकालय की स्थापना भी की. पंडित नंदुलारे वाजपेयी भी मगरायर ग्राम के निवासी हैं. निरालाजी तथा उनके

Funding: Tattva Heritage and

पिता चौरसियाजी से मिलने के लिए अक्सर वहां जाया करते थे. उन दिनों निरालाजी को पहलवान बनने का बड़ा जोम था. खूब कसरत करते थे और बदन बनाते थे. एक दिन चौरसियाजी से बोले, "बाबूजी, कोई जोड़ नहीं मिलती."

चौरसियाजी बोले, "घबराओ मत. परागी पहलवान को बुलवाया है."

"कहीं बाहर का रहने वाला है?"

"नहीं, है तो यहीं का, पर आजकल बाहर गया हुआ है."

"तो उसे झटपट बुलवाइए."

उसके बाद से निरालाजी परागी पहलवान से कुश्ती लड़ने के लिए आतुर रहने लगे. एक दिन चौरसियाजी ने बताया कि परागी आ गया है.

दूसरे दिन रुस्तमेहिंद बने हुए झूमते-झामते अखाड़े में पहुंच गये. परागी ने एक-एक करके उन्हें चार बार पटकनी दी. दूसरे ही दिन एक मटकी घी लेकर निरालाजी परागी पहलवान के यहां पहुंचे. बोले, "पहलवान, खूब लड़ते हो. ये लो, घी खाओ."

उसके बाद परागी पहलवान से निरालाजी की बड़ी दोस्ती हो गयी. परागी के अलावा उस क्षेत्र में दुलारे काछी का भी पहलवानी में बड़ा नाम था. एक बार निरालाजी के हौसले और चौरसियाजी के पैसे के बल पर उन दोनों का दंगल कराया गया. दुलारे काछी का बड़ा दबदबा था, लेकिन जब परागी ने उसे पछाड़ दिया तो निरालाजी ऐसे प्रसन्न हुए मानो उन्होंने ही कुश्ती जीती हो. परागी से बोले, "तुम्हें सोने का मेडल दूंगा."

निराला जी और सोने का मेडल. मिट्टी का भी देते तो सोने से बढ़कर होता.

मजमे में एक चितचोरजी भी थे—पास ही के राजापुर गढ़ेवा गांव के रहने वाले. निरालाजी के इलाके में मुझे अगर चितचोर न मिलते तो मजा अधूरा रह जाता. लाखों की हैसियत से कम तो वे बात ही नहीं करते थे और हाल बड़ा पतला था. कहने लगे कि "निरालाजी हमसे बहुत कहें कि चितचोर, कविता लिखो, चितचोर कविता लिखो, पर हम कहें कि नहीं. फिर अभी हाल ही में हमने सोचा कि निरालाजी हमारे बैसवारे के रतन रहे, मित्र रहे, इतना कहत रहे तो लाओ, कविता लिखें. फिर क्या था नागरजी, हमने पांच कविताएं लिख डालीं. आपको सुननी पड़ेंगी."

पांचों कविताएं चितचोरजी ने कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध लिखी थीं. ठाठके साथ सुनायीं.

मीटिंग का समय हो रहा था. बिहारी लाल जी ने कहा कि भोजन करके उधर ही चला जाये. हम घर के अंदर गये. दरवाजे से घुसते ही दहलीज पर एक जगह पुआल का ढेर पड़ा था. बिहारीलाल जी बोले, "काका यहैं बैठि कै लिखत रहे, तकिया छाती तले दबाय लें, और पौढ़े भर लिखा करें."

घर के आंगन की कच्ची चहारदीवारी कई जगह से टूट चुकी थी. बड़ा खस्ता हाल था. पिछवाड़े की तरफ चतुरी चमार के घर की दीवाल पड़ रही थी. निराला का घर-गांव सब कुछ जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में था. इस अति पिछड़े हुए गांव में कीचड़ कांदो और टूटे घरों की बस्ती देख-देखकर मेरा मन अजीब खिसियान से भरता जा रहा था.

भोजन के बाद जुलूस निकला. लोहे की कुर्सी पर चादर ढांककर उस पर निरालाजी का चित्र रखकर उन्हीं के वंश का एक युवक उस सिंहासन को अपने सिर पर उठाये हुए आगे-आगे चला. पीछे गांववालों का हुजूम. घंटा शंख-घड़ियाल की ध्वनि और उसके पीछे चिमटा-झांझ-करताल-मंजीरे बजाते और गाते हुए हुए चतुरी के भाई-बिरादरों की भगत-मंडली. बीच-बीच में —'बोल दे निराला बाबा की जय' के नारे.

सन 38 में निरालाजी यहां से दुखी होकर गये और फिर कभी न आये. ऊंची जाति के लोगों में दंभ और अशिक्षा का बोलबाला था. गरीब जनता बड़ों की लाठी से बुरी तरह त्रस्त थी. जुलूस में साथ-साथ चलने वाले धमनी खेड़ा के श्री दुर्गाप्रसाद मिश्र और काशी-प्रसाद मिश्र दो भाई भी थे. रिश्ते में निराला जी उनके मामा होते थे. काशीप्रसादजी कहने लगे, "सन अट्ठावन में हम लोग वसंत पंचमी के दिन निरालाजी से मिलने के लिए इलाहाबाद गये. उन्होंने बड़ी उत्सुकता से यहां का एक-एक हाल पूछा. मैंने कहा कि एक बार फिर गांव चलिए. सुनकर मामा उदास हो गये. कहने लगे कि क्या जाएं, वहां बड़ी अशिक्षा है. मैंने कहा कि अब गढ़ाकोला और बैसवारा बहुत बदल गया है. वहां गांव-गांव में स्कूल पाठशालें खुल गये हैं. जमींदारी भी खत्म हो गयी है. किसान अब अपने खेतों के मालिक हो गये हैं.

"उसके बाद हम गढ़ाकोला आये. यहां से उनके लिए आम, अमावट, खटाई सब ले गये. निरालाजी को अपने बगीचे के आम बहुत पसंद थे. मैंने एक आम उनकी ओर बढ़ाते हुए कहा, "बदौला को आम आय."

"महाकवि देखकर बोले, "नाहीं, यौ म्याड़ पर वाले को आय." उन्हें अपने बगीचे के एक-एक पेड़ के आम की पहचान थी. अंतिम बार उन्होंने अपने गांव के आम खाये और फिर आम, अमावट और खटाई आदि लेकर अपने पुत्र रामकृष्ण के घर गये."

कच्ची सड़क से जुलूस आगे बढ़ रहा था. अगल-बगल सरसों फूली हुई थी. क्षेत्र के ब्लाक डैवलपमेंट अफसर मेरे पास आये. कहने लगे, "ये सड़क जिसपर कि आप चल रहे हैं, इसका नाम निराला मार्ग है. गांव वाले इसे श्रम-दान से तैयार कर रहे हैं. छह मील की यह सड़क पुरवा में जाकर मिलेगी. फिर वहां से उन्नाव तक यही निराला मार्ग बना दिया जायेगा."

उनकी बात पूरी भी न हो पायी थी कि पंडित बिहारीलाल जी लपकते हुए हमारे पास आये और बायीं ओर का एक खेत दिखाते हुए बोले, "यह खेत रामसहाय बाबा ने निराला-काका के नाम से लिया था. कागज पर सूर्ज कुमार नाम चढ़ा है."

जुलुस और आगे बढ़ा. निराला बाबा की जय के नारे और शंख-घंटा-घड़ियालों का नाद इस समय अपने पूरे जोर पर था. किनारे पर पड़ी एक मड़ैया के आगे खड़ा हुआ एक वृद्ध बार-बार अपनी आंखें पोंछने लगा. गढ़ाकोला के एक सज्जन ने बतलाया कि यह पासी निरालाजी के पास बहुत आया-जाया करता था. इस पर हठात् मेरे मन में बात आयी. छोटी कौम कहलाने वाले दबे-पिसे लोग ही निरालाजी के नाम पर रोने-वालों में यहां अधिक हैं. मैंने छेड़ते हुए पूछा, "यहां के ऊंची जात वालों में कितने लोग निरालाजी के भक्त हैं?"

"अरे बहुत कम, ई पंचै तौ महाकवी का यादौ नहीं कर्तु हैं."

मैं सोचने लगा कि वे लोग भला निराला को क्यों याद रखें. निरालाजी ने उनकी जातिगत उच्चता को कभी स्वीकार नहीं

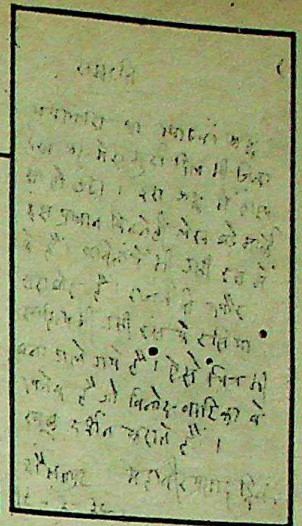
द्विवेदीजी का पत्र अ. ला. नागर के नाम

चकल्लस का आठवां अंक देखकर मेरा मुर्दा दिल भी जिंदा-सा हो उठा. इस अंक में हास्यरस प्रधान कितने ही लेख बड़े और मार्के के हैं. कविताएं भी उसी रस में सराबोर हैं. राजनीति और साहित्य भी उसके रसिया बना डाले गये हैं. ऐसे चित्र भी अनेक हैं, जो विनोद-वाटिका के खूब दर्शन कराते हैं.

19-3-38

महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी

(अ. ला. नागर द्वारा संपादित 'चकल्लस' पत्रिका के संदर्भ में)



Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

अमृतलाल नागर : व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व

जन्म: दो शताब्दी पूर्व गुजरात से इलाहाबाद आकर बसे ब्राह्मण परिवार में, 17 अगस्त, 1916 के दिन, गोकुलपुरा, आगरा में.

जीविकोपार्जन: पिता की मृत्यु के बाद सन् 1935 में एक बीमा कंपनी में 18 दिन तक डिस्पैच क्लर्क की नौकरी, फिर '40 से '47 तक फिल्मों से संबद्ध रहने के बाद '53 से '56 तक आकाशवाणी लखनऊ में ड्रामा प्रोड्यूसर के पद पर कार्य और उसके बाद आकाशवृत्ति.

कृतित्व: सन् 1929 में साइमन कमीशन के बहिष्कार स्वरूप उन्हीं की एक तुकबंदी (कविता) के रूप में साहित्य यात्रा का श्रीगणेश—तदोपरांत वाटिका (1935), अवशेष (1937), नवाबी मसनद (1939), तुलाराम शास्त्री (1941), सेठ बांकेमल (1944), आदमी, नहीं! नहीं! (1947), पांचवा दस्ता (1948), एक दिल हजार दास्तां (1955), एटम बम (1956), पीपल की परी (1963), कालदंड की चोरी (1963), ...सात कहानियां (1970) भारतपुत्र नौरंगी लाल (1972), कहानियों/रेखाचित्र संग्रहों का प्रकाशन.

महाकाल (1946), बूंद और समुद्र (1956), शतरंज के मोहरे (1959), सुहाग के नूपुर (1960), अमृत और विष (1966), सात घूंघटवाला मुखड़ा (1968), एकदा नैमिषारण्ये (1968), मानस का हंस (1971), नाच्यौ बहुत गोपाल (1978), खंजन नयन (1981), बिखरे तिनके (1982), अग्निगर्भा (1984) और करवट (1985) शीर्षक उपन्यासों का सृजन. गदर के फूल (1957), ये कोठेवालियां (1960), जिनके साथ जिया (1973) शीर्षक रिपोर्ताज एवं साक्षात्कारों के संकलन.

परित्याग (1954), युगावतार (1956), नुक्कड़ पर (1963) शीर्षक नाटकों का प्रकाशन और 1951 से 1965 के बीच लिखे पच्चीस रेडियो नाटकों—एवं प्रहसनों का प्रसारण, बात की बात (1974), चंदनवन (1976), चकरदार सीढ़ियां और अंधेरा (1977), उतार-चढ़ाव (1980), चढ़त न दूजो रंग (1981) शीर्षक रेडियो-टी.वी. नाटकों का पुस्तक रूप में प्रकाशन. बालोपयोगी दर्जन-भर पुस्तकों का लेखन और सन् 1941 से ही इनका निरंतर प्रकाशन.

सन् '40 से '47 तक फिल्म क्षेत्र से जुड़े रहकर कई फिल्मों की पटकथा-संवाद लेखन. नागरजी की कई रचनाएं भारत की सभी भाषाओं के अतिरिक्त रूसी भाषा में भी अनूदित हो चुकी हैं. साहित्य अकादमी, सोवियत लैंड नेहरू पुरस्कार, बटुक प्रसाद पुरस्कार, प्रेमचंद पुरस्कार, वीरसिंह देव पुरस्कार और अन्यान्य कई पुरस्कारों के साथ-साथ विद्या वारिधि, सुधाकर पदक और पद्मभूषण से अलंकृत और सोवियत रूस एवं मारीशस की यात्रा. □

मैंने बार-बार गौर से फोटो देखी और कुछ-कुछ पहचान की मुद्रा में चौंका. उसी समय नागरजी की मीठी, पहेली बुझाती आवाज कान में पड़ी, "जानते हो, ये कौन हैं?" और इसके पहले कि मैं अपनी पहेली खुद ही हल करने की कोशिश करूं, उन्होंने अपने आप जवाब दे दिया, "ये हैं अपने बांकेलालजी. 'सेठ बांकेमल' के नायक."

मैं आसमान से गिरा—अरे, अब समझ में आया. ये तो वही सज्जन हैं जिन्हें अक्सर मैं हाटकेश्वर की छजली पर सुबह-शाम बैठे देखा करता हूं. उसके बाद जब भी उनको देखता तो अजीब-सी अनुभूति मन में होती—मेरे लिए, सारे अपरिचय के बावजूद, अब एक खास आदमी बन गये थे, जिनका सजीव चित्रण एक अमर कथाकार ने शायद हिंदी के प्रथम आंचलिक उपन्यास में किया है. पता नहीं, मुझे 'सेठ बांकेमल' हास्य रस की कृति कभी नहीं मालूम हुआ. 'सेठ बांकेमल' के माध्यम से नागरजी ने एक खास युग में से गुजर रहे पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के एक अंचल विशेष को उसके सारे सांस्कृतिक उत्थान-पतन के ताने-बाने में बुनकर प्रस्तुत किया है, और उस जमाने में प्रस्तुत किया है जबकि हमारे आज के अनेक वरिष्ठ आंचलिक उपन्यासकार अपनी कलम की नोंक ही सजा-संवार रहे थे.

मैं नागरजी को बहुत पहले से जानता था, खासकर तब से जब बंगला के अमर कथा शिल्पी शरच्चंद्र चट्टोपाध्याय पर नागरजी का संस्मरण माधुरी में छपा था. जिसमें उस महान कथाकार ने नागरजी को आशीष ही नहीं दिये, अंग्रेजी, बंगला और हिंदी लिपियों में अपने हस्ताक्षर और बार-बार अमृतलाल नागर अपनी हस्तलिपि में लिखा है.

नागरजी जब कभी आगरा आते तो अपनी ससुरालवाले मकान में ठहरते थे, मगर रोज नियम से मेरे घर के सामने से होकर चौराहे पर 'रामकिशन काकाजी' के मकान पर जरूर जाते थे—यह नागरजी की ननसाल थी और यहीं उनका जन्म भी हुआ था. सफेद बुर्राक खद्दर का कुर्ता-पाजामा, और निहायत ही सुंदर पांवों में सूफियानी-सी चप्पलें पहने नागरजी का वह डेढ़ सौ कदम पार करना अपने-आप-में एक निराली तस्वीर खिंच जाती थी. उनके हाथों की उंगलियां इतनी पतली, लंबी और तराशी हुई हैं कि कोई एक नजर में भांप जाये कि यह व्यक्ति निश्चित रूप से कलाकार होगा.

एक बार एक फिल्म देखने गया—'वीर कुनाल.' निर्माता निर्देशक श्री किशोर साहू. नागरजी उन दिनों आगरा में ही थे. मुझसे बोले, "अच्छा, मुझे पहचानना उसमें." मुझे यह तो ज्ञात था कि किशोर साहू की एक अन्य फिल्म 'कुंआरा बाप' में नागरजी ने छोटा-सा रोल किया था, मगर 'वीर कुनाल' के बारे में मुझे पता नहीं था. मैंने गौर से फिल्म देखी, कई पात्रों पर अपना ध्यान टिकाया. मगर कोई नतीजा नहीं निकला. आखिरकार अंदाज करके दो-तीन पात्रों पर नजर केंद्रित करके, बाकी फैसला लौटने पर नागरजी पर ही छोड़ दिया. वापस लौटकर नागरजी से मिला, बोले, "देख आये फिल्म? बताओ, पहचाना मुझे?" मेरे मन में कई पात्रों के बारे में बताने की इच्छा थी. मैंने अचकचाते हुए कहा, "पहले तो मुझे उस कापालिक पर शक हुआ जो बिल्कुल आपकी ही तर्ज में उंगली-नचाता हुआ कहता है—'महारानी, राजरानी तिष्यरक्षितेऽऽऽ...' मैं बात पूरी भी नहीं कर पाया था कि नागरजी बोल पड़े, "खूब पहचाना तुमने." और मैंने अपना तुक्का सही लग जाने के लिए अपनी पीठ ठोंक ली.

नागरजी को अपने पूरे मूड में देखने के लिए जरूरी यह है कि उनके किसी 'फेवरिट' विषय पर चर्चा छेड़ दी जाये—कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि वे उस विषय के पक्ष में ही हों. वे जिस अपनेपन से, जिस तेवर से, जिस उग्रता अथवा व्यग्रता से चर्चा में अपनी बात रखेंगे, उसका सरोकार सिर्फ उन्हें देखने या सुनने से है, उसके बारे में लिखने या पढ़ने से नहीं... उनका चेहरा तमतमा जायेगा, मोटे चश्मे के पीछे से झांकती हुई संवेदनशील आंखें यथा अवसर अपना रूप बदलती चलेंगी, नागरजी के सुंदर, कोमल दोनों हाथ यकायक सक्रिय हो जायेंगे. बायें हाथ से ड्राइंगरूम में रखा हुआ कोई तकिया, या मसनद या मूढ़ा अपनी गोद में समेटकर दायें हाथ की लंबी-लंबी उंगलियां उनके तर्क समथन में दायें-बायें आगे-पीछे घूमने लगेंगी. मुझे याद है ऐसी कई शामें जब नागर जी और डाक्टर रामविलास मेरे मकान पर बैठे हुए इस प्रकार से परिसंवाद का रस बाता-वरण में बार-बार घोल जाते थे. डाक्टर शर्मा, नागरजी से कोई चर्चा शुरू कर देते थे और फिर नागरजी का रौद्र, करुण अथवा हास्य-प्रधान रूप उनके निहायत ही 'मोबाइल' चेहरे पर अठखेलियां करने लगता था. अनेक बार मैंने उन्हें पंतजी, निरालाजी, शुभ-लक्ष्मीजी, नरेंद्रजी, महेशजी (महेश कौल) की विस्तृत चर्चा करते और उनके प्यार भरे संस्मरण सुनाते देखा-सुना है. एक बार मेरी जिज्ञासा

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और कौतूहल सीमाएं तोड़ गये. तब नागरजी और डाक्टर शर्मा के बीच विषय थे 'इंचजोंजी.' मैं बहुत देर तक उधेड़बुन में पड़ा रहा था कि ये इंचजोंजी क्या बला है. बड़ी देर बाद अपने पान से रंगे दांतों को एक अट्टहास के रूप में अनावृत करते हुए नागरजी ने पहेली का हल बताया, "अरे, वही अपने इलाचंद्र जोशीजी."

नागरजी का अगर उग्र या रौद्र रूप देखना हो तो भारत में भाषा विवाद की बात छेड़ दें या देश की वर्तमान स्थिति की बात. वह तर्कसंगत किंतु क्रोधपूर्ण उक्तियां उन प्रगतिशीलों के लिए सुनने को मिलेंगी जो आपसे तो अपेक्षा करेंगे, मगर खुद एक सांस में मार्क्स, लेनिन और दूसरी सांस में शरियत के आधार पर उर्दू की सांप्रदायिकता पूर्ण वकालत करने से बाज नहीं आयेंगे, भले ही उन प्रगतिशीलों में सज्जाद जहीर हों, अलीसरदार जाफरी हों या ख्वाजा अहमद अब्बास हों. इसी तरह से अगर आप उनका गुस्सा देखना चाहें तो देश की एकता अखंडता की बातें छेड़ दीजिए. . . . हजरत 'जलाने' को चुन-चुनकर वह लिल्लाही सुनायेंगे कि सुननेवाला अपने को और अधिक मूढ़मति समझने लगे कि आखिर ये हजरत 'जलाने' कौन हैं जिनकी देश की व्यवस्था में इतनी अधिक और इतनी सक्रिय भूमिका है. तब एक हंसी की पिचकारी में आपको भिगोते हुए नागरजी बतायेंगे. . . . . "और कौन, वही हजरत पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू." बात यह है कि नागरजी नेहरूजी के घोर प्रशंसक और उससे भी ज्यादा उनको प्यार करनेवाले रहे हैं, उन्हें यह बर्दाश्त बिल्कुल नहीं कि उनके महबूब पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू कोई गलत काम (नागरजी की नजर में) करें या कोई गलत कदम उठायें.

नहीं भूलती वह दोपहर. मेरे मकान की बैठक. डाक्टर रामविलास शर्मा, स्वर्गीय भाई विशन कपूर (प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार) और मैं सोफों पर बैठे थे और नागरजी नीचे जाजम पर. उनके दोनों हाथों से एक शांतिनिकेतनी मूढ़ा घिरा हुआ उनकी गोद में भिचा था, उस दिन नागरजी 'ये कोठेवालियां' की एक प्रमुख पात्र बद्रेमुनीर के किस्से सुना रहे थे. यकायक बद्रेमुनीर की मृत्यु की व्यथा का वर्णन करते हुए उनका जो रूप देखा, वह आज भी मन प्राण पर ज्यों का त्यों खिंचा हुआ है. मैंने कई बार 'ये कोठेवालियां' पढ़ा है, बद्रेमुनीर नामक सुंदर वेश्या के अंतिम समय के कुत्सित रूप का रोंगटे खड़े कर देनेवाला दृश्य अब भी आंखों के सामने सजीव हो उठता है.

. . .

नागरजी वास्तव में हृदय ही हृदय हैं. अवचेतन रूप से बौद्धिकता से दूर; हर मामले में उनकी भावना ही प्रधान रहती है, और यही कारण है कि जहां उनके उपन्यासों के प्रमुख पात्रों के दार्शनिक चिंतन उबाऊ और खीज भरे होते हैं, वहीं देश की विभिन्न बोली-बानियों के माध्यम से उन पात्रों को वे सहज ही जीवंतता प्रदान कर देते हैं, जो उनकी खुद की नजर में उनके 'माइनर कैरैक्टर्स' हैं, जैसे 'बूंद और समुद्र' में ताई का चरित्र या 'अमृत और विष' में पुत्ती गुरु. शायद यही नागरजी की कमी है कि वे अपनी क्षमताओं को जानबूझकर दबाते हुए सिर्फ उन चरित्रों पर जोर देते हैं जिनसे प्रकट रूप में मालूम हो कि विशाल दृश्य पटल के लायक ही वह चरित्र हैं, मगर वास्तविक रूप से वे चरित्र काफी 'फ्लैट' और बेजान होते हैं.

तो आज नागरजी अकेले रह गये.

उनके मझले भाई रतन गये! पिछले साल अक्तूबर 27 को उनके सबसे छोटे और लाडले भाई चित्रकार मदनलाल नागर भी नहीं रहे. और अब, कुछ ही महीने हुए उनकी जीवन संगिनी 'बा' (श्रीमती प्रतिभा नागर) ने भी चिरविदा लेकर आंखें मूंद लीं. नागरजी के अनन्य मित्र भगवती बाबू (श्री भगवती चरण वर्मा) और यशपाल पहले ही जा चुके हैं. अब लखनऊ का हजरतगंज, कॉफी हाउस, 'बैनबो' वीरान हो गये.

इधर उनके दोनों बेटों कुमुद नागर और डाक्टर शरद नागर ने अपनी-अपनी व्यावसायिक और पारिवारिक जिम्मेदारियां संभाल ली हैं. तो नागरजी अकेले रह गये.

लेकिन ऐसा है नहीं. नागरजी अकेले नहीं हैं, वे तब तक अकेले नहीं हो सकते जब तक उनके चारों तरफ पात्रों के समूह मौजूद हैं. . .

और फिर रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर की वे पंक्तियां जिसमें उन्होंने पर्वत और नदी की तुलना करते हुए कहा है कि पर्वत से नदी निकलती है, जिसका काम है पर्वत से दूर जाना, और पर्वत सब कुछ देखता रहता है, समझता जाता है, पर शिकायत नहीं करता. □

तीन जन्मों-सी तीसरी मुलाकात!

मोरिशस में दो सबसे प्रिय भारतीय लेखक प्रेमचंद और शरत के बाद नागरजी ही ऐसे कथाकार रहे हैं जिनके पाठकों की संख्या शुरू से अभी तक बरकरार चली आ रही है.

अमृतलाल नागर जी से मिलने और उन्हें जानने के मुझे तीन अवसर मिले हैं.

द्वितीय विश्व हिंदी सम्मेलन में पहुंचे डा. भारती, कमलेश्वर, अमृता प्रीतम, विष्णु प्रभाकर, उपेंद्रनाथ अश्क, और भी कई लोग अलग-अलग कारों से मारिशस की प्राकृतिक सुषमाओं को निरखते निकले हुए थे. नागरजी, राजेंद्र यादव, नंदन और अधिकारीजी मेरी कार में थे. यात्रा कार्यक्रम के अनुसार भारतीय प्रतिनिधिमंडल का मोरिशस के प्रधानमंत्री के साथ भोजन का आयोजन था. इसलिए तय हुआ कि सरकारी गाड़ी के साथ हम दोनों भी अपनी कार लिये सीधे पोर्ट-लुई पहुंचें जहां भोज का वह आयोजन था. तभी नागरजी ने बुजुर्गी और प्यार से लबालब स्वर में कहा, "देखो भई, जिनको प्रधानमंत्री के यहां भोजन पर जाना है वे जायें, मैं तो आज का भोजन अभिमन्यु के साथ उसके घर करूंगा. आप सभी प्रधानमंत्री का भोजन खायें, मैं लेखक का भोजन खाऊंगा."

फिर तो मेरे साथ के सभी लेखकों को मेरे घर पहुंचने की विवशता-सी हो गयी. मेरे लिए यह बहुत बड़े सम्मान का क्षण था. आधे घंटे बाद घर पर जो भी रूखा-सूखा तैयार हो पाया, उससे नागरजी को प्रसन्न पाकर मैं उनके भीतर की महानता को समझ पाया. उन्होंने मुझे नहीं बल्कि साहित्य को राजनीति से अधिक महत्त्व दिया. यह मेरे लिए मात्र एक संस्मरण बनकर नहीं रहा बल्कि एक उपलब्धि और स्वाभिमान भी है. प्रोटोकोल और राजकीय आतिथ्य के शिष्टाचार को भंग करके नागरजी ने मुझे जो इज्जत बख्शी और महत्त्व दिया उससे मेरे साहित्य को जो विद्रोही ताकत मिली शायद उसी का यह भी एक परिणाम रहा हो कि मैं अपने चारों ओर के राजनीतिक चक्रव्यूह में अभी भी लड़ता हुआ जीवित हूं. हो सकता है यह मेरी शक्ति से कहीं अधिक मेरी एक विवशता भी हो. नागरजी के विश्वास को खंडित न कर पाने की विवशता.

दूसरी बार दिल्ली में उनकी पुस्तक 'खंजन-नयन' के विमोचन के अवसर पर मैंने उन्हें देखा और. . . तीसरी बार जब नागरजी से लखनऊ में मिला था तो वह रिश्ता तीन मुलाकातों का नहीं बल्कि तीन जन्मों का-सा था. चौक की एक संकरी गली और स्वच्छंद घूमती गायों के बीच से होते हुए जब मैं राकी के साथ किसी जमाने की उस नवाबी इमारत के भीतर पहुंचा तो अमृतलाल नागरजी पहले ही से लखनऊ की बेहतरीन मिठाइयों के साथ हमारी प्रतीक्षा कर रहे थे.

पुस्तकों और पुरानी मूर्तियों से खचाखच भरे उस कमरे में बाबूजी हमें इस तरह खिलाते रहे गोया हम दोनों छोटे बच्चे थे. यही नहीं, हमें खाते देख उनकी खुमारी भरी आंखों में जो आत्मीयता और आनंद के भाव थे, वे छलक आये थे. □

अभिमन्यु अनत

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अमृतलाल नागर की व्यंग्य रचनाएं : चार

शहर का अंदेशा

भाई साहब, हाथ कंगन को आरसी क्या, इस समय लखनऊ नगर में गली दर गली, घरों में, घरवालियों में, हलवाई, तंबोली, पंसारियों और सब्जीवालों, नौकर-चाकर, धोबी, जमादार-जमादारिन, लाला लल्लाइनों में गर्ज कि घर-घाट, हाट-बाट में बेशुमार चलते-फिरते गजट देखने को मिल जायेंगे. आज पांच रोज से अफवाह गर्म है कि कलकत्त बंगाल की तरफ से चार बड़े लंब-तड़ंग जवान आये हैं. वे रात में घरों के द्वार खटखटाते हैं, 'तार ले जाइए' की आवाज लगाते हैं और जो जाकर दरवाजा खोलता है उसे उन लंबू जादूगरों में से कोई एक तमाचा जड़ देता है. आदमी चटपट मर जाता है. ये लंबे बंगाली जादूगर किसी को लूटते नहीं, बस तमाचा मारकर जान लेते हैं.

इस अफवाह ने चलते-फिरते गजटों को आजकल स्पुतनिक बना रक्खा है. क्या औरतें, क्या मर्द, सुबह से शाम तक जहां तक जाते हैं, यही अफवाह फैलाते हैं.

आज दो रोज हुए; जरदन अंधेरे ही बुढ़ऊ लंबरदार हमारे पैर दबाने आते हैं. उनके पैर मींजने पर हम कुनमुनाए, लंबरदार ने राम-राम की, हमारी नींद टूटी, लंबरदार बोले, "मालिक, अब तौ दुनिया मां रहब मुश्किल हुइगा है. भला यू कौनो इंसाफ की बात आय कि न जान न पहचान न दुश्मनी न अदावत, कुच्छौ नहीं, औ' लै के मनई का भड़ से चांटा जड़ि दिहिन औ' मनई का मारि डालिन."

मैंने सोचा, कोई वारदात हो गयी होगी. ब्योरा पूछा. लंबरदार बोले, "अरे मालिक, एक दुई! . . . हम कहिति हय कि आज दुई रोज मां हियां सौ दुई सौ मनई का मार डालिन. सैकड़न-हजारन का कानपुर मां मारि के अब लखनऊ मां आये हैं."

थोड़ी देर में पत्नी आयीं, पूछा, "अखबार में कोई खबर छपी है?"

मैंने कहा, "कोई क्या, खबरें ही खबरें छपी हैं, उसका नाम ही अखबार है."

मेरी पत्नी चिढ़ उठीं, बोलीं, "तुम बात का जवाब देना ही नहीं जानते. रहने दो, मैं बड़े से पूछ लूंगी."

मैं सोचने लगा कि सुबह लंबरदार ने बेमतलब जिन चांटामार जान लेनेवालों की बात मुझे सुनायी थी वे स्वभाव में मेरी घरवाली या कहूं कि आमतौर पर हर किसी की अधेड़ या बूढ़ी घरवाली से जरूरी मिलते-जुलते होंगे. बड़े बेटों-बेटीवालियां, बहुओं, दामादों, नाती-पोतों-वाली सुहागिनें अपने पतियों को बेबात की बात का नाच नचाना आरंभ कर देती हैं.

आप ही न्याय कीजिए कि बिना जाने मैं यह कैसे समझ सकता हूं कि वो कौन-सी खबर सुनना चाहती हैं. मगर उनके यों तुनक के चले जाने पर कौन जबान खोले. यदि रस-शास्त्र की नायिका-भेदी दृष्टि से प्रौढ़ अधीरा कहूं तो उनका मातृ-पद, सास-पद भृकुटियां तान-तानकर देखता है. बड़ी मुसीबत है. बंगाले के चांटामार जानलेवाओं की अफवाह तो आज उड़ी, मैं तो कहता हूं कि हर भाग्यवान घर में सदा से ऐसी चांटे-मार जानलेवा, जादूगरनियां रही हैं. और लीजिए, मैं, यह सब सोच ही रहा था कि श्रीमती फिर आ धमकीं, झुंझलाकर कहा, "बड़ा तो बड़ा जानलेवा है. वो अपने नाइट-शो सिनेमा के फेर में खबर को ही झूठी बताता है. मेरी हंसी उड़ाता है. तुम बता दो, खबर छपी है कि नहीं."

उनका चेहरा देखकर मुझे दया आ गयी. फिर भी थोड़ी छेड़खानी

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

जितना ही लोगों से यह कहा जाये कि लकड़बग्घी नहीं, एक औरत है, उतना ही लोगों का यह विश्वास दृढ़ हो कि लकड़बग्घी है, ये तो पब्लिक में सनसनी न फैले इसलिए खबर छिपा रहे हैं! मैं पगली को देखने गया. जब बाहर निकला तो सबने पूछा, "लकड़बग्घी है न?" . . .मैंने कहा, "नहीं, औरत है. . ." . . . वे ताव खाकर बोले, "भेस बदल लिया होगा!"—शहरों में प्रायः फैलती रहनेवाली तरह-तरह की अफवाहों के गजटनुमा तेवरों का खुलासा करती चटपटी व्यंग्यरचना . . .

ी बाज न आया. समझ तो गया था कि किस खबर से परेशान हैं. शर्लाक ोम्स की बुद्धि से यह भी समझ गया कि अभी महरी बर्तन मांजने आयी. उसी ने चांटेमार जादूगरों की खबर सुनायी होगी. मगर अनजान बनकर बोला, "भई कौन-सी खबर बतलाऊं . . . चीन की चिट्ठी पढ़कर सुनाऊं या द्विवेदी स्मारक की खबर. . .?"

"महरी कहती है कि अखबारों में खबर छप गयी है."

"कौन-सी खबर?"

"तुम हंसी उड़ाओगे! जाने दो."

मेरी पत्नी उठने लगीं. मैंने देखा अपना मजा ही चला, तो चट से ांचल थामकर कहा, "मैं अभी अखबारवालों को टेलीफोन करता हूं कि बस चांटेमार जादूगर से पब्लिक परेशान है उसे मैंने गिरफ्तार कर लिया है."

"हां-हां, वही कलकत्ते के जादूगर!" मेरी पत्नी का मुख-कमल िल उठा. बोलीं, "मैं जानती थी, तुम्हें जरूर खबर होगी. महरी कहती ी कि रात में साइकिल से उतरते हैं और किसी का भी मुंह नोंच लेते हैं, स आदमी मर जाता है."

मैंने गंभीर होकर कहा, "ये तो गंभीर खबर सुनायी तुमने! . . . अब क कितने मरे?"

"ये तो मालूम नहीं हुआ. महरी कहती थी कि कल रात मेडिकल ालेज के सामने ही एक केस हो गया. फौरन अस्पताल में ले गये, ाक्टरों ने कहा, मर गया. उसके चेहरे पर नाखूनों की खरोंच के निशान ।"

मैंने कहा, "अखबार में तो ऐसी कोई खबर नहीं, न हो तो रेडियो ी खबरें सुन लेना आज."

"तुम्हें कैसे खबर लगी?" पत्नी ने पूछा.

"लंबरदार ने कहा था, मगर तुम मुंह नोचनेवाले जादूगर को तलाती हो, वो चांटेमार बखान रहा था. तुम्हारे जादूगर साइकिल पर वार आते हैं, उसके सात फिटिये जवान हैं जो रात में आकर दरवाजा टखटाते हैं. . तार ले जाइए."

"हां-हां! महरी यह भी कहती थी कि तारवाले और डाकिये बनकर ी आते हैं." पत्नी ने समर्थन किया.

मैंने कहा, "एक बात और है, लंबरदार के चांटेमार जादूगर चार और तुम्हारे मुंह-खसोट कितने हैं, इसकी जरा अपनी महरी से पक्की-ड़ी खबर लाओ तो सरकारी तौर पर जांच कराऊं."

"अब तुम तो हंसी उड़ाने लगे." मेरी पत्नी ने झेंपकर कहा. फिर ोचती खड़ी रही, फिर कहा, "वैसे तो मुझे विश्वास है कि ये कोरी गप्प , पर बड़ा जो रात को देर से आता है इसी से विश्वास नहीं होता."

मैंने कहा, "देवी, तर्कशास्त्र के इस नये सूत्र के लिए ही तुम्हें डाक्टरेट लनी चाहिए."

वे अपनी झेंप मिटाने के लिए मुस्करायीं और अपना बड़प्पन स्थापित रते हुए बोलीं, "तुम्हें याद है, एक बार जब लकड़बग्घों की गप्प उड़ी ी तब किसी बाबाजी की एक पगली को लगड़बग्घी कहकर कैसा शोर ाया था."

मैंने कहा, "मुझे तो याद है, तुम याद कर लो."

इन चलते-फिरते गजटों ने अक्सर अनर्थ तक कर डाला है. कई वर्ष पहले गोमती तट से पागलों का इलाज करनेवाले एक बाबाजी के आश्रम से रात में एक पगली भाग निकली. गर्मी के दिन थे. वह भटकते-भटकते एक ऐसे गरीबों के मुहल्ले में पहुंच गयी जहां गली में ही खाटें बिछाये अनेक परिवार सो रहे थे. पगली का एक बच्चा कुछ महीनों पहले मर चुका था, किसी स्त्री के पास लेटे हुए छोटे बच्चे को उसने अपना समझकर उठा लिया और कसकर चूमने-दुलारने लगी. बच्चा रोया, मां की आंख खुली, अपने बच्चे को किसी की गोद में देखकर वह चीखी. पगली भागी, जगार हो गयी, लोगों ने पगली से बच्चा छीन लिया, पगली को मारा-पीटा, कोतवाली में सुबह चार बजे लाकर बंद करवा दिया. यह खबर मुंह अंधेरे ही दूर-दूर तक यों फैली कि एक लकड़बग्घी एक बच्चे को ले भागी. उसका कलेजा खा लिया. कोतवाली में पकड़कर आयी है. उसके बड़े-बड़े नाखून हैं इत्यादि. लगभग साढ़े चार बजे तक चौक कोतवाली के फाटक पर लगभग हजार आदमियों का मजमा लग गया. जितना ही लोगों से यह कहा जाये कि लकड़बग्घी नहीं, एक औरत है, उतना ही लोगों का यह विश्वास दृढ़ हो कि लकड़बग्घी है, ये तो पब्लिक में सनसनी न फैले, इसलिए खबर छिपा रहे हैं. मैं पगली को देखने गया, पहचान लिया और थानेवालों से सारी स्थिति भी बयान की. उन्होंने कानूनी स्थिति मुझे समझा दी. मैं जब बाहर निकला तो अनेक आदमियों ने घेरा, "लकड़बग्घी है न?"

मैंने कहा, "नहीं, पगली है."

एक पढ़े-लिखे जवान मुझसे तन गये, "वाह, लकड़बग्घी है. इतने लोग झूठ कहते हैं?"

मैंने कहा, "मैंने तो औरत ही देखी."

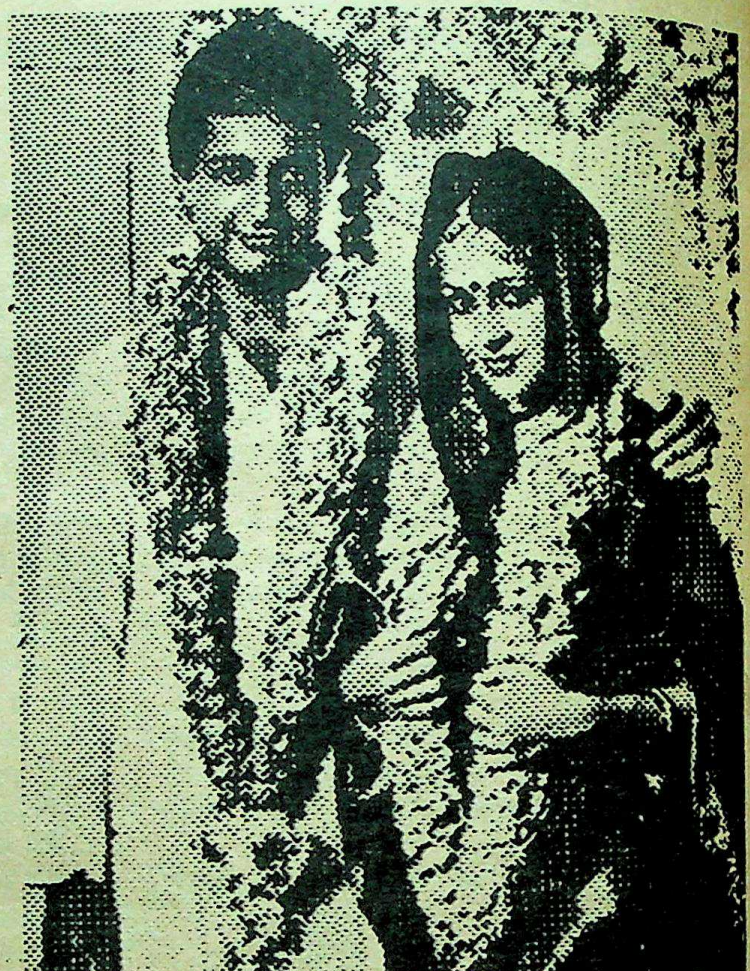
वे ताव खाकर बोले, "भेस बदल लिया होगा." इसका जवाब ही क्या था, मैं चुप हो गया.

एक बार आपको याद होगा कि कुछ छोटे शहरों और गांवों में इंजेक्शन और टीके लगानेवालों के खिलाफ इन चलते-फिरते गजटों ने यह खबर उड़ा दी थी कि ये बच्चों की आबादी घटाने के लिए उन्हें टीके लगाकर मार रहे हैं. इलाहाबाद के पास फूलपुर गांवों में कुछ कैमूराधारी पत्रकार इसी धोखे में पिट गये. उनके कैमरे छीन लिये गये, मथुरा में एक बेचारा मलेरिया इंस्पेक्टर जनता के गुस्से का शिकार होकर बुरी तरह पिटा. बल्कि मुझे तो अब भी यही अंदेशा है कि इन चलते-चलते गजटों की कृपा से किसी दिन, रात में कोई साइकिलधारी लंबा जवान धोखे में जनता का शिकार न हो जाये. ऐसी खबरें सचमुच शहर का अंदेशा हुआ करती हैं. इन चलते-फिरते गजटों ने फिलहाल मेरे घर में तो अंदेशा पैदा कर ही दिया है, सर्दी की रातों में अंधेरा यों ही जल्दी होता है और मेरी पत्नी परेशान होने लगती है—'अभी बड़ा नहीं आया, कितने बजे हैं. खबर सच्ची है जी, तुम लोग मानो या न मानो. दिन में धोबी आया. . . वह भी कह गया, पास-पड़ोस. . . .'

मैंने कहा, "तुम लोग सब ये झूठी-मूठी खबरें उड़ाकर किसी दिन किसी बेगुनाह को शहर में पिटवा दोगी, मुझे इसी का अंदेशा है. □

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

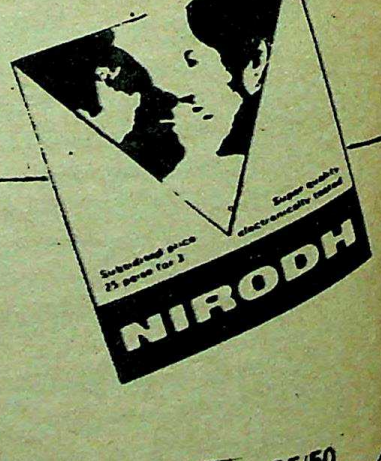
निरोध...
इसलिए कि बच्चा होने के पहले आपको प्यार और खुशियां प्राप्त करने के अनेक अवसर मिलें



... जब एक साथ रहने की
आपकी सबसे अधिक इच्छा
होती है, निरोध
आपकी सहायता करता है।
आपको इतना समय
प्रदान करता है कि इस
दुनिया में आने पर
आप अपने बच्चे का स्वागत
शानदार ढंग से कर सकें।

सुखी और निश्चिन्त वैवाहिक
जीवन के लिए—

निरोध का प्रयोग कीजिये



वितरक : बुक बांण्ड, लिपटन, हिन्दुस्तान लीवर,
आई टी सी., टाटा ऑयल मिल्स, यूनियन कारबाइड, आईडीपीएल,
स्मिथ स्टैनिस्ट्रीट, इण्डियन ऑयल कॉरपोरेशन, भारत पेट्रोलियम,
हिन्दुस्तान पेट्रोलियम और आगमन मैच इण्डस्ट्रीज़

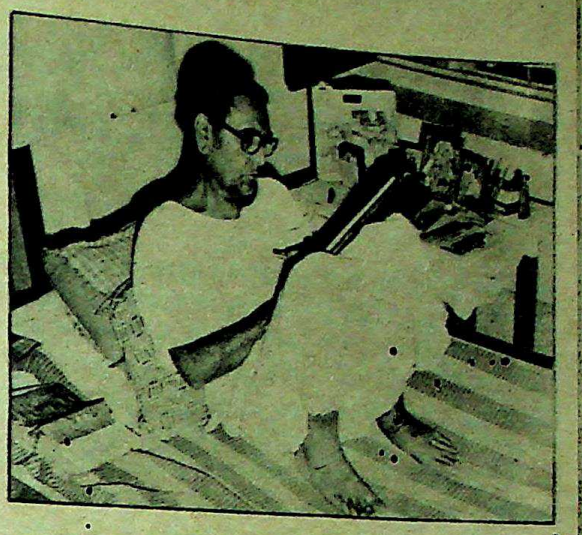
davp 85/50

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

वह धरती और समय पर अपने को लिख रहे हैं...

▣ नरेश मेहता

नागरजी की आत्मीयता का घेरा बहुत बड़ा है. जो इस दायरे में एक बार आ जाता है... फिर जनम भर इसी का होकर रह जाता है. प्रख्यात कवि-कथाकार नरेश मेहता प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं कुछ ऐसी ही मधुर और अविस्मरणीय स्मृतियां...



● लेखन में व्यस्त नागरजी : लेखनी का साथ बाकी रह गया है...

जब भी नागरजी का स्मरण हो आता है, जो कि प्रायः हो आता है, तो एक ऐसी सुगंध कि जैसे कोई फूल संपूर्ण भाषा बनकर आपके सामने मूर्त हो उठा हो और आप कृतार्थ हो जाते हैं. वस्तुतः आत्मीयता का यदि कोई पर्याय हो सकता है तो वह पं. अमृतलाल नागर ही होंगे. गत चालीस-पैंतालीस वर्षों से इस व्यक्तित्व की माधुरी से सुवासित होता रहा हूं. सन् सैंतालीस-अड़तालीस के वे दिन थे . . . मैं लखनऊ रेडियो पर था, नागरजी भी बंबई के लावण्य तथा फिल्म की गांधर्वी ऐंद्रजालिकता से बाहर निकलकर लखनऊ आ गये थे. सच तो यह है कि तब का लखनऊ वास्तव में बड़ा ही आमंत्रण देता शहर था जबकि आज के लखनऊ को पैर ही नहीं पंख तक आ गये हैं. तब के लखनऊ और लखनौआ व्यक्तित्वों में एक अजीब बोलता मौन होता था जो आपको उन दिनों के हजरतगंज में सुनसान में तथा कॉफी हाउस की प्रशांत गहमा-गहमी में भी लिखा मिलता था. आप तब चलते हुए या कहीं बैठे हुए अपना व्यक्तित्व खो नहीं बैठते थे. उन दिनों के लखनवी साहित्यिक परिवेश में खासा रूमानी उत्साह था और जिसके केंद्र में थे यशपालजी, भगवती बाबू और नागरजी; तीनों की अपनी-अपनी ध्वजाएं थीं और अंदाज थे. उन दिनों की याद आते ही न जाने कितनी गोष्ठियां, कॉफी हाउस की शामें, गंज की खाली सड़कों पर टहल-टहलकर बहसमुबाहसे याद आने लगते हैं. सच, उन दिनों क्या हम जानते थे कि आज जो हमारे पैरों के नीचे है और जिस पर हम साधिकार चल रहे हैं, वही एक दिन हमारे लिये अप्राप्य हो जायेगा. मुझे नागरजी का वह चौक का घर याद आ रहा है, जहां वो दुतल्ले पर रहते थे. नागरजी में यह विशेषता सदा रही है कि वह जहां रहते हैं बिल्कुल वृक्षों की तरह अपनी धरती को पकड़कर रहते हैं और मजा ये कि उनके साथ किस्सा तोता-मैना से लेकर उपनिषद् के ग्रंथ तक होते हैं. सारे कोने अतरों में जाने कहां-कहां से इकट्ठी की गयी प्राचीन मूर्तियां होती हैं, लखनवी नफासत का पनडब्बा आपकी ओर ताकता होता है गरज कि आप उनके इस जादुई व्यक्तित्व के अभिन्न अंग हो जाते हैं. नागरजी घुलाकर पान का मजा नहीं लेते बल्कि बात भी ऐसी घुलाते हैं कि आपके सामने न जाने कौन-कौन सा मद्का तथा ठुमरियों के बोल सजीव होने लगते हैं. बड़ा ही किशमिशी व्यक्तित्व है—जहां धर्म भी है तो थोड़ी-बहुत कम्युनिज्म की भी आहट होती है. सामंती बांकपन उनकी आंखों में किसी भी समय देखा जा सकता है तो कलम और चश्मे में विक्टोरियन आधुनिकता का छींटा भी मिल जायेगा. जहां नागरजी हों वहां बूटी न हो यह मुमकिन ही नहीं, पर हां, कई बार उनकी बूटी आसव-सा मजा दे जाती है. सभाप्रियता तो जैसे उनकी रग-रग में है. पर व्यक्तित्व से वह आत्मलीन हैं. किसी भी मध्यमवर्गीय लेखक की भांति नागरजी भी जीवन की आंच में तपे हैं. बल्कि खूब ही तपे हैं. पर क्या मजाल जो उनके गौर वर्ण पर कभी झांई तक आयी हो. प्रायः चकित होता रहा हूं कि व्यक्तित्व के स्वरूप का यह कौन-सा लचीला आयाम होता है जो निराशा के मृदंग व्यक्तित्व से लेकर पंत के वंशी व्यक्तित्व तक के साथ सहज भाव से संगत कर ले जाता है. वह इलाहाबाद प्रायः आते रहे हैं. उन दिनों पं. वाचस्पति की खपरैल वाली बैठक सबके आकर्षण का केंद्र हुआ करती थी. नागरजी के साथ वहां हम बैठे होते और न जाने किन-किन प्रसंगों में डूबा उतराया जाता. कौन नहीं होता था जिसका स्मरण न किया जाता रहा हो. मीठी चुटकियां, तरह-तरह के कहकहे, पर क्या मजाल कि मन या संदर्भ पर कोई अवांछित छींटा पड़ जाये. बुर्राक खादी की धुली धोती और कुर्ते की भूषा जैसा ही मन भी सबका निर्मल होता था. यदि आपके पास दूध नहीं है तो कोई चिंता नहीं, पानी से ही काम चल जायेगा. बस आप जरा नागरजी को मिलाकर तो देखिए. कैसी मिसरी आप में घुलती है.

नागरजी उन लोगों में से हैं जो चलते हैं तो लगता है कि वह धरती और समय पर अपने को लिख रहे हैं. किसी दिन किसी के भी प्रति किसी प्रकार की भी अपमान की बात मैंने उनसे नहीं सुनी होगी. शरत् बाबू से लेकर हिंदी के अधुनातन लेखक तक से "भैया रे!" वाली आत्मीयता आपको चमत्कृत कर देगी. किसी भी समय उनके वर्तमान हवेली वाले आवास में चले जाइए तो आपको लगेगा कि आप पुष्टिमार्गी वैष्णव मंदिर में पहुंच गये हैं. और बस 'दर्शन' होने ही वाले हैं. प्रतिभा भाभी के साथ स्वर्गीया लगाते हुए जब मुझे ही हाहाकार होता है तो पता नहीं लक्ष्मीनिवास इस विष्णु पर क्या गुजर रही है. पिछले महीने ही जब उनका पत्र मुझे उज्जैन में मिला और यह दुर्दांत सूचना मिली तब से मैं उस हवेली और नागरजी दोनों की ठीक-ठीक कल्पना नहीं कर पा रहा हूं. अनेक साहित्यिक दंपति देखे हैं पर ऐसा समरसी विग्रह अन्यत्र नहीं देखा. जो अर्धनारीश्वर भी था और राधा-कृष्ण की 'युगल सरकार' की मोहनी छवि भी. मैं तो उनका अनुज ही हूं. न जाने कितनी अनुकंपाएं मुझ पर उनकी रही हैं और इसीलिए इस सानिध्य को अपने लिए अनुग्रह मानता रहा हूं. भगवान से प्रार्थना ही करता रहता हूं कि नागरजी की यह छत्रछाया इस भामीहीन बानक में ही सही शतजीवी हो क्यों कि उनके होने में ही कम से कम मैं अपना होना मानता हूं. □

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

अमृतलाल नागर के उपन्यास : चार

नाच्यौ बहुत गोपाल

श्रीमती निर्गुनिया के संबंध में मैंने कई बस्तियों में सुना था. यह तो आम तौर से सुना कि शहर के मेहतर समाज में शिक्षा का प्रसार करने का काम सबसे पहले उन्होंने किया था. उनका पति मोहना डक्कू लगभग चालीस वर्ष पहले बहुत मशहूर होकर पुलिस के हाथों गोली का शिकार हुआ था. श्रीमती निर्गुनिया ने उसके बाद संकटों के बड़े-बड़े आंधी-तूफान झेलकर अपने बेटे-बेटी को पढ़ाया.

श्रीमती निर्गुनिया सोफे पर टांग पर टांग चढ़ाये बैठी बिलकुल मास्टराना अंदाज में सवाल कर रही थीं.

श्रीमती निर्गुनिया ने फल-मिठाई लेकर बोतल मेरे झोले में रख दी. कहा, "बड़े आदमियों का हुकुम टालने की ताव मुझ में नहीं है. आपकी यह चीजें रख लूंगी, पर इसे ले जाइये."

मैंने पूछा, "क्यों?"

"बोतल लाके देनेवाला चला गया बाबूजी; बेटा ले आता है कभी-कभी, मगर वह बात और है." उनका मन समझकर चला आया.

एक दिन पत्र मिला. तो मैं निर्गुनियाजी के घर पहुंचा.

भोजन के बाद चलते समय उन्होंने मुझे एक जिल्ददार नोट बुक थमाते हुए कहा, "एक बार कच्चा-पक्का लिखने की कोशिश मैंने की थी, शायद कुछ काम की बात इसमें निकल ही आये."

आज सम्मत इकतीस की बड़ी धूम है. सम्मत 39 में श्री गुसांईजी महाराज ने भी अपने जी की घुटन श्री सियारामजी के चरणों में अर्पित करने के लिये कागज कलम का सहारा लिया था. मैं भी क्यों न लूं? सम्मत 62 में मेरा जनम हुआ था. मेरे बाप एक हमारे ही बड़े सुजाती रहीस, गल्ले-आज के बड़े दलाल और बड़े महाजन के बड़े ही भरोसे के गुमाश्ते थे. मेरी माता एक बड़े पंडित की इकलौती बेटी थी. माता के संस्कार ऊंचे और पिता के नीचे थे. मैंने अपने बचपन में अपनी नानी व उसके पास-पड़ोसवालियों से सुना और बाद में अपनी आंखों से देखा और भोगा कि मेरे पिता मालिक के बेटे की पत्नी, घर की मालकिन के बदनाम रखैल थे.

मेर बाप ने मेरी मां को कभी सुख नहीं दिया. सुनते हैं मेरी मां को तपेदिक हो गयी थी. नाना जाकर उन्हें और मुझे लिवा लाये थे. फिर वह मर गयी. एक दिन हमारी जिज्जी नाना के लिये रोटी सेंकते-सेंकते ही लुढ़क गयी. फिर न उठीं. शहर से खबर पाकर जब मेरे बाबू आये तो नाना ने उनसे कहा कि निर्गुनिया का इंतजाम अब तुम्हीं करो, हमारे दिन भी अब पूरे हो चुके हैं. मेरे नाना उस रात में किसी समै सदा के लिये ही सो गये थे.

मेरे पिता नाना-नानी की, किरिया करके सारी जमाजथा के साथ मुझे लेकर, घर बेचकर शहर चले आये; जिस घर में लाके पहले मुझे उतारा, वह छोटा-सा था. उस घर में अंधेरा बहुत था. फिर वह मुझे एक बड़ी भारी हवेली में ले गये. तिमंजिले पर एक बड़े सजे-सजाये कमरे में मैंने जिस स्त्री को बैठे हुए पाया उसे देखते ही मेरा मन बोल उठा था... यही वह मालकिन है जिसके कि रखैल (?) मेरे पिता हैं. उस औरत ने, जिसे अबसे मुझे अम्मा कहना था, दोनों बांहें पकड़कर मुझे उठा लिया.

अम्मा के घर रहते-रहते धीरे-धीरे मुझे राय साहब पंडित बटुक प्रसाद की उस महल जैसी बहुत भारी कोठी का सारा इतिहास समझ में आ गया. मेरा मन बहुत-सी पहेलियों का जंगल बन गया. फिर धीरे-धीरे जैसे-जैसे पहेलियां सुलझतीं गयीं वैसे-वैसे ही उस घर में मेरा जीवन भी उलझता गया, तभी रही-सही पहेलियां भी सुलझ गयीं. मैंने तब समझा कि हमारे घर का गुरखा नौकर क्यों इतना चिकना-चुपड़ा बना रहता है. धीरे-धीरे पूरे घर की क्या ही मेरी आंखों के सामने सनीमा की सीनरी सी आ गयी. मंझले बबुआ और मंझली बहू दोनों के ही बारे में बहुत-सी बातें पता लगीं, उन दोनों का खेल अंग्रेजी था. कोई बाल-बच्चा भी नहीं था. बड़े बेटे यानी छोटे सरकार और छोटी सरकार ही सबसे साथ सुथरा जीवन बिताते थे. दोनों को बस एक-दूसरे से ही लगाव था. छोटी सरकार एक-एक पैसे को दांत से पकड़ती थीं. इसीलिये उनकी और रानी सरकार यानी हमारी अम्मा की नहीं बनती थी. छोटी सरकार का सच्चा शील-सुभाव ही हमारी अम्मा को पसंद नहीं आता था. सबसे छोटे बबुआ, वह मुझसे दो बरस बड़े थे. मुझे देखकर उनके बड़े फूटते थे. मुझे उनसे जिस बात का डर था, एक दिन वही हो गया. पूजा कर रही थी. बबुआ सरकार सब मौका महल देखकर ही आये ठाकुरजी की गवाही में मेरी सारी अनबूझी पहेलियां सुलझ गयीं. बबुआ जी ने मुझे जब क्वांरी से नारी बना दिया तो मुझे अपनी चोटी, कंघी आदि शृंगार में भी रस आने लगा. बबुआ से मेरे संबंध की बात छिपी न रह सकी. मेरा गरभ रह गया. और एक दिन अचानक ही सुना कि अब मेरा ब्याह होगा. उसी दिन अम्मा के पुराने मित्र मसेरियादीन महाराज के साथ मेरे फेरे फिरवा दिये गये. मेरे आर्य पुत्र मेरे पिता से भी सात साल बड़े थे. गल्ले के नामी आढ़तिये, पहले महायुद्ध की कमाई से लखपती बने मसुरियादीन महाराज के पास ठाकुर की दया से लक्ष्मी और सब विधि तो टिकीं पर पांच ब्याह करके भी न गृहलक्ष्मी टिकीं और न कुल दीपक से ही उनके घर में उजाला हुआ था.

पति के दूकान जाने के बाद सारे दिन में यही एक काम आता है. मेहतरानी आवाज देती है. वह पैखाने में दो बाल्टी पानी डालती है.

निर्गुन के लिये मेहतरानी ही दुनिया से संबंध जोड़नेवाली एक मात्र कड़ी है. हर रोज मेहतरानी के जाने पर निर्गुन उदास होती है, आज और भी अधिक हुई, क्योंकि वह आठ दिनों की छुट्टी लेके अपने देस के घर जा रही है. उसकी जगह कल से लड़का आयेगा. यह एक बात मृगतृष्णा बनकर निर्गुन के मन को प्यासे हिरन की तरह कल्पनाओं के रेगिस्तान में कुलाचे भरवाने लगा.

पहले दिन—"बहूजी, पानी डाल जाइये." आवाज सुरीली पर कड़कदार थी. पानी डालने गयी. कड़ियल जवान देखा, बड़ी-बड़ी आंखें, गेंहुआ रंग, नाक और मुंह पर एक कपड़ा लिपटा हुआ.

युवक घुलाई करके बाहर जाने लगा. निर्गुन ने आग्रह भरी आंखों से उसकी ओर देखा, कहा, "खाना खाकर जाना."

अपनी खातिरदारी से उभ-चुभ होकर युवक विनत भाव से सिर झुकाकर खाने लगा. निर्गुन खड़ी-खड़ी उसका रूप-रस पीती रही.

"नाम क्या है तुम्हारा."

"मोहन सिंह, वैसे तो सब मोहना, मोहना कहके पुकारते हैं."

"मैं भी तुम्हें मोहना कहके पुकारूं?"

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एक धनी वृद्ध व्यापारी की तरुणी भार्या एक मेहतर युवक के साथ भागी थी. . . दो दिन बाद ही वह अपने प्रेमी सहित पकड़ी गयी. वास्तविक जीवन की इस पात्री ने पकड़े जाने के बाद अपने भविष्य को किस रूप में भोगा. . .? यह जानने के लिए नागरजी का उपन्यासकार मन जब जागा तो कल्पना में समस्या ने एक और ही रूप धारण कर लिया. . . परिणाम स्वरूप 'नाच्यो बहुत गोपाल' का सृजन हुआ, प्रस्तुत है इस उपन्यास का संक्षिप्त रूपांतर—

"पुकारिये, सभी पुकारते हैं."

दूसरे दिन निर्गुन ऐसे ही खड़ी थी. जैसे प्रकृति ने वर्षों पहले उसे धरती पर भेजा था. मोहना का एक हाथ पकड़कर अपनी ओर खींचते हुए उसने धीरे से कहा, "बाहर के दरवाजे बंद कर दो."

संस्कार-संकोच टूटने पर मजबूर होते ही गये. चलते समय मोहना को सौ का नोट दिया कि खाना-खर्चना.

छठे दिन निर्गुन अपने जोड़े हुए 8000 रुपये, सोने के पांच गुट्टे साठ गिन्नियां और ब्याह के समय बाप से पाये हुए गहने, चार-छह साड़ी—जंफरों के साथ, पोटली में बांधकर शाम के समय मसुरियादीन के घर लौटने के पहले पीछे के दरवाजे से भाग खड़ी हुई. मोहना ने तय कर लिया कि वह निर्गुन को अपने मामा-मामी के घर ले जायेगा. अगर उसे घर में न रखा तो फिर और आगे देखा जायेगा. कच्ची मिट्टी के घरों की कतार में आखिरी मकान निर्गुन की 'नयी ससुराल' था. मोहन ने कुंडी खटखटायी, मामी को आवाज लगायी, मामू की खांसी सुनी, कुंडी खुली, मोहन ने मामू के पैर छूये, देखा-देखी निर्गुन ने भी पैर छूये.

"ये कौन हैगी बचुआ."

"समझ लो तुम्हारी बहू हैगी. बूढ़े मरद की छठही-सतहीं औरत हैगी बिचारी. वह साला हरामी इसे मारे और दुख दे. बिचारी जान बचाने खातिर घर से निकल आयी सो सरन में आ पड़ी.'

चारपाई पर बैठे मामू ने पूछा, "किस जात की लुगाई है?"

"सबसे ऊंची जात की."

निर्गुन भला-बुरा सब कुछ सुनती रही गुमसुम.

मुहल्ले का खराब वातावरण देख निर्गुनिया वहां न टिकी. छावनी बाजार शहर से तीन मील दूर है. आधे मील की सूनी सड़क पार होते देर न लगी.

"यही है मेरे यार सिकंदर का क्लब घर. सिकंदर साला किस्मत का सिकंदर है." मोहना बोला.

"अरे मेरे कहे पर चलो तो मैं तुम्हें उससे बड़ा तकदीर का सिकंदर बनाकर दिखला सकती हूं. सुनो, तुम पहले मुझे अपने दोस्त की बीबी से मिला दो."

"नहीं, पहले ठहरने की जगह पर चलेंगे. यहां तो आना ही है."

सिकंदर मसीह के क्लब में भीड़ अभी बहुत ज्यादा नहीं थी. मुश्किल से दो ही चार आदमी बाहर के थे. तभी मोहन और निर्गुनिया पहुंचे—"मेरी, सिकंदर कहां है साला?"

मरियम ने बगैर सिर उठाये ही उत्तर दिया, "जाने कहां गया है, मैं काम के मारे मरी जा रही हूं, मोहन, जरा तुम्हीं हेल्प करो ना प्लेट पकड़ा दो. ओहो, ये नयी कौन आयी है भाई! यही है तुम्हारी मिसिज?"

निर्गुन और मरियम ने एक दूसरे की आंखों में आंखें डालीं.

रात में क्रिसमस केक कटा, गाने हुए, खानम-पीना हुआ.

दूसरे दिन सबेरे ही निर्गुन और मोहन जल्दी से उठकर मालिक के बंगले पर चले गये. टीले पर चढ़ते-चढ़ते मोहन रुक गया. निर्गुनिया का हाथ दबाकर उसकी आंखों में आंखें डालकर कहा, "कसम खाओ कि तुम किसी भी दबाव में आकर किसी गैर के बच्चे को जनम न दोगी." मैंने कसम खा ली.

कलब घर के दरवाजे पर पहुंचा कि मार्था मोहना को किनारे ले गयी और धीरे से कहा, "वहीदा डाकू को पता लग गया है कि उसके लौंडे को तुम्हारे मास्टर ने रख लिया है. वह अपना बदला लेने आया है. मोहन! तुमने मुझसे कभी लौ तो नहीं किया, पर तुम हमारे फरेंड हो. जान प्यारी हो तो वहीदा से मिलने से इंकार न करो."

मोहन का रोयां-रोयां थरथरा रहा था. कांपते स्वर में धीरे से कहा, "वह अगर डेविड से अपना बदला ले तो मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है. मगर जिस मालिक का इतने दिनों में मैंने नमक खाया है मार्था, जिस उस्ताद से काम सीखा है, उसकी जान लेनेवाले का दलाल हरगिज नहीं बनूंगा. . .भले ही वो मेरी जान ले ले."

मार्था जैसे ही मोहना के साथ अपने घर की तरफ मुड़ी वैसे ही उसने पेड़ के नीचे किसी काली छाया को खड़े देखा. होठों में सिगरेट दबाये मोहन के कंधे पर हाथ रखते हुए मार्था बोली, "कौन है?"

"जोनाथन."

"बाहर क्यों खड़ा है बुड्ढे?"

"चुप साली, पास आ. ये तेरा नया यार कौन है?"

मार्था ने उत्तर न दिया और बीच वाली कोठरी में ले के चली गयी. अंदर वहीदा चारपाई पर अधलेटा हुक्का गुड़गुड़ा रहा था.

हुक्का गुड़गुड़ाते हुए वहीदा बोला, "तो तुम्हीं हो मोहना?"

मोहना को कोई उत्तर न सूझा, गुमसुम खड़ा रहा.

"बैंड मास्टर के यहां कितने बरसों से काम करते हो?"

"अजी आठ बरसों से."

अपने मालिक के पास कोई हीरे का जेवर देखा हाल ही में?"

"जी नहीं सरकार."

"देखो जी मोहना. कल तक उसका पता मिल जाना चाहिए."

"मैं पता लगाऊंगा हुजूर."

आज निर्गुनिया का व्यवहार पहेली-सा लग रहा था. घबराकर वह रोने लगी, "तुम्हें मेरी कसम, बता दो."

"क्या बताऊं, मुसीबत में जान फंस गयी है. वहीदा आज रात में अपना हार लेने आ रहा है. कहीं कोई उल्टी-सीधी बात हो गयी तो आफत आ जायेगी."

तभी पीछे का दरवाजा खुला.

भीतर की सिटकनी गिर गयी. दरवाजा खुला. मोहन के सामने वहीदा खड़ा था. सभी इधर-उधर तलाशी लेने लगे. टाल खुलवा के लीग के लड़कों को पिस्तौल से धमकाया गया.

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

बाथरूम का दरवाजा अधखुला पड़ा था. दरवाजे के पल्ले से ही लगा हुआ एक पैर झलका. मोहन उधर ही लपका. डेविड के हाथ पीठ की तरफ बंधे हुए थे और मुंह पर पट्टी थी. खून कहीं दिखलाई न पड़ा. मुंह के पास गया. नाक पर हथेली रखी. सांस चल रही थी.

आवाज सुनकर चोर की तरह आंखें खोलीं. उसे जीवित देखकर मोहन को जहां एक ओर अजीब-सी राहत मिली, वहीं साथ ही साथ क्रोध भी भड़का, "साले हरामी की औलाद. हार कहां रखा है तूने?" डेविड आंखें फाड़कर उसे देखता रहा. मोहन ने उसके मुंह की पट्टी खोल दी. वह चीखा था कि मोहन ने उसका मुंह दबा लिया और कालर घसीटकर मास्टर की लाश के पैरों के पास गिराते हुए बोला, "हार कहां है? साले बोल, नहीं तो यह छुरा तेरी छाती में भौंक दूंगा."

"अ. . अ. . अल्मारी के. . . पीछे."

मोहन ने पकड़कर उसे उठाते हुए उसकी कमर पर लात मारकर बोला, "जल्दी निकाल, तेरा खसम बाहर खड़ा है."

डेविड अभी फर्श पर ही बैठा था. आंखों में खून और जबान पर गालियों की बड़बड़ाहट लिये मोहना उस पर टूट पड़ा. वहीदा खड़ा सिगरेट फूंक रहा था. उसके चार आदमी कमरे की तलाशी ले रहे थे. मोहना का दिमाग पहले से ही उड़ा था. अब वहीदा को देखकर पूरी तरह से भयस्तब्धता आ गयी किंतु जड़ता में भी जिजीविषा जाग्रत अंतेशक्ति बनी हुई थी. उसका रूमालवाला हाथ वहीदा के सामने बढ़ गया. हथेली खुल गयी. बोला, "काम हो गया. आओ जल्दी." वहीदा तेजी से फाटक की ओर झपटा. उसके आदमी भी निकले और मोहना भी साथ हो लिया. वह डेविड के रक्त से घबरा गया था.

अपनी पोटली उठाकर निर्गुनिया चल पड़ी. दिशाहीन मन. मरियम बाई चूंकि उसे दुतकार चुकी थी. दिशाहीन मन तो चलते-चलते न थका. पर टांगें भर आयीं. मैले का टोकरा बहाने-धोने के लिए मसीताराम इधर ही आया करता था. आज दोपहर आया तो बगल की दीवार के पास दो जनाने पैर देखे. बुखार में तपती काया को वह अपने घर ले गया. पंद्रह दिनों में निर्गुनिया पूरी तरह से स्वस्थ हो गयी. मोहन की खैर-खबर अब तक न मिली. निर्गुनिया ने हठ करके मकान मरम्मत लगवा दी थी. निर्गुन का खंडहर मन भी अब क्रमशः बनने-संवरने लगा था.

सरकार ने मोहना डाकू को जीवित या मृत पकड़ लानेवाले व्यक्ति के लिये तीन हजार रुपये का इनाम घोषित किया.

निर्गुन ने एक बेटी को जन्म दिया. बच्ची को अपने पास पड़े देखकर निर्गुनिया को अपार तृप्ति मिल रही थी.

रात के नौ बजे मोहना का भेजा हुआ आदमी श्योबक्स अचानक आया. कहा, "सरदार ने अभी के अभी बुलाया है."

निर्गुनिया सुनकर धक रह गयी. कहा, "भैया, बिटिया लेके तुम्हारी साईकिल पर कैसे जाऊंगी."

"फिकर नहीं भौजी, मोटर गाड़ी लाया हूं. मोहन ठाकुर तुमसे ज्यादा अपनी बिटिया को देखने की खातिर उतावले हो रहे हैं."

छावनी से कुछ मील दूर बेहड़ के पास ठाकुर हरबंशसिंह की हवेली में मोहना का पड़ाव था. निर्गुनिया और शकुंतला को देखकर उसकी आंखें चमकीं, "हाय, कैसी प्यारी-प्यारी है. हूबहू तुम्हारी सूरत है."

सुनते ही निर्गुनिया के मन के सारे पाप खुशी के पुण्य बन गये.

मोहन की सभी बातें निर्गुन अपने साथ गांठ बांधकर लायी थी. मोहन ने रम और व्हिस्की की दो बोतलें भी उसे दी थीं. व्हिस्की पुरानी थी, निर्गुन के लिये, रम की बोतलें बुड्ढे-बुढ़िया के वास्ते.

उसी रात मसीताराम बीमार पड़े. मसीताराम का ज्वर लंबा खिंच गया. उसकी जिजमानी का काम एवजी पर मज्जू कर रहा था. लेकिन अब घबरा रहा था.

राम राम. मेरे नसीब का जनाजा भी बड़ी धूमधाम से निकला था. मुझे इस समय अपने उस दिन की याद बड़ी जोरों से आ रही है, जब मैं अपने जिजमानों के घर देखने के लिए मज्जू के साथ पहली बार गयी थी.

श्रीमती निर्गुनिया का लेख यहीं अधूरा छूट गया. मेरा मन बड़ा तड़पा, मैं निर्गुनियाजी से मिलने आया. उनके घर-दरवाजे पर रिक्शा रुकवाकर आवाज दी. उनकी आवाज बहुत डूबी हुई नहीं थी.

धत्ती पियक्कड़ है यह स्त्री. शाम को पीने-पिलाने के अलावा जैसे और कोई महत्वाकांक्षा ही नहीं रहती इनकी. वह आटा मांड़ने लगी. मैंने कहना शुरू किया. "आपका वो जिजमानी के घर देखने के लिए जानेवाला अंश पढ़कर मैं तिलमिला उठा. वो फकीर आपको क्या और भी कभी मिला था निर्गुनियाजी?"

"बहुत बार बाबूजी, वह फकीरा तो मेरी सहेली ही बन गया."

अपनी तात्कालिक गृहस्थी के कामों से छुट्टी पाकर जब वह बैठीं और दो पैग जल्दी-जल्दी अपने हलक के नीचे उतारकर वह नार्मल हुईं तो कहने लगीं, "बाबा ने मुझे दो कहानियां बार-बार सुनायी थीं. एक जड़भरत की, दूसरी महावीर स्वामी की."

खैर, यह तो आपके आध्यात्मिक अनुभवों की बातें हैं. यह बतलाइए कि दूसरे दिन आप अपने मेहतर-कर्म पर गयी थीं? क्या-क्या अनुभव हुए थे आपको? कैसा लगा था?"

"ऐ बाबूजी, अरे क्या मैले की गंध सूंघोगे मेरी बातों से? कहां का पचड़ा लगाया." तीस बरस यही काम करके बिताये हैं बाबूजी, इधर पंद्रह-सोलह बरसों से छूटा है."

मैंने बात मोड़ी, पूछा, "फिर मसीताराम कब तक. . . ."

"अरे वो तो बड़ा संजोग रहा. जिस दिन मैं पहली बार गयी, उस दिन शाम को जब घर लौटकर आयी तो मसीताराम चच्चा जा चुके थे."

"और आपके मोहन?"

"हां, एक बार ये. . .मेरे मेहतरानी का काम संभाल लेने पर तो वे मेरे ऊपर जी-जान से लुट गये. पादरी का चोगा पहन के नकली दाढ़ी-उढ़ी लगा के आये थे."

"मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूं निर्गुनियाजी, अपने मेहतर जीवन में जो कड़वे-मीठे अनुभव आपको तरह-तरह के लोगों से हुए हैं, उन्हें कृपा करके एक बार जरूर लिख डालें."

"अब लिखना-विखना तो होगा नहीं बाबूजी. हां, कल फिर आइये."

दूसरे दिन जो कथा सुनी वह इस प्रकार है—बोलता बायस्कोप 'आलमआरा' दिखलाकर मोहना ने श्रीमती निर्गुनिया को दो दिन होटल में ऐश कराया और फिर लापता हो गया. उसके लगभग महीने-डेढ़ महीने बाद मोहना गुल्लन दाई को एक दिन अचानक शहर में ही मिल गया. दाढ़ी-मूंछ मुड़ाये साहबी पोशाक में मोहना ने गुल्लन के कंधे पे धीरे से हाथ रखा. "चच्ची, मेरा नाम मत लेना. इधर आओ."

मोहन गुल्लन को एक किनारे ले गया पूछा, "नर्गुनिया ठीक है?"

"हां भैया. मैं वारी जाऊं खूब मिले. घर नहीं चलोगे?" और मोहन ने भावुक होकर शाम को गुल्लन की सराय में आने को कहा. बस, गुल्लन ने दरोगा को खबर कर दी. मोहना मारा गया. मोहना की लाश देख पहली बार निर्गुन की आंखों में आंसू आये. फिर निर्गुनियाजी दो-तीन बार मिलीं. घर आयीं. और एक-एक गाथा सुना गयीं. एक दिन पता लगा कि वे नहीं रहीं. दौड़ा हुआ उनके घर गया. एन. एम. ने एक लिफाफा मुझे थमाया जो मेरे नाम ही था. खोलकर पढ़ा—"कल आपसे सब कुछ कहकर अपना मन खाली जरूर कर लिया था. . . . पर एक बात की चोरी कर गयी थी. सिलीपिंग पिल्स बरसों से खाती थी. . .कल आपसे अपने जनम का हिसाब चुकाकर आयी तो सोचा, कि अब सोने की टिकियों का हिसाब भी चुका लूं. आप इस जीवन में चलते-चलते खूब मिले. . ."

संक्षिप्त रूपांतर : दिनेश द्विवेदी

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS

अमृतलाल नागर प्रियजनों की नजर में : आठ

वे जितने दिन जियेंगे...

◻ केशव चंद्र वर्मा

नागरजी व अन्य अनेक लेखकों के साथ सहकर्मी, सहयोगी और उनकी रचनाओं के श्रोता-पाठक के रूप में जुड़े रहने का अवसर वर्माजी को मिला है... नागरजी अन्य तमाम लेखकों से क्यों और कहां महत्वपूर्ण हो उठते हैं— बयान कर रहे हैं स्वयं केशवचंद्र वर्मा—

हिंदी साहित्य में कुछ विभूतियां जो शेष रह गयी हैं उनमें मेरे अभिन्न अग्रज पंडित अमृतलाल नागर शीर्षस्थ की श्रेणी में हैं. लखनऊ की प्रसिद्ध उपन्यासकार त्रयी- सर्वश्री यशपाल, भगवती बाबू और अमृतलाल नागर में अब काल ने केवल नागरजी को ही हमारे बीच अभी और भी महत्वपूर्ण और सार्थक रचने के लिए छोड़ा हुआ है. नागरजी उन अकेले रचनाकारों में हैं जो अपने जमाने के दुख-दर्द से, पूरे सामाजिक जीवन से, अपने मुहल्ले, अपने नगर से नखशिख जुड़े हुए रहे हैं. हर मुहल्लेवाला उन्हें अपना मानकर सीधे अपनी समस्या लेकर पहुंचता रहा है, वे सचमुच आम आदमी की आकांक्षाओं से जुड़कर अपनी कलम को मंत्र-मूत करते रहे हैं. उनकी लोक प्रियता और उनकी भाषा के अनूठे तेवर का यही रहस्य है.

नागरजी से मेरा पहला साक्षात्कार उनकी हास्य पुस्तक 'नवाबी मसनद' से हुआ था. तब मैं अपने पैतृक-नगर फैजाबाद में विद्यार्थी था. उस पुस्तक के मजामीन इतने जानदार थे कि हम लोगों को उसका नाट्य रूपांतर करके खेलते देर न लगी. हमें वह भाषा अपनी रोजमर्रा की जिंदगी में भी मजा देती.

मुझे वह दिन अब भी याद है जब नागरजी ने अपना बाद में बहुचर्चित उपन्यास 'बूंद और समुद्र' लिखकर पूरा किया था. उसे सुनाने और प्रकाशित कराने के लिए वे इलाहाबाद आये. इलाहाबाद में वाचस्पति पाठक और पं. सुमित्रा नंदन पंत उनके बड़े निकट थे. इसी बीच नागरजी ने संभवतः पाठकजी के माध्यम से 'परिमल' के कुछ नये लिखनेवालों से भी मित्रता कर ली थी—भारती (धर्मवीर), साही (विजयदेव नारायण), मैं और गिरधर गोपाल. उस दिन दोपहर में यह मित्र मंडली मेरे कक्ष में थी. नागरजी सबको खोजते हुए वहां पहुंचे. तख्त पर बैठे और फिर अपने झोले से 'बूंद और समुद्र' की पांडुलिपि निकाली. बांचना शुरू किया. क्या समां बंधा था. घंटों वे पढ़ते रहे—सब मंत्रमुग्ध सुनते रहे. क्या ताई का चरित्र चित्रण— क्या माहौल—क्या मुहल्ले की वजादारी और उस सबको समेटती हुई भाषा का क्या तेवर! नागरजी ने उसी दिन साहित्य के मैदान में अपना अंगद का पांव रोप दिया. नागरजी की कलम की वह धार थी कि हर पहचाना हुआ पात्र एक जादुई रंग में रंगकर हम तक पहुंच रहा था. वह ताई का चरित्र और नागरजी का रस ले-लेकर मजेदार पाठ आज तक हम सबके दिल चित्त पर चढ़ा तो चढ़ा ही रहा.

यह भी एक 'हुस्ने इत्तिफाक' ही था कि अगले चरण में हम और नागरजी आकाशवाणी में भी साथ-साथ हुए. वे लखनऊ के नाटक कार्यक्रमों के प्रोड्यूसर हुए—मैं भी इलाहाबाद सुमित्रा-नंदन पंत के न्यौते पर नौकरी करने के लिए आया और ग्रामीण कार्यक्रम चलाने लगा. तब इलाहाबाद और लखनऊ केंद्र के कार्यक्रम एक साथ ही होते थे. इस कारण हम लोगों का मिलना-जुलना अधिक ही होता. पंतजी के सहयोगी थे हिंदी आलोचक दिवंगत श्री विश्वंभर मानव. वे भी बाद में लखनऊ चले गये. नागरजी की उनसे बड़ी दोस्ती थी. वे उन्हें 'लव मिनिस्ट्री' का 'मिनिस्टर' कहते थे. भगवती बाबू भी लखनऊ केंद्र पर थे—नागरजी उन्हें 'नेता' कहते और मानते भी थे.

नागरजी ने रेडियो में रहकर उर्दू बोझिल पुराने ढर्रे के नाटकों से प्रसारण को मुक्त करा दिया. बहुत तरह के कार्यक्रम शुरू हो गये—नाटकों का नया सिलसिला शुरू हुआ. नागरजी ने पुरानी हिंदी की रचनाओं की रेडियो के माध्यम से श्रोताओं में उनकी सार्थकता की पहचान बनवाई. इलाहाबाद में उत्साही केंद्र अध्यक्ष थे—श्री गोपाल दास. उन्हें नयी योजनाएं बनाने और उसमें नागरजी को शामिल करने की बात कभी भूलती नहीं थी. बहुतेरे हास्य-व्यंग्य के नये कार्यक्रम हुए, गप्प सम्मेलनों की तो शुरुआत ही उन्हीं दिनों हुई जब श्रोताओं के समक्ष कविता छोड़कर गद्य पढ़ने की परंपरा का रेडियो पर श्रीगणेश हुआ. ये गद्य-सम्मेलन खूब जमते—लखनऊ में भी, इलाहाबाद में भी!

नागरजी को रेडियो माध्यम की निरर्थकता का बोध बहुत जल्दी हो गया. उसमें बने रहकर सिर्फ तनख्वाह खींचने और एक नकली सुरक्षा के छाते में रहना, उन्हें खलने लगा. नौकरी एक झटके से छोड़ दी. बिना किसी गिला-शिकवा-शिकायत के. निश्चय ही वह क्षण बहुत महत्वपूर्ण और भाग्यशाली था हिंदी के लिए— अन्यथा नागरजी की अनेक कालजयी कृतियां जन्म ही न पा सकतीं.

लेखन उनका नशा है. उनकी प्रियतमा-मांग से भी अधिक.

नागरजी से मैंने कई दौर में बातचीत की है. पुस्तक के लिए इंटरव्यू, अखबार के लिये भेंट-वार्ता, रेडियो के लिए बातचीत. बातें खुलकर वे करते जो उनकी पीढ़ी के लेखकों में दुर्लभ थीं. उनकी एक बात दिमाग पर चढ़ी रह गयी—वह भी उनके चुनिंदा पात्रों के जरिये उनका दुनिया को देखने-समझने का तरीका. वे मनुष्य को ही केंद्र में रखकर रचते हैं. यही उनकी सामर्थ्य है. और यही सीमा भी. सूर या तुलसी भी महात्मा के रूप में नहीं—समग्र मनुष्य के रूप में नागरजी को आकर्षित करते हैं.

नागरजी के साथ-साथ मैं और भारती (धर्मवीर) नैमिषारण्य की यात्रा पर गये. तब बातचीत के दौरान पता चला कि नागरजी लेखन किन स्रोतों की नींव पर खड़ा करते हैं—उसमें पुरातत्व भी एक विषय है. मिट्टी, मूर्ति और पुरानी ईंटें—नागरजी से बात करने में सक्षम हैं. उन्होंने समाज और साहित्य के अनेक आंदोलनों में आगे कदम उठाया—बहुत कुछ बदला. नये से अपने को जोड़ा लेकिन कभी अपने अनुचरों का प्रभामंडल बनाकर उसे भुनाने और साहित्य में उससे अपनी हैसियत बनाने का भ्रम नहीं पाला. उनका जैकारा उनकी कलम लगाती रही. शायद यह रास्ता बहुत कठिन है. वे जितने दिन जियेंगे लिखनेवालों को इस रास्ते की पहचान सरलतर होती जायेगी. ◻

● लखनऊ की उपन्यासकारत्रयी यानी हिंदी के तीन महारथी: सर्वश्री भगवतीचरण वर्मा, नागरजी और यशपालजी.

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साक्षात्कार

अमृतलाल नागर के साथ कन्हैयालाल नंदन की अंतरंग बातचीत

"अब इतना लिख चुका हूं कि आप रबर लेकर लेखन की दुनिया से मेरा नाम मिटा नहीं सकते."

अमृतलाल नागर

उपन्यास लेखन में नागरजी की एक अलग ही छवि है. कोई भी उपन्यास लिखने से पहले वे उसके विषय पर भरपूर शोध करते हैं. 'मानस का हंस' उन्होंने अयोध्या जाकर लिखा. 'नाच्यो बहुत गोपाल' लिखने के लिए उन्होंने मेहतरों की बस्तियों के चक्कर लगाये... उनकी इसी लेखन प्रक्रिया तथा जीवन के कुछ अंतरंग पक्षों पर उनसे बातचीत की है 'सारिका' के भूतपूर्व संपादक तथा हिंदी के सुपरिचित रचनाकार-पत्रकार कन्हैयालाल नंदन ने

आपकी जिंदगी में ऐसी समग्रता है कि हर किसी का मन मोहती है. हम उसी जिंदगी के अनुभव खंडों को पकड़ना चाहते हैं. जब आपने 'गदर के फूल' लिखा तो गांव-गांव भटके, लोगों से मिले और उस तरह की सामग्री बटोर के लाये. जब ये 'कोठे वालियां' लिखा तो आप कोठों पर भी गये. फिर भी आप कोठेवालियों के पास जाने के बावजूद किसी लांछन का शिकार नहीं बने. अब वह जमाना नहीं रह गया. यह बदलाव कैसे आता गया? चरित्रों पर लांछन लगाने का इतना ज्यादा चलन शायद पहले के जमाने में नहीं रहा होगा. आपने क्या अनुभव किया?

देखो, तुमको एक बात बताऊं—जब 'नाच्यो बहुत गोपाल' के लिए निकले तो . . .अब तो एक तरीका है कि मालिक से माल लिया और मालिक को ही दे दिया. हम मंगियों से इंटरव्यू लेने पहुंचे. तीन-चार बार तो बिलकुल टाल गये. पढ़े-लिखे तो अक्सर नहीं हैं लेकिन हैं बड़े होशियार. उन्हें यह मालूम है कि यह कमबख्त जो नागरजी नामक आदमी है, यह छापे से संबंध रखता है. इसलिए वह उनसे डरता रहता है कि हम कुछ बतायेंगे तो यह छाप देगा. हमारी बदनामी होगी. हम उनके महल्ले में गये एक जगह झंडियां-वंडियां लगीं, उनके बीच बैठे वे चाय लाये तो हमने चाय भी पी. तो मन में अपने आया कि नागर, अगर आज से 50 साल पहले तुमने यह किया होता तो बिरादरी से ही नहीं, अपने महल्ले से भी निकाल दिये गये होते आज तुमसे कोई बोलने वाला नहीं है. आज सुविधा अवश्य है. यह सच है कि आज हमें कल से अधिक आज के समाज को तोड़ने का व्यापक कार्य किया है. लेकिन किया इस तरह कि समाज टूटेगा ही इसलिए कि वह नियम में नहीं है. हमारे पिता के विवाह में हमारी बुआ

Funding: Tattva Heritage and IKS-MoE

इसलिए सम्मिलित नहीं हो सकती थीं कि उनके जेठ विलायत हो आये थे. आज इसकी कोई परवाह नहीं करता. इसलिए मान्यताएं तो अब बदल गयीं, यह तो मानना ही पड़ेगा. लेकिन मैंने हमेशा सहज रहने की कोशिश की. मैं हमेशा यही सोचता रहा कि अगर तुम सहज नहीं रहोगे तो लेखक क्या बनोगे.

मैं भी यही कहता आ रहा हूं कि जब आप आदमी ही अच्छे नहीं होंगे तो अच्छा लिखेंगे कैसे? कुछ अपवाद इसके भी होते होंगे. लेकिन मैं एक लेखक के लिए अच्छा आदमी होना भी आवश्यक मानता हूं.

देखो नंदन, मैं चप्पल चटकाऊ लेखक रहा हूं और हर जगह मेरी चप्पल चटकती रही है.

वैसे चप्पल आपने समाज पर भी चटकाये हैं.

और इसी तरह चटकाता रहूंगा. घूमता रहूंगा और चटकाता रहूंगा.

इस घूमने-फिरने में कहीं आपका रमने का भी मन हुआ?

हुआ है. कहीं एक जगह पर मन ऐसा रमने लगा है कि जहां आप सबके साथ रहते हुए भी मैं ही हूंगा. लेकिन यह सन्नाटा बड़े शोर में, पागलखाने के शोर में भी मजा देता है.

इस शोरवाले सन्नाटे में कभी समाधिस्त होने की स्थिति बनती है? जहां लगे, कोई आपको छेड़े नहीं.

अक्सर बनती है. जरूर बनती है. थोड़ा झूठ भी बोलना पड़ता है. हम ऐसी जगह चले जाते हैं जहां न टेलीफोन है और न कोई आ सकता है. ऐसा कभी हर जगह होता होगा. मैं समझता हूं कि हम बहुत व्यापक होते हुए भी अपने में सिमट जाना चाहते हैं. सिमटने के लिए नहीं बल्कि उस व्यापकता को और बढ़ाने के लिए.

कई बार आपको यह शिकायत होती है कि हमको समाज में समझने वाले व्यक्ति बहुत कम मिले. इसके पीछे यह कारण भी हो सकता है कि अगर आप बहुत चूजी हो गये तो बहुत सारे लोगों को आप ही छांट देते हैं. लेकिन फिर भी यह इच्छा होती है कि आपके अंतरंग को समझने वाला एक मित्र मंडल हो. कई बार ऐसा होता है कि आप व्यावहारिकता में सोचते हैं कि किसी का दिल दुखाने से क्या फायदा, इसलिए उसके साथ अंतरंगता का धोखा जीते हैं. लेकिन आप समझते हैं कि आपने उसको एक अंतरंग नहीं दिया. ऐसा भी होता है. 'मैला आंचल' से लेकर 'कोठेवालियां' तक और मंगियों के चौराहे से लेकर 'मानस के हंस' तक क्या कभी कोई स्थिति ऐसी आयी होगी कि जहां आपको लगा होगा कि अगर यहां जरा भी रुका तो यहीं अपने को दे डालने की स्थिति न बन जाये?

स्थिति आने की बात ही नहीं है. मैं वहीं रुका हुआ हूं. इन सबके साथ आगे चलते हुए भी एक ऐसी जगह हूं जहां मैं रुका हुआ हूं. तुम लोग आये. डिस्टर्ब नहीं करते हो. वह तो मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूं. क्या होता है कि एक आदमी था मेरा दीवाना, जिसकी फोटो, जहां मैं बैठा हूं उसके पीछे लगी है. बंबई में रहता था. जो अर्थ की दुनिया है. वहां कालबा देवी की एक कोठी के दरबान की कोठरी में रहता था. इस शख्स ने अजीब तरह से मुझे प्रभावित किया. उसने मेरे प्रच्छन्न ब्राह्मण संस्कार तक धो दिये. जहां धोया है, वहां पीढ़ा भी बिछाया है और पीढ़ा बिछाया है तो किसी के बैठने के लिए बिछाया है. और जब बिठा दिया है तो फिर मुझमें उसको उठाने की हिम्मत नहीं रही. मैं उससे भागूं, एस्केप करूं, लेकिन एस्केप भी साला कहां तक करूं. एक जगह तो तुमको यह बता दी. . .

जब आपके ब्राह्मण संस्कार धुल रहे थे तो उस वक्त कहीं आपको द्वैत जकड़ रहा होगा. लगता होगा कि यह मैं क्या कर रहा हूं. इस दिशा में जाऊं कि न जाऊं. इसमें परिवार या उसका रहन-सहन, उसके संस्कार कहीं आड़े आये?

परिवार तो मेरे साथ ही था. पूरा परिवार न कहूं, लेकिन पत्नी भी, बेटी अचला भी, लेकिन कभी कुछ आड़े नहीं आया. सवाल ही नहीं उठता आड़े नहीं आने का.

कभी न कभी तो आया होगा.

वह बड़े अजीब तरह से आया था. लेकिन वह पहली बार नहीं आया था. 'मानस का हंस' लिखने के वक्त मैंने जी. पी. शुक्ला से कहा कि मुझे एक छोटा-सा कमरा दिलवा दो. वह साहब आदमी, उसने दिलवा दिया. वहां जब तक रहा तो मेरी बीवी के मन में कहीं यह कुंठा जरूर खटकती रही कि कहीं यह संन्यासी न हो जाये. हमारी सास जीवित थीं. वह उन्हें समझावें, लेकिन उसकी समझ में ही न आवे. क्योंकि यह मेरी धर्मपत्नी है. यह जब कभी अड़ती है तो ऐसी अड़ती है कि मेरी चोटी तक हिलाय देती है. सबके मन को लग गया. कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं है? और सही बात है. ऐसा होता भी है. जो पूरी तरह अपना आपा खोकर आपको चाहता है तो बाहर वाले के लिए वह बड़ा अजीब भी होता है. लेकिन होता तो है. तो जो इसके मन में खटका था, उससे रहा नहीं गया. उसने अचला, अचला के पति और शरद, इन सब लोगों को ऐसे अयोध्या भेजा जैसे अयोध्या देखना हो. लेकिन गये तो थे मुझे देखने. देख आये थे. जब मुझे पता चला तो मैंने कहा, धत्त तेरी की. लेकिन मेरी पत्नी मेरे लिए बाधक कभी नहीं बनीं. हमेशा साधक ही रहीं. पढ़ी-लिखी नहीं थी बेचारी. लेकिन एक ही चीज, रोज लड़ाई होती. जिस दिन लड़ाई नहीं होती उस दिन लगता कि आज दिन ठीक नहीं (और एक जोरदार ठहाका).

धीरे-धीरे लोग यह समझने लगे हैं कि लेखक को समाज से कुछ लेना नहीं है. कुछ न कुछ देना ही है.

लेंगे, रिरिया कर नहीं. हमें समाज से कुछ नहीं चाहिए. और अब तो और कुछ भी नहीं चाहिए. सिर्फ शाम की थोड़ी-सी बूटी का इंतजाम है. किसी न किसी तरह जुगाड़ हो जाता है. क्या किसी से लेना! दिन और शाम की दुई रोटी चाहिए और कुछ नहीं. लेकिन दायित्व होते हैं कि नहीं. मैं बाप हूं. पिता हूं. बाबा, नाना हूं. कुछ दायित्व हैं, जो मुझे निभाने ही हैं. तो उन दायित्वों को निभाने के लिए जो आवश्यक है सिर्फ उतने की दरकार है. बाकी वाकई मुझे किसी से कुछ नहीं चाहिए. लेकिन अब इसके लिए हाथ पसारूं, यह बहुत गलत है. उस समाज की बहबूदी हम कैसे मानें, जिसमें आपके बच्चे गंदी से गंदी, रद्दी से रद्दी जिंदगी जीने के लिए मजबूर हैं.

भगवती बाबू से मैंने एक बार ऐसे ही सवाल किया था कि आपको लेखन के लिए सबसे अधिक प्रेरित करने वाले तत्त्व क्या होते हैं. तो उन्होंने बड़ी गंभीरतापूर्वक और विश्वास में लेते हुए कहा कि नंदन, असली प्रेरक तत्त्व मेरे लिए रुपया है. पइसा लाओ हमसे लिखवाओ. कम पैसा दोगे. देर में लिखेंगे. हजार रुपया देंगे, जल्दी दे देंगे.

भगवती बाबू के मुंह पर कहा करता था कि आपकी तो भगवतीशाही है. उनकी बात अलग है. वह जब तक चार घर झांक नहीं लेते थे मारवाड़ियों के, तो उनको खाना हजम नहीं होता था. हमारे लिए ऐसी कोई मजबूरी कभी नहीं रही. ईश्वर की दया से कभी नहीं है जो हमें लिखने के लिए ऐसी मजबूरी में डाले. भगवान की दया से काफी कुछ लिख भी चुका हूं. अब यह नाविल लिख रहा हूं तो अब इतना लिख चुका हूं कि आप रबर लेकर लेखन की दुनिया से मेरा नाम मिटा नहीं सकते.

सवाल ही नहीं!

लेकिन अब यह कौन लिखाता है? न लिखूं तो झुंझलाहट होती है. झुंझलाहट कहां जायेगी. बीवी के अलावा. लेकिन वह ऐसी औरत है कि उसे तकलीफ कुछ भी होती हो, वह सब सहती है. उसी तरह साहित्य की बात है. जैसे बच्चा प्रसव करने में एक औरत तकलीफ सहती है, फिर दूसरे बच्चे की कामना करती है.

आपके लेखन के लिए जो होमवर्क जरूरी होता है, उसमें क्या कभी कुछ नये लेखकों को भी पढ़ते हैं? उन लेखकों से कभी आपको

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कुछ मिलता है?

मिलता है. क्यों नहीं मिलता? एक बात और सुन लो. जो वर्त्तमान लेखन है इस समय वह एक तरह से दिशाहीन भले हो, लेकिन जीवनशून्य नहीं है. और वहां जीवन है. वह प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से दिशा से भी जुड़ा हुआ है. ईच ऑव मू इज ए बर्डिंग परसन. मैं तुम्हारी जी-हजूरी नहीं करता. जो तुममें देख रहा हूं, वह कह रहा हूं.

हम लोगों के लेखन से क्या आपको कभी कोई ऐसा मुहावरा मिलता है, जो आकर्षित करता हो.

क्यों नहीं मिलता. कविता में खास तौर से मिलता है. गद्य में कहीं ऐसा भी लगता है कि हमारी अनुभूति थोड़ी लड़खड़ा गयी है. जैसे गद्य लेखकों को काम करना चाहिए, हमें ताज्जुब है कि वे वैसा काम नहीं कर रहे हैं. लेकिन कविता में ऐसा लगता है कि वह सहज रूप से जीवन के लिए कहीं आस्था देती है. इसलिए, भले बहुत खराब लिखा जा रहा हो, लेकिन सब दिन बहुत खराब नहीं हैं. भले ही एक खाम-खयाली हो, देखो, एक बात और सुन लो. मैं अपने बच्चों को गाली नहीं दे सकता. मैं अपने बच्चों का दोस्त हूं.

बाबूजी, आपके नशे की बात. बूटी (भांग) के गुलाम तो आप भी हैं. आप इस नशे के चक्कर में कब से फंस गये.

देखो, काशी गये. पंडित विनोदशंकर व्यास के यहां, नाव के ऊपर बैठकर बीच गंगा में भांग-वांग छानते थे. बस वहीं से लग गयी.

लेकिन बाबू जी, नशा कोई भी हो, आदमी को निकम्मा ही बनाता है.

हम अपने नशे में शाम को निकम्मे हैं, लेकिन जब जरूरी होता है तो नशे में भी हम सिपाही होते हैं. महल्लेवालों से पूछ लो. शहरवालों से पूछ लो. हमारा नारा है चार बजे तक व्यस्त, चार बजे के बाद मस्त!

बाबूजी, कभी आप संन्यास भी रहे हैं?

थोड़ी देर के लिए.

कितनी देर के लिए?

कभी किसी बहाने में ऐसा आ जाता है. आखिर मनुष्य हूं, लेकिन बस थोड़ी देर के लिए. हम शाम को सिर्फ जो गुनाह करते हैं सो करते हैं.

मैं उसे गुनाह नहीं कहना चाहता. . .

अच्छा, तुम जो भी कहना चाहते हो. . . गुनाह कह लो, कुछ भी कह लो. तो जो कुछ थोड़ी-बहुत मस्ती में जीने का आलम है, वह शाम को ही है. हम शाम को सिर्फ इसलिए करते हैं कि सारे संसार में कह सकें कि तुम्हारी ऐसी की तैसी. ठेंगे पर हैं आप!

क्या बात है!

नागरजी का बचपन : एक दुर्लभ चित्र

सबेरे तो फिर से काम करना है.

एक बात बताइए. . .

कौन-सी?

ये जो नया उपन्यास आप लिख रहे हैं, इसमें कितने कालखंड आप समाहित कर रहे हैं?

देखो, 1854 से 1900—कांग्रेस के जन्म तक एक है. वह जो दो-चार पृष्ठों में सिमटेगा. उसके बाद जो है 1900 से 1921 तक और 1921 से 42 और 42 से 47 और 47 से 85. इस तरह से छोटा-मोटा विभाजन मैंने कर लिया है. 75 तक मोटे तौर पर कनसीव कर लिया है.

जब आप इस तरह की चीजें लिख रहे हैं, छह सात पीढ़ी उसमें समा जायेंगी और उन पीढ़ियों को आपने देखा है. तो इसमें राजनीतिक पक्ष ही रहेंगे या. . .

राजनीति कम, सामाजिक-संस्कारगत ज्यादा. लेकिन पूर्णरूपेण राजनीतिक दृष्टि भी मेरी नहीं है. बनेगी भी नहीं और बनाऊंगा भी शायद नहीं. लेकिन जितना आवश्यक है, वहां भागूंगा भी नहीं और कतराऊंगा भी नहीं. सामाजिक मूल्यों से जो परिवर्त्तन आये मैं उनको विशेष रूप से लूंगा.

कोई राजनीतिक नेता भी इसे पढ़ता है, ऐसा आपको कभी लगा?

कभी-कभी ऐसा लगता है कि पढ़ा जाता है. एक बार जयप्रकाशजी की एक चिट्ठी आयी कि उन्होंने न केवल पढ़ा, बल्कि एक प्रति इंदिराजी को भी भेजी. सो कभी-कभी हमको मिनिस्टर-फिनिस्टर मिल जाते हैं. और खट से पता चल जाता है कि हां भाई, जाननेवाला है. तो उनसे भी बात होती है. लेकिन ऐसा नहीं लगता कि ये सब के सब अपढ़ हैं.

बाबूजी, क्या आपको कभी यह नहीं लगता कि प्रधानमंत्री को इस देश के विचारकों से कभी-कभी विचार-विमर्श करना चाहिए.

करना तो चाहिए. लेकिन उसमें सबसे बड़ी जो बात आती है, वह हमें एसिस्ट करना चाहते हैं, यानी हमको बदतर क्यों माना जाये? एक बार डा. केसकर के यहां एक मीटिंग हुई. जब विभिन्न भाषा के प्रोड्यूसर ऑल इंडिया रेडियो में भीड़ की तरह भर दिये गये. सौभाग्य से मैं उस भीड़ में नहीं था. सुमित्रानंदन पंत और सब साहित्यकार तो बैठे हुए हैं फर्श पर और मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं सोफा पर. हम नहीं थे सौभाग्य से, वरना तो बिना पिये हमारी तड़फ जाती.

अब बाबूजी, हम लोग व्यक्तिगत बातों की तरफ. . . आपको बहुत तकलीफ दे रहा हूं लेकिन यह जरूर जानना चाहता हूं, नये लेखन में इधर कुछ उपन्यास आपको अच्छे लगे?

हां, हां, क्यों नहीं. अभी वह राजी सेठ का एक उपन्यास आया है. . . क्या नाम है उसका. . . हां, तत्सम. अच्छा उपन्यास है. रवींद्र कालिया ने 'खुदा सही सलामत है' लिखा है, अच्छा लगता है पढ़ के.

मुस्लिम संस्कृति पर अभी तक लिखनेवाले मुसलमान लेखक ही थे. कालिया ने उस परंपरा को तोड़ा और उस तबके को नजदीक से और बड़ी गहराई से आंकने की कोशिश की.

क्या अच्छी बात तुमने याद दिलायी. कालिया ने यह काम बहुत अच्छा किया.

बड़ा संकोच हो रहा है. आपको खाने-पीने से महरूम किये बैठा हूं, इतनी देर से बक-झक कर रहा हूं. . .

अरे, अब क्या खाना-पीना, बगैर मिर्च-मसाले का खाना है!

यह अच्छी सुनायी. अजीब बात है कि आप जिंदगी भर जमाने को मसाला लगाते रहे और अब मसाले से महरूम रखे जा रहे हैं.

(नागर जी का एक जोरदार ठहाका) देखो मैं फिर कहता हूं मुझे किसी से कुछ नहीं चाहिए जमाने से तो बिलकुल नहीं. बीवी जो देती है खाना पड़ता है. मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूं, मैं बीवी का गुलाम हूं. . . (और नागरजी के चेहरे पर दांपत्य की एक गरिमापूर्ण आभा बिखर गयी. लेकिन यह आभा नियति से बहुत दिनों बर्दाश्त न हुई और इस बातचीत के तक वह गरिमा और ममता की प्रतिमूर्ति नागरजी से 28 मई, 1985 को सदा के लिए बिछड़ गयी.)

Funding: ... HIKS ... Digitized

अपनी मां की खट्टी-मीठी स्मृतियों को याद कर रही हैं नागरजी की छोटी बेटी

मेरी बा

आरती पांड्या

'बा नहीं रहीं.' इन तीन शब्दों ने मानो मेरा सब कुछ बदल डाला. जीवन से परिपूर्ण, सौंदर्य और कर्मठता की वह सजीव मूर्ति हम लोगों को इस तरह अकेला छोड़ जायेंगी, कभी सोचा भी न था.

बा, जो सिर्फ एक व्यक्तित्व ही नहीं, बल्कि ममता और स्नेह का अथाह सागर अपने अंदर समेटे, समस्त परिवार को एक सूत्र में बांधकर, सहेजकर रखने वाली ठंडी छांव थीं, जिनके प्यार तले पल भर बैठकर ही जीवन का परम सुख मिल जाता था. बा विहीन घर की कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते थे हम लोग.

मैं भाई-बहनों में सबसे छोटी हूं, लिहाजा बचपन से ही घर-भर की लाड़ली रही. जब बहुत छोटी थी, तब तीनों बड़े भाई-बहन आगरा में नानीजी के पास रहकर पढ़ते थे. मैं अकेली ही बा-बाबूजी के पास लखनऊ में रहती थी. बाद में भाई साहब भी (कुमुद भाई) लखनऊ आ गये. घर में मेरे बराबर का कोई नहीं था और आस-पास भी हमउम्र बच्चे कम ही थे. बाबूजी सुबह से लिखने में या किसी और काम में व्यस्त रहते. हां, शाम को खाली होने पर वह मुझे खूब कहानियां सुनाते या घुमाने ले जाते. लेकिन दिन का सारा समय मेरा बा के साथ ही बीतता था. उन दिनों घर में बा बहुत सारे गरीब बच्चों का पढ़ाया करती थीं. मैं उस समय दो-तीन वर्ष की थी, अधिक याद नहीं है, मगर इतना जरूर याद है कि घर में दिन में खूब रौनक लगी रहती थी. उन बच्चों के साथ ही मेरी भी पढ़ाई-लिखाई तीन साल की उम्र से शुरू हो गयी थी.

जैसे-जैसे मैं बड़ी होती गयी, बा मां से ज्यादा मेरी मित्र बनती गयीं. कॉलिज से लौटकर जब तक उनको दिन भर का लेखा-जोखा सुना न दूं, मुझे चैन नहीं पड़ता था. मैं तुनकमिजाज भी बहुत थी. बा ने जरा-सा कुछ कहा और मेरा मुंह फूल जाता था. आमतौर पर हम लोगों की लड़ाई खाने पर होती थी. बा को जितना ठूंस-ठूंसकर खिलाने का शौक था, मैं उतनी ही खाने से दूर भागती थी. वैसे भी कॉलेज के दिनों में 'डायटिंग' का कुछ ज्यादा ही होता है. बा इसी बात पर मुझे डांटती थीं, लेकिन मुझे पता था कि लाख गुस्सा आये, बा मुझे मनाने जरूर आयेंगी और वही होता भी था. बा थोड़ी देर बाद मेरी पसंद की चीजें लेकर आतीं और मना-मनाकर मुझे खिलातीं. अब सोचती हूं तो लगता है कि अनजाने ही सही, मगर मैं उन्हें कितना सताती थी.

मेरे विवाह के बाद बा ने बड़े ही प्यार और शौक से मेरी नयी गृहस्थी संजोयी. जब भी मेरे घर आतीं, कुछ न कुछ गृहस्थी का सामान लेकर ही आतीं. अगर मैं मना करती तो कहतीं, "जो दे रही हूं, चुपचाप रख लिया कर, जब मर जाऊंगी तब कोई नहीं पूछेगा."

आम तौर पर सास और दामाद का संबंध औपचारिक सा ही रहता है, लेकिन मेरे पति शुरू से ही बा से बहुत खुले हुए थे. बा से उनकी बातें इस तरह होती थीं मानो सास से नहीं किसी छोटी साली से हंसी-मजाक हो रहा हो. बा उनके लिए सास कम 'फ्रेंड' ज्यादा थीं. बा भी हर समय अनिल (मेरे पति) के ही गुण गाती थीं. मुझसे कहती थीं, "तूने बड़े अच्छे कर्म किये होंगे, तभी तुझे ऐसा अच्छा और समझदार पति मिला है. उससे झगड़ा मत किया कर." बा के लिए उनका अनिल दामाद नहीं बल्कि बेटा ही था.

सन् '80 में मेरे पति का ट्रांसफर श्रीनगर हो गया. मैंने बा को लिखा कि आप सब लोग गर्मी में कश्मीर आइयेगा. बा ने आने का वादा किया, लेकिन न आ सकीं. जब सर्दियों में मैं लखनऊ आयी तो मैंने बाबू जी से शिकायत की कि सब लोग आ जाते हैं. बस आप लोगों का ही आना नहीं होता. बाबूजी ने कहा, "बेटा, इस बार मैं तेरी बा को लेकर जरूर आऊंगा."

लेकिन सन् '82 मई के महीने में बा बहुत बीमार हो गयीं और उसके बाद हर साल हम लोग प्रतीक्षा ही करते रहे, लेकिन दिन पर दिन बा शिथिल होती गयीं और अंत तक उनका हमारे पास आना न हो सका. सन् '82 के 'हार्ट अटैक' के बाद हालांकि उनमें पहले जैसी शक्ति नहीं रह गयी थी, फिर भी जोश में आकर वह सीमा से अधिक काम करती थीं. जब पैदल अधिक नहीं चल पाती थीं तो रिक्शा लेकर बाजार या बैंक का काम करने जातीं, वह भी छिपकर, उस समय जब बाबूजी अपने कमरे में या तो लिखवा रहे होते या दिन में सो रहे होते थे, क्योंकि बाबूजी उनको अधिक दौड़-धूप करने पर टोकते थे.

बा हमेशा कर्म में विश्वास रखती थीं. हाथ पर हाथ रखकर बैठना उनका स्वभाव न था. उनके मन में सबके लिए एक सा स्नेह था, तभी तो वह सबकी 'बा' बन जाती थीं—चाहे वह हम भाई-बहनों के परिचित हों या बाबूजी के पास मिलने आने वाले —सब पर बा जादू की ऐसी छड़ी फिरा देती थीं कि सब उनको अपनी मां या भाभी समझने लगते थे. किसी की नौकरी लगवानी हो तो बा दौड़ रही हैं, किसी को डाक्टर को दिखाना है तो बा लेकर जा रही हैं. साल में न जाने कितनी गरीब कन्याओं के लिए दहेज बटोरकर कन्यादान करवाती थीं यानी कि हर एक का दुःख उनका अपना दुःख था. कितनी भी परेशानी क्यों न हो, ओरों के सामने बा उसको जाहिर नहीं होने देती थीं. उनके पान रचे होंठों पर एक मीठी सी मुस्कराहट हमेशा बिखरी रहती थी.

बा का भंडार हर आने-जाने वाले के लिए खुला हुआ था. कोई भी आये, बगैर खाना खिलाये बा उसको जाने नहीं देती थीं. हम चारों भाई-बहनों को तो उन्होंने जन्म दिया था परंतु उनके विशाल कुनबे में तो उनके अनगिनत बच्चे थे, जिनके दुःख-सुख से वह उतनी ही जुड़ी हुई थीं, जितनी अपनी संतानों से.

बा के देहांत का समाचार सुनकर उनके न जाने कितने शोकाकुल बेटे-बेटियां बार-बार यही कहते कि हमारी दुःख-सुख बांटने वाली मां चली गयीं. किसके आगे हम अपना दिल खोलेंगे.

मैं भी तो यही सोच रही हूं कि अब मैं बा किसे कहूंगी? □

Heritage and IKS-MoE. Digitization: eGangotri.

परिवार की पुस्तक

'मैं मरूंगी नहीं' बनाम 'अग्निगर्भा'

▣ डा. रामजन्म शर्मा

अमृतलाल नागर; प्रेमचंद परंपरा के एक सशक्त उपन्यासकार हैं. प्रेमचंद की तरह ही नागरजी ने वर्णनात्मक शैली को अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम बनाया है. नागरजी ने शहरी जीवन की विसंगतियों को अपने कथा-साहित्य का प्रमुख केंद्र बनाया है. उनके उपन्यासों में चरित्र-चित्रण के साथ ही व्यक्तित्व का उद्घाटन भी सफलता के साथ हुआ है. इसी संदर्भ में 'अग्निगर्भा' नागरजी की एक महत्वपूर्ण कृति है.

'अग्निगर्भा' में एक निम्नमध्यवर्गीय परिवार की युवती 'सीता' का आत्मसंघर्ष रूपायित किया गया है. इस उपन्यास का मूल कथ्य आधुनिक समाज की विसंगतियों पर आवृत है. कुमारी मैत्रेत्री शुक्ला और सीता पांडेय घनिष्ठ सहेलियां हैं. कुछ दिनों बाद मैत्रेत्री डा. गोडबोले के साथ प्रेम-विवाह कर लेती हैं. डा. मैत्रेत्री गोडबोले 'सारस्वत प्रतिष्ठान' की निदेशक बन जाती हैं. सीता की सहेली एक प्रतिष्ठित घनाढ्य परिवार में ब्याही जाती है. सीता पांडेय समाज-शास्त्र में एम. ए. प्रथम श्रेणी में उत्तीर्ण करने के साथ ही 'आर प्रदेश की जनजातियों में नातेदारियों का तंत्र' विषय पर निबंध लिख-कर 'लेडी प्रभावती स्वर्ण पदक' प्राप्त कर लेती है. इसके बाद ही प्रारंभ होता है सीता पांडेय का संघर्षमय जीवन.

कु. सीता पांडेय की शादी दहेज के अभाव में नहीं हो पाती और न सीता पीएच. डी. ही कर पाती है. उसके माता-पिता सीता को शार्टहैंड-टाइप सीखाकर किसी दफ्तर में काम करवाने के भी खिलाफ हैं. सीता के पिता का दृढ़ मत है कि लड़कियों को दफ्तर में काम नहीं करना चाहिए. किसी प्रकार वह बी. एड. कर लेती है. जीवन साथी के रूप में सीता एक विद्वान एवं जिंदादिल पति चाहती है.

सीता, कुसुम के घर जाती है. डी. डी. एम. कालेज में समाजशास्त्र के रिक्त लेक्चरर पद के लिए [illegible] है. किंतु सीता चुप है. इसी बीच सीता, कुसुम से पूछती है, "कहीं ब्याह-ब्याह की बात चल रही है तेरी?" "जब चिता पर चढ़ूंगी तब शायद चले." सीता उत्तर देती है. वस्तुतः 'अग्निगर्भा' में दहेज की समस्या को बहुत ही गंभीर रूप से प्रस्तुत करने की कोशिश नागरजी ने की है. सीता दहेज के लिए असमर्थ युवती का उदाहरण देते हुए कहती है, न नौ मन तेल होगा न राधा नाचेगी!

अंततः सीता और रामेश्वर एक-दूसरे के नजदीक आते हैं. जोड़-तोड़ बैठाकर रामेश्वर, सीता को लेक्चरर बनवा देता है.

रामेश्वर के पिता सीता की शादी की रकम के दहेज के रूप में 15 हजार नगद लेते हैं, और पांच-पांच हजार का कागज बनवा लेते हैं. इसके बाद इंस्टालमेंट के रूप में सीता के पिता कर्ज चुकाते हैं.

सीता की शादी रामेश्वर के साथ हो जाती है. डा. सीता शुक्ला कालेज के लेक्चरर के रूप में काफी नाम कमा लेती हैं. कालेज में अनेक उत्सव होते हैं, बड़े-बड़े नेता कालेज में आते हैं. प्रोफेसरों के सेमिनार भी होते हैं. कुल मिलाकर कालेज की प्रतिष्ठा काफी बढ़ जाती है. डा. सीता शुक्ला द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकों से रामेश्वर को काफी धन भी मिलने लगता है.

अधीक्षक के रूप में रामेश्वर कालेज में बिल्डिंग बनवाता है, और गलत ढंग से पैसे कमाता है. साथ ही अपने लिए भी एक मकान बनवाता है, जिसके लिए सारा सामान कालेज से आता है. वह डा. सीता शुक्ला द्वारा टेक्स्ट बुक लिखवाकर छपवाने का काम भी कालेज में करता है.

रामेश्वर सीता के पिता से पैसे वसूलने के लिए उसके भाई को कालेज में नौकरी दिलवाता है. उधर सीता के पिता आर्थिक अभावों से जूझते हैं. छोटी बेटी गीता की शादी के लिए दहेज नहीं जुटा पाते. वह अंतर्जातीय विवाह कर, घर छोड़ देती है.

सीता रामेश्वर के परिवार में सब कुछ सहती है. उसे एक पुत्र भी होता है. फिर अचानक एक घटना घट जाती है. सीता का भाई बीमार पड़ जाता है. सीता की मां सीता को सूचना देती है कि सीता कुछ पैसे की मदद करे, जिससे उसके भाई का इलाज किया जा सके. सीता रामेश्वर द्वारा रखने के लिए दिये गये रुपयों में से कुछ रुपये इलाज के लिए दे देती है. इस पर रामेश्वर बहुत बिगड़ता है. तब सीता और रामेश्वर में कड़वाहट उत्पन्न हो जाती है. सीता विभागाध्यक्ष के साक्षात्कार में जाने से इनकार करने लगती है. रामेश्वर दबाव डालता है. फलतः में सीता घर छोड़कर अलग रहने लगती है. कालेज के ट्रस्टी डा. सीता शुक्ला को कार्यवाहक प्राचार्या घोषित करते हैं, किंतु सीता शुक्ला इस पद को अस्वीकार कर देती है. साथ ही दहेज के लिए जलायी जानेवाली अथवा शोषित औरतों की दशा को सुधारने के लिए वह एक आंदोलन छेड़ना चाहती है. रामेश्वर सीता के पास जाकर बार-बार गिड़गिड़ाता है कि वह प्राचार्या के पद को स्वीकार कर ले. पर सीता अस्वीकार कर देती है ... फिर डा. सीता शुक्ला नारी शोषण के खिलाफ लहती हुई मारी जाती हैं. रामेश्वर को भी गोली लगती है पर वह बच जाता है.

प्रस्तुत उपन्यास में नागरजी ने नारी शोषण का एक बहुत ही सशक्त रूप प्रस्तुत किया है. समाज में व्याप्त विसंगतियों पर उन्होंने मार्मिक चोट पहुंचायी है. दंगा, दहेज, बेरोजगारी, कालगर्ल, सामाजिक भ्रष्टाचार, कुंठा, संत्रास, मनुष्य की कामलोलुपता, स्त्री-पुरुष संबंधों पर आधारित मुद्दे इस उपन्यास में पूरी तरह से उभरकर सामने आये हैं.

'अग्निगर्भा' में सीता और रामेश्वर के मानसिक अंतर्द्वंद्व को भी नागरजी ने बहुत ही सजगता के साथ रेखांकित किया है.

वस्तुतः इस कथाक्रम में उच्च वर्ग की स्थितियों के बीच सीता की निम्न मध्यवर्गीय जीवन स्थितियों के पेचों और टकराहटों को अभिव्यक्त करना भी उपन्यास का एक उद्देश्य रहा है. उपन्यास में सीता एक ऐसा चरित्र है जिसके व्यक्तित्व का विकास सफलता के साथ उपन्यासकार ने रूपायित किया है. रामेश्वर एक प्रवृत्ति है जो सीता जैसे व्यक्तित्व को खाती है, किंतु सीता की तकलीफों में, संघर्ष में जीवन-शक्ति और संभावनाएं हैं. वस्तुतः सीता मरती नहीं है, वह तो अग्निगर्भा है. उसके अंदर एक ज्वाला धधकती रहती है.

इस प्रकार उपन्यास में जर्जर होकर टूटती हुई पुरानी व्यवस्था से जन्म लेती हुई नयी व्यवस्था को रेखांकित किया गया है. □

● अमृतलाल नागर : 1971

▣ अग्निगर्भा (उपन्यास) :
अमृतलाल नागर
प्रकाशक : राजपाल एंड संस, दिल्ली-6
मूल्य : 35 रुपये

● नागरजी के सद्यःप्रकाशित उपन्यास 'करवट' की समीक्षा अगले अंक में

CC-0. Bhagavad Ramanuja National Research Institute, Melukote Collection.

॥ भरतमुनि के वंशधर ॥

कथा-शिल्पी नागरजी का एक समय रंगकर्म से भी गहरा नाता रहा है. नाटक लिखने के साथ-साथ उन्होंने निर्देशन के क्षेत्र में भी महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभायी है—प्रस्तुत है रंगकर्मी नागरजी के साथ राकेश कुमार 'मंजुल' की लंबी बातचीत के कुछ अंश—

"हिंदी वालों को अभी अपना मुहावरा नहीं मिला है..."

● महादेवी वर्मा, माता बरेरकर और 'भारतेंदु हरिश्चंद्र' के निर्देशक अमृतलाल नागर के साथ रंग-मंडली

मूलतः आप कहानीकार एवं उपन्यासकार हैं. नाटक का शौक कैसे शुरू हुआ?

देखो—नाटक को मेरा संस्कार मान सकते हो. मेरे पिता स्व. श्री राजा राम नागर, लखनऊ और विशेषकर चौक में इस शती के आरंभिक दो दशकों में शौकिया रंगमंच के अग्रणी अभिनेताओं में से थे. स्व. पं. माधव शुक्ल के निर्देशन में उन्होंने कई नाटक खेले. संभवतः 1921-22 में उनका अंतिम नाटक देखने का सौभाग्य मुझे प्राप्त हुआ—अब तो बड़ी हल्की स्मृतियां शेष हैं. हमारे घर में पं. माधव शुक्लजी ने उस नाटक का कुछ भाग रिहर्स भी कराया था. चार-पांच वर्ष की आयु थी मेरी. . . शुक्लजी घर पर ठहरे थे. इसी कारण यह सुअवसर मुझे मिला. फिर स्कूल के दिनों में 'वीर अभिमन्यु' नाटक में छोटा-सा रोल मुझे मिला था.

फिर बतौर नाटककार विधिवत् शुरुआत कब हुई?

सन् '48 में बंबई से लौटकर आने के बाद चौपटियां मुहल्ले के कुछ युवकों के आग्रह पर एक नाटक लिखकर उसे बड़े शिवाले में मंचित किया. . . न उसकी स्क्रिप्ट है मेरे पास, न उसका नाम याद है मुझे. . . हां, दूसरा नाटक किया था 'परित्याग'. कुंवर कांतिवीर गुप्त थे . . . उनके आर्थिक सहयोग से. . . उसके बाद सिलसिला जारी हो गया. सन् '49 में लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा आयोजित 'अखिल भारतीय ओरियंटल कांफ्रेंस' में तत्कालीन कुलपति स्व. आचार्य नरेंद्र देव से किसी दक्षिण भारतीय विद्वान ने हिंदी नाटक देखने की इच्छा प्रकट की. हिंदी-विभागाध्यक्ष स्व. दीन दयाल गुप्त के आग्रह पर मैंने प्रसादजी के नाटक 'स्कंदगुप्त' का निर्देशन किया.

जब आप [illegible] तो पारसी रंगमंच छाया हुआ था, तो शौकी रूप से भी विकसित था, आपने जनता से हटकर भी नाटक किये. . . क्या उनमें कुछ प्रयोग किए थे?

हां, बिल्कुल किये थे और बड़े सफल प्रयोग रहे थे वो. सन् '54 में महादेवीजी ने नैनीताल के ताकुला क्षेत्र में 'साहित्यकार संसद' का एक साहित्यिक शिविर लगाया था, जिसमें तय हुआ कि भारतेंदुजी के जीवन चरित्र पर एक नाटक लिखा जाये. ताकुला से डा. धर्मवीर भारती महादेवीजी का यह संदेश लेकर आये कि 'नाटक लिखो और उसे मंचित भी कराओ.' फिर मैंने 'युगावतार' की रचना की, लगभग डेढ़ माह इलाहाबाद में रहकर उसे तैयार कराया. पहली बार उसमें जालीदार पर्दे का चमत्कारिक प्रयोग किया गया था. जब पर्दे के पीछे प्रकाश पड़ता तो वह गली का दृश्य बन जाता और सामने से प्रकाश पड़ने पर भारतेंदु का निवास. बहुत सराहा गया यह प्रयोग. . . फिर विष्णु प्रभाकर द्वारा रूपांतरित प्रेमचंदजी के 'गोदान' में मैंने परिक्रामी सेटों का प्रयोग किया. सन् '56 में भगवती बाबू के नाटक 'रुपया तुम्हें खा गया' में मैंने एक फ्लैश बैक दृश्य के लिए ट्रॉली-सेट का प्रयोग किया था. पुराना दृश्य आते ही पलक-भर में गरीब का घर आ जाता था और वैसे ही फिर रईस की कोठी. इसके लिए मंच को तीन हिस्सों में बांटकर बीच में एक गढ़ा खोदकर लकड़ी के तराफों पर ट्राली-सेट रस्सी खींचकर चलाया जाता था.

आज जिस तरह संस्थाएं बन रही हैं, नाटक हो रहे हैं, लगता है सबसे आसान कार्य नाटक करना है. पहले भी ऐसा था?

अरे. . . भाई. . . अब तो सब बना-बनाया है आडीटोरियम से लाइट तक. तब तो तिल से जौ तक सारा इंतजाम करना पड़ता था और उसके बावजूद कमी-कमी बाद तक भुगतना पड़ता था. . . मेरे ही साथ ऐसा हुआ था. सन् '50 में स्व. रजिया सज्जाद जहीर द्वारा रूपांतरित 'ईदगाह' का मंचन 'रिफाह-ए-आम' क्लब में किया. उस पर सरकार ने 'ड्रामेटिक परफारमेंस एक्ट' के तहत मेरे और रजियाजी सहित दो और लोगों पर मुकद्दमा चला दिया. सौभाग्य से वह मुकद्दमा इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट की लखनऊ खंडपीठ द्वारा सुना गया और पहली बार 'ड्रामेटिक परफारमेंस एक्ट' उसी मुकद्दमे से सदा के लिए खत्म कर दिया गया.

जहां हिंदी में नाटकों का अभाव है, वहीं अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं के रूपांतरण अधिक लोकप्रिय हुए हैं. नाटक तो हिंदी में भी लिखे गये पर उनमें क्या कमी रही?

जहां तक मैं समझता हूं, स्वतंत्रता के बाद दो ही नाटक हिंदी में अच्छे लिखे गये. एक मोहन राकेश का 'आधे-अधूरे' दूसरा धर्मवीर भारती का 'अंधायुग'. एक बात मैं बहुत अरसे से कह रहा हूं कि अभी तक हिंदीवालों को नाटक का सही मुहावरा नहीं मिल पाया है. हिंदी के नाटक अधूरे अलेखन या अन्वीक्षण लेखन के कारण मार खा रहे हैं. प्रयोग बहुत हुए, पर जीवन से जुड़े सही नाटक आये नहीं. हिंदी नाटक का कोई रुझान नहीं है, उन्हें तकनीक पर खड़ा करने का प्रयास किया जाता है. हमारे हिंदी भाषी क्षेत्र के नाटक यदि स्व. मोहन राकेश के नाटक का नाम उधार लेकर कहूं तो सब 'आधे-अधूरे' हैं [illegible] आगे.

हिंदी रंग-आंदोलन को मजबूत करने के लिए क्या कुछ करना आवश्यक है?

पेशेवर रंगमंच की स्थापना. देखो, यह कमी बहुत अरसे पहले महसूस की जानी चाहिए थी. . . हुआ यों कि शुरू में उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में भारतेंदु बाबू और माधव शुक्लजी के प्रयत्नों से शौकिया रंगमंच तो स्थापित हो गया, लेकिन पेशेवर रंगमंच की भूमि बंबई या कलकत्ता ही रही. पहले पारसी कंपनियां आती रहीं. फिर फिल्में आयीं किंतु अब हिंदी भाषी प्रदेश से बाहर पेशेवर रंगमंच की स्थापना 1922 में मेरठ में हुई लेकिन असफल हो रही. नाटक अधिक प्रदर्शनों से ही पनपता है. □

CC-0. Bhagavad P

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(डाक खर्च मुफ्त)

संपर्क करें

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- पटियाला हाउस, नई दिल्ली-110 001
- सुपर बाजार (दूसरी मंजिल), कनाट सर्कस, नई दिल्ली-110 001
- बिहार स्टेट को-आपरेटिव बैंक बिल्डिंग, अशोक राजपथ, पटना-800 004
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और यह सब करते हुए कपड़े को सही-सलामत रखे ताकि उसका नयापन बरकरार रहे, यानी हर कमीज़, हर चादर सदा लगे कोरी-कोरी, साफ़-सुथरी, ऐसी सफ़ेद जैसे नयी.

धुलाई-दर-धुलाई!

नयी निराली खुशबू: जो आपके कपड़ों में बस जाए. इतनी स्वच्छ, इतनी ताज़ी!

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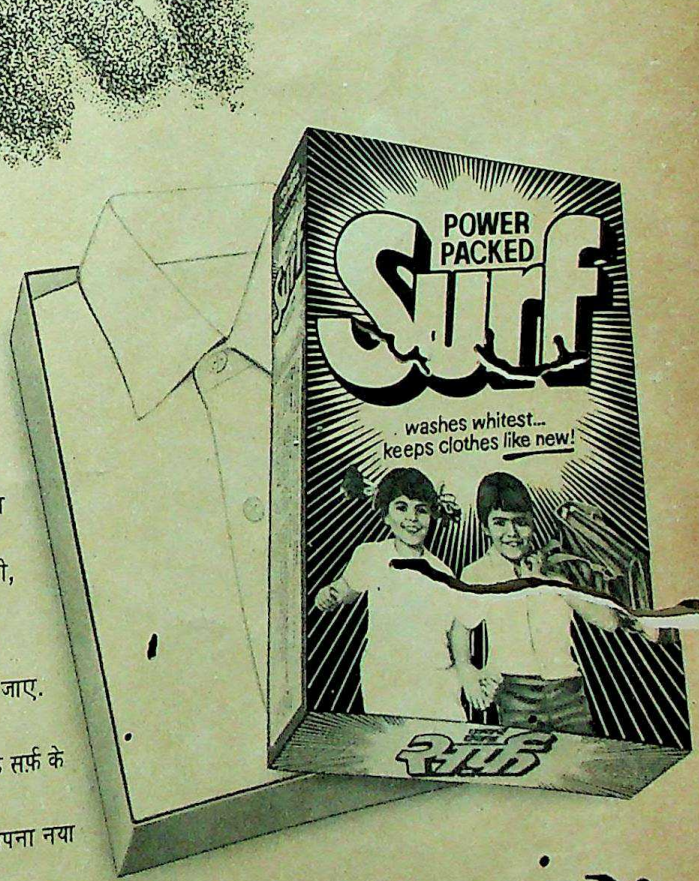
तो देर किस बात की ... आज ही ले आइए अपना नया पावर पैक्ड सर्फ़!



सर्फ़ की धुलाई सबसे सफ़ेद... कपड़े दिखते सदा नये!

हिन्दुस्तान लीवर का एक उत्कृष्ट उत्पादन.

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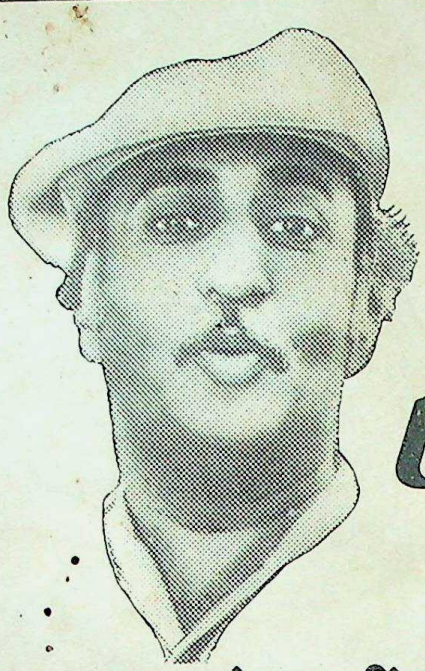
जब एक पुराना शूरवीर होठों पर जीभ फ़ेरता हुआ गरजेंता है...



वाह! पकवान

क्या आप उसकी तृप्ति का आनंद नहीं बाँटना चाहेंगी?

ज़रूर! क्योंकि आप अपने ससुर साहब को खाने का स्वाद लेते हुए देखने का आनंद जानती हैं ज़ाहिर है आप खाना पकाने के एक ऐसे आदर्श माध्यम की तलाश कर रहीं थीं जो पूरी तरह सुरक्षित तथा कोलेस्ट्रॉल रहित हो. साथ ही उनकी पसंद के शुद्ध देसी घी की तरह अच्छा

पकवान उच्च श्रेणी के प्रोटीन से समृद्ध सोयाबीन से तैयार किया जाता है. इतने सारे गुणों के कारण ही यह शुद्ध घी और तेल खाने वालों की पहली पसंद है.

मिठाईयां और नमकीन या स्वादिष्ट चीज़ें बनाने के लिए आदर्श तेल पकवान किफ़ायती भी है, क्योंकि तलते समय इसकी ख़पत कम होती है.तभी तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि पकवान तेज़ी से घरेलू नाम बन चुका है.

होमोजनाइज़्ड

पकवान

माइक्रो रिफ़ाइंड तेल

आहारविद् भी इसकी सिफ़ारिश करते हैं!

ऑल इंडिया इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑफ़ मेडिकल साइंसिस की एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार

"पकवान माइक्रो रिफ़ाइंड ऑयल चिकित्सा परीक्षणों में मधुमेह (डायबिटीज़) और साधारण स्वास्थ्य लाभ कर रहे रोगियों के लिए बहुत लाभकारी पाया गया है"

"पकवान सभी प्रयोगशाला परीक्षणों में उत्तम पाया गया है और माइक्रोस्कोपिक जांच में पूरी तरह खरा उतरा है"

पकवान - वह माध्यम जो आपके पाक-कौशल को सर्वोत्तम तरीके से निखारे

1 कि., 2 कि., 5 कि. के पॉलीजारों और 15 कि. के टिन में उपलब्ध

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